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A HISTORY OF INDIA

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A HISTORY OF INDIA

Chapter I

THE BEGINNINGS

India is the geographical name for the sub-continent jutting out like a huge peninsula from the land mass of Asia. The great wall of the Karakorum and Himalaya ranges defends it on the north from penetration, and at the same time supply from their perennial snows those rivers which provide a never-failing source of irrigation for the crops of the thickly populated plains of the Punjab and the Ganges Valley, and exert such an influence on the climate of the whole region. North-west and west the Hindu Kush and Sulaiman and associated ranges form another obstacle to invasion, while on the east the jumble of ranges and forests form an even more impenetrable defence against any large force—or did until lately.

The sea to the south-east and south-west is a further safeguard. These physical facts have profoundly influenced the course of Indian history. They have removed it from the influences which have affected the rest of Asia and even more so from world events, and have been responsible for the development of a self sufficiency and a form of culture which are peculiar to itself alone.

But while shut off from the outside world it exhibits within itself a further threefold physical division in the plains of north India, the Deccan upland and the south Indian peninsula. North India with the Indus plains and the Ganges Valley is cut off from the south by the barrier of the Vindhya and Satpura ranges, so that northern and southern India have developed for centuries quite independently of each other.

While the river systems of northern India or Hindustan unite rather than divide the inhabitants of these regions because they are navigable and form a means of communication and trade, the rivers of the southern half flowing across the high plateau and only emerging into the eastern coastal plain towards the end of their course, and irregular in volume, exert no comparable influence. The Indus rising behind the Himalaya and joined by tributaries which are also snow fed, waters the Punjab plains with an unceasing flow. The Ganges and its chief tributary the Jumna

is responsible for the prosperity of the Ganges Valley, the centre of Indian history. Thus the shape of the land accounts in no small measure for the different life and culture which characterised Hindustan and the South.

Within Hindustan itself there are other physical features which serve to divide the Punjab plains from the Ganges Valley. Chief among these is the great desert stretching almost from the Rann of Kutch to Delhi backed by the Aravali hills. Thus the Himalayan foothills to the north and the Thar desert to the south converge to form a narrow approach leading from the Indus plains to the Ganges Valley. On the east again the defile of Teliagarhi between the Ganges and the Rajmahal hills is the key to Bengal. These physical features account to a large degree for the political divisions into which India from time to time was divided.

The Narbada flowing east to west between the Vindhyas and the Satpuras reinforces the southern limits of the region. With the Tapti it is the only large river which flows from east to west. The rivers which flow across the Deccan uplands are, as had been said, irregular in flow, dependant on the uncertain rains of the monsoon. It is only when they reach the eastern coastal plains that they widen out and form the deltas of the Mahanadi and the Godaveri. The Krishna and its main tributary, the Tungabhadra, form a fertile *doab*, and farther south the Kavari or Cauvery was early used for irrigation. The courses of the rivers flowing down the Western Ghats are short and rapid, unsuitable for navigation or for irrigation.

Crops

The alluvial soils of the great river valleys have made India the great agricultural country it is, and the food crops produced—wheat, millets, maize and rice, together with the different kinds of pulse are grown in sufficient quantities after a favourable monsoon to meet all internal requirements. Sugar-cane is increasingly grown, and the different oil seeds, rape, mustard, linseed and groundnuts are of great importance. Tea was discovered to grow in India as late as the nineteenth century in Assam. Before this the tea bushes had been brought from China and planted in Kumaon where China tea is still produced in a few estates, but the tea plantations of Assam and North Bengal, in Mysore and Ceylon now form a great Indian tea industry. Coffee is grown in Mysore. Tobacco was introduced at the beginning of the sixteenth century

and has developed into an important crop. The opium poppy is now cultivated as a controlled crop for medicinal uses. The spices —pepper, cinnamon and others—which first attracted Europeans to India come mainly from the south. Indigo for dyeing purposes was another export to Europe of much value, until in the nineteenth century the discovery of synthetic dyes by the Germans led to the replacement of the natural product in world markets. Cotton was one of the earliest clothing materials, and improvements in staple have made it more suitable for sale in world markets. Hemp and jute for hessian is another greatly expanded industrial crop, indeed raw and manufactured jute is the most valuable of all Indian exports followed by cotton, tea and hides.

Indian fruit is famous, some native to the country and some naturalised over the course of centuries. Mangoes, oranges, guava, pineapple, lichies, bananas or plantains, melons, papaya, coconuts and apples, peaches, apricots and grapes all grow in this fertile country.

Forests

The forest wealth of India includes teak and sal, sandalwood, ebony, plane, rosewood, pine, fir, mango wood, bamboo and many others. There is in the plains the banyan with its spreading branches taking new root and forming a grove of its own, the pipal, the sacred tree of India, while in the hills are to be found the great deodar of the Himalayas, the chenar and chestnuts, walnut trees and the holm oak. Flowering trees and shrubs abound, from the rhodendrons of the hills to the tamarisks, dhak (Flame of the Forest), hibiscus and *mahwa* trees of the plains. The palm flourishes nearly everywhere except in the hills, the coconut palm mainly in the south. All the known varieties of flowers imported or native are to be found somewhere in hill or plain. The marigold is especially the Indian flower essential for garlands and for offerings and the lotus is the symbol of religion celebrated in poetry and prose.

Fauna

Cattle, both the humped Indian variety and the water buffalo, are dual purpose domestic herds, both for milk and burden or harnessed to the cart or plough. Horses and ponies, camels and elephants are used both for draught and burden and for riding. Goats and sheep produce milk and meat as well as materials for clothing.

The pariah dog of the villages is a scavenger rather than a companion, but the great Tibetan sheep dogs and the various hounds are in a different category. The cat is seldom a domestic pet.

Of the great variety of wild animals the tiger is king. It is found in the foothills of the Himalayas, in the swamps of the Sunderabans, the wooded Vindyas and Satpuras and in Mysore. The Indian lion is no longer seen except a few in Kathiawar. The leopard or panther is common as are bears, black and brown, and hyenas, jackals and wolves, while wild dogs are widely distributed. The Indian fox is small and undistinguished. Hares, porcupine, civet cats, mongoose, squirrels and martins also abound. The rhinoceros has almost died out except for an occasional visitor from Nepal, but the wild bison is still met with in the Satpura plateau and Mysore. The domestic pig is a scavenger and unclean, but the fierce wild boar frequents the *kadir* or dry beds of the big rivers, and is found in the hills. The brown monkey of the plain and the grey langur of the hills is familiar to all. There are many kinds of deer and antelope including the handsome black buck, the graceful gazelle or *chinkara*, the mighty *sambhur*, the *chital* or spotted deer, the *nilgai* or blue bull, the swamp deer, the barking deer and various wild sheep like the *markhor*, the *gurial*, the *ibex* and the ovis ammon of the far snow ranges.

Snakes range from the great python to the deadly little *krait*. There are several varieties of vipers and the cobra and hamadryad or king cobra among the poisonous snakes together with tree snakes and water snakes. The non-poisonous snakes include the *dhaman* or rat snake and several kinds of grass snake. Every year large numbers of people die from snake bite, but the great majority of snakes are non-poisonous. Crocodiles, both the snub-nosed man-eating ' mugger,' and the fish-eating *gharial* abound in the rivers and lakes together with porpoises and turtles. The rivers and tanks provide large quantities of fish—the mahseer, the salmon of India, which grows to a large size and belongs to the carp family, the *bekti* and other varieties of fish suitable for the table.

Birds, both native and migratory, are found everywhere in great variety from the ubiquitous sparrow to the great eagle of the Himalaya. Song birds include the bulbul or Indian nightingale which, though celebrated in poetry, is a poor substitute for its English counterpart. The hill thrush has a pretty note and the *dhayal* or Indian robin has a pleasant song.

The golden oriole, the raja bird, barbets, parrots, woodpeckers,

kingfishers, hoopoes, the blue jay or roller, jewel like humming birds with their gorgeous plumage all are a joy to the eye. There is no country like India for the bird watcher. The cuckoos or *koel* with their peculiar calls, of which the hawk cuckoo or brain fever bird, the harbinger of the hot weather, is best known, are heard in hill and plain. Cranes are common, the most interesting being the graceful *sarus* crane, while storks and ibis are also found. Weaver birds, with their remarkable nests and habits, are peculiar to India.

Game birds are in profusion, pheasants of gorgeous plumage in the hills, the *chikor* or hill partridge, grey and black partridge, sandgrouse, quail and snipe and green pigeon. Of aquatic birds, the duck include the mallard, wigeon, pochard, teal and the ruddy sheldrake or Brahminy duck. Wild geese in wedge-like flights outlined against the evening sky, are sights never to be forgotten. Water birds of different kinds are to be found beside every stream and lake. Pigeons and doves are everywhere, and swallows, larks, babblers and warblers, crows and ravens, starlings and mynahs are well distributed. Many of these birds are winter visitors, especially the duck and wild geese, which do not breed in India, and the quail. Owls and vultures, hawks and falcons also add to the variety. The peacock, the ' Indian bird ' with its splendid plumage must not be forgotten.

Minerals

Coal is found in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and in Central India. Petroleum fields exist in Assam and the Punjab, but neither of these in sufficient quantities to meet the rising demands of industry, and the water power of the great rivers is being more and more utilised for hydro-electric power shemes. Iron ore and manganese, copper, wolfram and bauxite are also found and are being further developed, and other important minerals exist. Gold and diamond workings were in existence in very early times, and the gold fields of south India are still important. Salt is still a Government monopoly. The quarries of India produce stone of varying quality for building purposes and for roads and cement. The red sandstone quarries which supplied the Mughul builders and the marble for the facing of their tombs and palaces still exist, while the quarries of Chunar still supply a very useful building stone. The ordinary stone is not very satisfactory and the ' kankar ' or road metal is mostly poor. From the earliest times bricks have been used mainly for building in place of stone, and brick clay is every-

where available. In the hills slate is found but not of very good quality, and tiles over a framework of bamboo rafters are used in the plains for roofing. The lack of a really satisfactory stone makes the work of Indian sculptors with the poor material available all the more remarkable.

Climate

As may be imagined there is no one India climate. The north has cold winters but summers of the highest temperatures in the world. The southern portion has no real cold season, but the summers do not reach the temperature of the northern plains. The south-west monsoon strikes India in June and gives a rainfall of about 60 inches in the sub-Himalayan tracts to about 39 in the Ganges plain and about 30 in the Deccan plateau, but very little in Sind. There are of course great extremes from 250 inches in parts of the Western Ghats to astronomical figures at Cheerapungi in Assam. Madras, which gets little from the south-west monsoon, has a monsoon of its own, the north-east monsoon, in October to December. Winter rains also occur in the north. There are two harvests, the *rabi* harvest in March and April, mostly grain crops, and the *kharif* autumn crop in October onwards consisting of the pulses rice, sugar-cane etc., while in some parts there is a catch crop in between.

The Races of India

In the caves and river drifts have been found traces of very early man, and in the Siwaliks bones of an even earlier tree dweller, being of a type which does not seem to have developed, for the types of early man so far found in India are of immigrant races. The first-comers seem to have been a Negroid race originally from Africa. These have left little trace behind. A Mediterranean race followed and this spread onwards into Polynesia and finally as far as Australia. The next influx was also of Mediterranean origin and formed the nucleus of that Dravidian culture which spread over the sub-continent and still remains as the basis of the population. Finally came the Aryans also from the west.

The great barriers which have kept India almost a land apart were, it will be noticed, no bar to these early movements of peoples. The Himalayas in the north extending for 1,500 miles with an average depth of from 150 to 200 miles and an average height of 20,000

feet did indeed prevent any large infiltration, and this is borne out by the comparatively small admixture of Mongoloid characteristics in the population except in the high valleys of Kashmir, Nepal, Kumaon and Assam. In Bengal the larger Mongolian element is accounted for by the lower ranges on the east. The Naga, Chin and Lushai hills steep and jungle covered have however formed a considerable barrier even there. On the west and north-west the mountain barriers of the Hindu Kush and the lower ranges bordering on Sind have not in fact been the obstacle which might have been expected, as they are pierced by several passes, of which the Khyber is the chief, through which all the great invasions of India have been made until the coming of the Europeans from the sea.

Mohenjodaro and Harappa

Historians used to believe that the first civilized men in India came from without in the form of wandering tribes of the great Aryan family, who were the ancestors of Hindu civilization. But recently traces were discovered in the Indus Valley of a very early and advanced civilization much older than the Aryan and a totally different kind of culture from that of the pastoral flock-masters that the early Aryans were. From comparisons with the culture of Mesopotamia and other indications this civilization goes back to 3000 B.C.

The sites of Mohenjodaro in Sind on the lower Indus, and Harappa in the Montgomery district in the Punjab, have been excavated and show that these early Indians lived in well-planned brick-built cities with comfortable houses which had bathrooms and water supplies, good drainage, much more advanced than many Indian towns to-day. They lived on meat and fish, and grew wheat and barley. The buffalo, camel, elephant, and deer were known to them and they used carts, but whether drawn by oxen or horses is not clear ; apparently the use of the horse was not known to them, and there is no sign of dogs either. They had copper weapons, bows and arrows, spears and axes and slings, but apparently no swords. They also used gold and silver, and ornaments of semi-precious stones like agate and also of bone and ivory and shells ; while the children had toys made of baked clay, little carts, dolls, rattles, and whistles. Pottery was turned on the potter's wheel, clothes were of cotton and wool. Large numbers of seals have been found on which are engraved the

most life-like pictures of animals, especially the humped-bull, buffaloes, tigers, monkeys, and deer. These seals have inscriptions in an unknown writing which has signs for syllables instead of for letters. We do not yet know how to read this writing, but scholars are trying to find the key to it. They were skilled sculptors too, and some beautiful figures have been found showing how skilled they were in this art.

As to their religion, they seem to have worshipped a Mother Goddess like so many of the early peoples, and there is also a three-headed god who may have been Siva, afterwards adopted into the Hindu religion. They buried their dead, though sometimes they burnt them. This civilization is like the civilization of the Mesopotamian river-valleys, and may of course be an extension of it. Time may show that it extended to the Ganges Valley too. Enough has been found to show that the people of this Indus Valley culture were very advanced in the decencies of life, and we can imagine them as a great kingdom or several kingdoms of merchants—for they appear to have traded with the great river civilizations of Mesopotamia as well as with other countries—a people who lived in cities, unlike the early Aryans who lived in villages, and were more civilized than any of their successors for hundreds of years.

What happened to them we do not know. They vanished away. The Aryans when they came do not seem to have found any big cities, and the people they fought against were uncivilized barbarians with no trace of the culture of these cities. Certainly all remembrance of it had vanished away at the time when the hymns of the Rigveda were composed, that is if any great culture can ever be said to vanish entirely. If the Indus Valley culture came from outside, the Aryans who also came from without could not have entirely escaped contact with it on their journey through the countries where a similar culture flourished. The theory that it was an Indian-born culture goes against the existing weight of evidence, but it is unwise to hazard too much on the, comparatively speaking, little evidence which the archaeologists' spade has yet uncovered. India is still almost a virgin field for the archaeologist, and great discoveries perhaps yet remain to be unearthed by her own scholars. One recent discovery of what seems almost certainly to be a citadel shows that these towns were organised for defence at any rate, and that they were not inhabited by the unwarlike merchants earlier investigators had rather taken for granted.

Chapter II

THE ARYANS

The ancestors of the people who live in India in modern times are of course not all Aryans. They are a mixture as all nations are. The Aryans who came from outside and brought their language and their customs, their religious ideas and their culture, to spread over the whole of the Indian continent were not numerous enough to conquer and dominate the whole country. They spread their culture over it by various means, by conquest, undoubtedly by intermarriage with the peoples they found there already, and by the superiority of their religious ideas, as shown in the Vedas, to the somewhat cruel and primitive ideas already in use. The existing inhabitants adopted this morally superior religion and language, while the Aryan invaders in turn took over some of the arts and comforts, trade, and advanced discoveries of the races like those who have left their traces in the Indus Valley.

Of course all this took a very long time ; how long we cannot really say, but there are certain indications to help us. It used to be the custom to depict the Aryans as coming into India at a very early period in the history of the world. This was the result of treating Indian history as a thing apart, uninfluenced by world events. This view is not borne out by archaeology. The discovery of the civilization of the Indus Valley, which was not an Aryan civilization, showed that during the time of its existence there was no trace of Aryans in India. As this civilization seems to have lasted from at least 3000 B.C. to about 2000 or later, the Aryans could not have reached India before the latter date.

Where the original homeland of the Aryans was we do not know for certain. It was a land where herds of cattle could live, not a hot land and obviously a high grassy land of grazing and of rivers. The original land of the Aryans might have been in the great plains of south-eastern Europe from which the different branches began to break away, the Celts and Teutons to the west, the Greeks to the south, the Latins to the south-west, and the branch which ultimately went to India to the east. For the Aryans represent all those who speak the Aryan languages, Sanskrit and Greek, Zend and Latin, Teutonic and Celtic.

These great movements of whole peoples took centuries, and we can trace the passage of that branch of the Aryans who came to India.

There was about 1500 B.C. a great movement of the peoples in the north of the present Balkans and all along Asia Minor. The Aryan Greeks began the raids which ultimately gave them the whole of Greece, and the old civilizations of Crete and Minos and Troy gave way before them. An Egyptian inscription of the time refers to movement through all the shores of the Mediterranean—'the isles were restless.' Those remarkable people, the Children of Israel, were moving from the desert against Palestine, and the old empires were troubled by a surging of the peoples. In an inscription found in the great Hittite Empire of Asia Minor there is mention of Vedic gods, which may be taken to mean that the Aryan invasion was at that time moving towards the Hindu Kush and India. If the Indus Valley civilization disappeared about 1500 B.C., that gives the earliest date for the first onslaught of the invading tribes.

The Vedas

The Vedas are among the earliest, if not the earliest, of all known literatures. They consisted of one very ancient collection of poems, hymns to the gods, known as the Rigveda composed by different people at widely different times and not written down till much later. They are not simple poems, but literary compositions of great skill and beauty which could not have been composed by any but educated men and women. They are religious in tone and meant for religious worship, and only a few are not connected with worship. Besides the Rigveda there is the Samaveda, the Yajuraveda, and the Atharvaveda. It is the Rigveda, however, which is important, as it shows not only the stage of literature to which the Aryans had advanced so early, but also gives some idea of the life lived by the people of that time.

Early Aryan Civilization

What can we learn from the Vedas, or rather from the hymns of the Rigveda, about the kind of life the early Aryans lived? Not as much as we should like, of course, but still we do get some idea of this people. First as to their religion. It was a form of

nature worship, that is worship of the powers of nature like Agni or Fire and the great god of the thunder, Indra, who was also the god of battles, and Varuna the Sky, while Surya the Sun is also the object of several hymns, and Ushas the Dawn who inspires one beautiful invocation.

USHAS *

Bright leader of glad sounds she shines effulgent ;
  Widely she has unclosed for us her portals.
Pervading all the world she shows us riches :
  Dawn has awakened every living creature.

Men lying on the ground she wakes to action ;
  Some rise to seek enjoyment of great riches,
Some seeing little, to behold the distant ;
  Dawn has awakened every living creature.

One for dominion, and for fame another ;
  Another is aroused for winning greatness ;
Another seeks the goal of varied nurture ;
  Dawn has awakened every living creature.

Daughter of heaven, she has appeared before us,
  A maiden shining in resplendent raiment.
Thou sovereign lady of all earthly treasure,
  Auspicious Dawn, shine here to-day upon us.

The path of those that have gone by she follows,
  The first of endless dawns to come hereafter.
The living at her rising she arouses ;
  The dead she never wakens from their slumber.

Some of these hymns show a moral attitude which is the basis of the later theological and philosophical teaching of the Hindu systems of ethics and philosophy. Of course these collections have been greatly added to in the course of centuries, but there is a nucleus of high spiritual thought which is remarkable for that early period in the world's development. The metres of the hymns are such as would not have been expected in such early literature. They are difficult and show a high standard of skill and learning. Extracts from two more are given here :

* This and the following translations are from *Sanskrit Literature*, by A. A. Macdonell (Heineman).

HYMN OF CREATION

Not-being then existed not nor being ;
There was no air, nor sky that is beyond it.
What was concealed ? Wherein ? In whose protection ?
And was there deep unfathomable water ?

Death then existed not nor life immortal ;
Of neither night nor day was any token.
By its inherent force the One breathed windless ;
No other thing than that beyond existed.

Darkness there was at first by darkness hidden ;
Without distinctive marks, this all was water.
That which, becoming, by the void was covered,
That One by force of heat came into being.

Who knows for certain ? Who shall here declare it ?
Whence was it born, and whence came this creation ?
The gods were born after this world's creation ;
Then who can know from whence it has arisen ?

None knoweth whence creation has arisen ;
And whether he has or has not produced it ;
He who surveys it in the highest heaven,
He only knows, or haply he may know not.

FUNERAL PRAYER

Depart, O Death, along the farthest pathway,
Which is thine own, not that by mortals trodden.
I speak to thee that hast both eyes and hearing :
Do not our offspring injure nor our heroes.

From the dead hand I take the bow he wielded,
To win for us dominion, might and glory.
Thou there, we here, rich in heroic offspring,
Will vanquish all assaults of every foeman.

Approach the bosom of the earth, the mother,
This earth, the far extending, most propitious :
Young, soft as wool to bounteous givers, may she
Preserve thee from the lap of dissolution.

Wide open, earth, O press not heavily on him ;
Be easy of approach to him, a refuge safe ;
As with a robe a mother hides
Her son, so shroud this man, O earth.

The life depicted in the hymns is simple and unpretentious. We read of a pastoral people with herds of cattle, but who also grew wheat and barley and so were agriculturists and not mere wandering tribes, though, of course, this may be a later development. They lived on meat and milk and fruit but apparently were largely vegetarian. They ate the flesh of the sacrifice and drank the *soma*, the juice of some plant not identified, which was also especially offered to the gods. They buried or burnt their dead.

Their weapons included the sword, and they used the horse and the chariot for fighting. Unlike the people of the Indus Valley culture they used armour, but it is not clear whether they knew of iron. Bronze weapons were apparently unknown in Vedic India, and they went straight from the Copper Age to the Iron Age. Besides using chariots for fighting they had chariot races, and music and dancing were among their amusements. Apparently the beautiful art of the Indus Valley period was lost, and they did not know of silver until much later.

They were, owing to their life, dwellers in villages and not in towns, and they were ruled by kings who like most early kings seem to have been controlled to some extent by the assemblies of the older men. The kings were the generals in war, but it is not known what power they had in peace. They were certainly not autocrats. The priests held considerable power, and as time went on the very complicated rituals of worship made them more and more powerful as the holders of this important knowledge, the only persons who could address the gods in the proper way. This was the beginning of the later superiority of the Brahman, though at this time there was no caste as such, its elaborate organization being a much later development. Women were greatly respected and there was no child marriage.

The references in their literature to the original inhabitants of the land are confusing now that we know of the existence of the cities of the Indus Valley culture. There is no mention of them at all; the enemy are Dasyus—'black,' and are also referred to as *anasah*—'noseless,' apparently meaning that they had the flat Dravidian type of nose. The Dasyus lived in jungle villages and are referred to as uncivilized barbarians.

But though there were settlements of whole tribes who had moved in with their flocks and their herds, their wives and their children, there must have been other settlements on a different plan. The bands of young warriors who were the advanced

guard of these hosts went alone without their women and settled far from the parent colonies, and for wives took the maidens of the peoples they conquered. Here was a different form of settlement. But all this took hundreds of years. We must not think of the Aryan invasion of India as taking place in a moment of time. First, as the Rigveda shows, the Punjab was gradually occupied. It was not till much later that the Ganges Plain was reached and the tide of settlement and of new ideas, for ideas were as great a part of the Aryan invasion as anything, gradually and slowly spread along the river-valleys to the eastern sea. The Vindhya range with its thickly wooded mass was a great, and, at that early time, an insuperable barrier to the spread of Aryan invasion, and it was not till much later that the language and religious ideas spread by Brahman missionaries reached the south. The south was quite different in race and language from the north, and remained untouched by Aryan conquest or Aryan racial admixture. Even the Aryavarta—the Punjab—was Aryan mainly in ideas and speech, for the Aryans are and always were a mixture of peoples speaking the same or kindred languages. Thus it was Aryan ideas which primarily settled the country and not an Aryan race. Only the ruling classes, kings and warriors and priests would be of Aryan race. In this is to be found an explanation of the problem of caste, but this is not the place to develop it. The later Vedas show the centre of Aryavarta tending towards the Ganges Plain. The associated prose literature known as Brahmanas and Upanishads is later than the Vedas proper, and shows how the religious ideas developed and the different branches of knowledge grew in importance.

Social Life

How did these early Indians dress? They had generally two or three garments made of wool, as at this time they did not know of the use of cotton, and the cotton textiles used in the time of the Indus Valley people had been forgotten. They also used the skin of wild beasts in the cold of the hills or in winter. The garments were a kilt or *dhoti* and often the men wore nothing else, but there was also a garment worn over the shoulders and a tunic-like garment reaching to the feet. The clothes of the nobles and the rich were decorated with ornamentation or embroidered with gold. They wore jewellery, bracelets and necklaces and ear-rings, and women wore anklets as well. The women plaited

their hair and perfumed it with oil, while the men often coiled their long hair on their heads. They shaved, but also wore beards, and garlands of flowers were worn on festive occasions. Slavery existed. Women held a position of importance and could apparently inherit property. They were married when of a proper age and not as children.

The Epics

In the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* we get a very different picture. These two famous poems were written in a Sanskrit very different from the difficult Vedic type of the early Vedas and, as we now have them, are much later than the times to which they refer.

The *Ramayana* is, as its name shows, the story of the exploits of Rama, son of the King of Ayodhya, who was exiled through the jealousy of his stepmother Kaikeyi, and with his wife Sita and his brother Lakshmana wandered through the wilds until Sita was abducted by the King of Ceylon, Ravana, and recovered with the help of the god Hanuman, and Rama finally restored to his throne at Ayodhya.

Valmiki is stated to have been the author of the epic, which was altered and added to considerably by subsequent writers. The story it tells is not history, but we can draw from it an idea of how the Aryans developed after their conquest of the Middle country and how they lived. In the writings known as the Brahmanas and in the later Vedas the passage of the Aryans from the Punjab to Kurukshetra and eastward is shown, and the capital of the Kurus is Asandivat, later known as Hastinapura, the ancient city near Meerut. Another power is the Panchalas who had their capital city in later days at Ahichchatra near the modern Budaun. The kingdom of Kosala, which was much the same in extent as Oudh to-day, was also in existence, and it was the capital of this kingdom which was the Ayodhya from which Rama came.

The *Mahabharata* is a collection of stories by various authors composed over a period of time extending to many centuries. Some of it is very ancient. The main part is an account of the great war between the Kurus and Pandavas. The Kurus were under the leadership of Duryodhana and the Pandavas were led

by Yudhishthira. The peoples who were included in the Pandava army were from the Madhyadesa, while the Kurus were from the Punjab, the Himalayas, and part of Bihar and Bengal. A great battle on the plain of Kurukshetra around Thanesar, where so many decisive battles of India have been fought, resulted in the destruction of both armies, and the few survivors made friends and founded the kingdom of Hastinapura. Later the five Pandavas and their wife Draupadi wandered through the Himalayas to Mount Meru, and at last were admitted to Indra's abode above. The Himalayan foothills of Kumaon and Garhwal are full of legends of their wanderings.

Other tales are included in the *Mahabharata*, like that of Nala and Damayanti; the story of Sakuntala and that of Savitri; and the wonderful episode of the Bhagvad-Gita. All these of course are of different dates. The history here is very difficult to establish. These are poets' tales about the dim and distant past, with here and there real happenings and probably real names. Indraprastha, the city of the Pandavas, an early city on the site of Delhi, was a real place and the centre of a real kingdom, while Hastinapura is sufficiently established as the chief city of a strong power. Recently excavations have revealed signs of early occupation.

The traditional annals called the Puranas, especially the Vayu Purana, give lists of kings who reigned in these early days. They were however written at a much later date and we are unable to say how far these lists correspond to actual kings. One thing that is clear however is that the kingdoms were not great empires but small in extent, and that they were engaged in continuous fighting against one another.

Somewhere about this time the Aryans were pushing up to the hills to the north, and founding Aryan kingdoms which lasted for many centuries, and they certainly worked their way along the foot of the hills to the east, reaching Tirhut at a comparatively early time. There are all kinds of theories, but we should be careful to keep to what can be regarded as likely, and not invent stories which only make the very vague knowledge we have more uncertain.

We can however put together a picture of what the Aryans had now become. It is very different from the world of the Vedas. The old Vedic gods decline in importance, and Brahma, Vishnu and Siva are now the chief, while other gods like Ganesa and the goddess Parvati have taken a prominent place. The old



Plate 1 Bust from Mohenjodaro (*c.* 2400–2000 B.C.)
(copyright, Department of Archaeology, New Delhi)



Plate 2a Seals from Mohenjodaro : *left* rhinoceros ; *right* so-called unicorn
(copyright, Department of Archaeology, New Delhi)



Plate 2b *left* Dancer from Harappa (copyright, Department of Archaeology, New Delhi) :
right Poros medal (see page 33) in the British Museum

Vedic tribes had vanished, and in their places was a large number of local kingdoms with important capital cities around which they were grouped. Besides Hastinapura and the kingdom of the Panchalas, there was Kosala with its capital Ayodhya, Kasi, the modern Benares, and Videha with its capital Mithila—while Kausambi, near Allahabad, was very early on an important capital.

Early Kingdoms

The Parikshitas were an early dynasty at Hastinapura founded by a King Parikshit. His son Janamejaya captured Taxila, which was an important city of the Punjab and remained famous for many centuries. This line of kings removed their capital to Kausambi near Allahabad, showing that the kingdom of the Kurus was not as small as the others seemed to have been, or else that they had been driven out of their former kingdom.

Next we hear of rivalry between the kingdoms of Videha and Kasi. Janaka is recorded as the great King of Videha and his rival at Kasi was Ajatasatru, a great patron of learning. This kingdom was obviously powerful and wealthy for a time, but it indulged in wars with its neighbour Kosala with varying fortunes, once conquering it completely, but finally being itself conquered and absorbed. Kosala had many large towns, such as Ayodhya, still a centre of religious respect, Saheth-Maheth with its interesting and still little-known ruins hidden in the jungles of Bahraich, and Sravasti whose site appears to be in the district of Basti.

The South

Little has been said about the history of the south, because hardly anything is known about it. The old idea used to be that the inhabitants of the south were connected with the aboriginals whom the early Aryans fought against, the Dasyus with the snub noses. It is clear however that the south had a very early and a very advanced civilization of its own, and that at a time when the Aryans were uncertainly essaying the treacherous rivers of the Punjab in dug-out canoes and had no knowledge of ships and navigation, the people of the south were pushing out into the seas east of them, in the beginnings of those sea voyages which led later to the foundation of Indian colonies and settlements on the coasts of Burma and Malaya. To the Aryan the sea was a



Map 1 India, 600–500 B.C.

breaker of caste, and this stood between them and sea adventure till later times. The inhabitants of the extreme south went on with their own civilization and their own lives quite uninfluenced by Aryan ideas. Dravidians, as they are called, were not Aryans and their languages had no Aryan trace. Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam, and Kanarese are the main languages. Of these Tamil has a very fine literature of its own, as indeed has Telegu. This ancient literature has no trace of any Aryan influence. Later of course when Sanskrit and the Hindu religion were brought south by Brahman missionaries this changed, and the languages were considerably influenced by Sanskrit forms and diction. With this came the caste system and the Brahmanical supremacy, but this took a long time and was not caused by conquest or by bands of Aryan adventurers as in the north. The old Dravidian alphabet had nothing to do with Sanskrit. The south seems to have been a country of wealthy cities with a trade in gold, pearls, pepper, and cotton goods, while the diamond mines were worked very early. With it was connected the fabulous island of Lanka (Ceylon), also a place from which choice spices and other valuable merchandise was exported. Perhaps there was some connection between this advanced civilization and the earlier civilization of the Indus Valley, which the very earliest bands of scouting Aryans may conceivably have wiped out, for it was a civilization of merchants and not of warriors. However, at the time we are now speaking about the south was not known at all to the Hindus of Aryavarta, though the Aryans had penetrated as far as the modern Berar where they set up a strong kingdom, Vidarbha, in the Deccan. There is also Kalinga which was apparently an Aryan outpost. These would not have been reached by crossing the Vindhyas, but when the eastern sea had been reached there was an easy way round their flank.

Caste

The institution of caste is essentially the product of this age. We do not find any real signs of it in the Vedic age, but when we come to the age of the epics and the Middle land it is becoming well established. It is the most remarkable social organization known to the world and is unlike anything found elsewhere. There have been various explanations of why it was made a part of Hindu organization. First there is the explanation that it depended originally on colour (*varna*), i.e. it was meant to

distinguish the fair Aryans from the dark aboriginals, and to keep the Aryan race pure and unpolluted from admixture with the enemy. This explanation would perhaps be worthy of belief if there were only two castes, but there are many. So it can hardly be accepted.

Another popular explanation is that it began as a simple division of the people into different occupations. The Brahman was the priest, the interpreter of God to man, and the preserver of the religious rituals ; the Kshatriya was the warrior, both ruler and fighter ; the Vaisya the trader and agriculturist ; and finally the Sudras or labourers. But this is the ordinary division of a population into classes which is not confined to India, and does nothing to explain the large number of castes.

It has been suggested that caste was gradually evolved by the Brahmans to maintain their own superiority, and that as they drew up rules of ceremonial purity and refused to marry with non-Brahmans, the other classes of the population in self-defence copied this exclusiveness and formed castes of their own. This was at first a vague feeling and there was no great reluctance to allow foreigners to enter the castes, especially the Sakas and Kushans and the foreign invaders of India subsequent to the Aryans, who we know were taken into the Kshatriya caste. Indeed the modern Rajput has been considered to be to a very large extent a descendant of those foreign hordes which vexed north-west India up to the sixth century A.D. But at some time there must have come a hardening of the rules, and the castes became hermetically sealed communities into which there was no entrance save by birth.

It has been suggested with some appearance of probability that it was when the Brahman superiority was threatened by Buddhism and Jainism that this change took place. It was indeed a life and death struggle, and Brahmanism only survived by the most determined and most self-sacrificing measures.

Whatever its origin, caste is Hinduism and more than anything else has been responsible for its survival and stability. It preserved it when threatened by the great religion of Muhammad, a religion which has had attractions, owing to its purity and noble teaching, and especially from its principle of equality, for a large proportion of the human race. It has restrained the Hindus from adopting in any large numbers that other great religion of the world, Christianity, with its ethical grandeur and lessons of humility, reinforced by the prestige of being the religion of the

nation which has ruled India since the decay of the Mughul Empire. It is not only a religious but a social force and, while separating Hindus among themselves, has presented an unbroken front to all other religions and all other ways of life. If caste were to go there is little doubt that much of Hinduism would go also. It is the cement which binds the different schools of thought together.

Chapter III

FROM BUDDHA TO ALEXANDER THE GREAT

What we have so far been reading about is all somewhat uncertain and unreal, but we now come to two great figures, Mahavira and Buddha, who were real living people. There is a large amount of Buddhist and Jain chronicles and writings which give us very vivid pictures of these great teachers, and on reading them we feel that at last we are getting to firm ground in the uncertain and shifting legends of the earlier part of the history of India.

Both these great figures lived at the time when the kingdom of Magadha was rising to greatness, and were contemporary with Bimbisara and Ajatasatru. They were both members of ruling families—not unknown or humble preachers of a new religion, but men who were accustomed to mix with princes and deal as equals with reigning monarchs. It seems that there had been for some time a feeling that the religion of the priests was something separate from the life of the common people, and that the old doctrines, which had become lifeless and surrounded by meaningless ceremonial, were no longer sufficient to answer the questions and provide for the spiritual wants of an age which was growing out of the old answers of a priesthood which relied on ritual and was forgetting the spirit.

Mahavira

We will take first Vardhamana who took the religious name of Mahavira (the great hero) or Jina (the conqueror), and was the grandson of the king of Vaisali and cousin to Bimbisara of Magadha. His father belonged to the important Lichchhavi family. He was born, it is thought, about 538 B.C. and lived till he was over seventy. He gave up his wealth and high position and became an ascetic. When he was about forty he started to preach his new doctrines and formed orders of followers both male and female. These were those who had vowed to follow a religious life in accordance with his teaching and gave up everything for it. There were also lay brethren, both men and women, who, though they did not become monks and nuns,

followed the faith in their daily life. It is stated that both Bimbisara and Ajatasatru obeyed his teaching. The central principle of the teaching of Mahavira was the ideal of *ahimsa* which taught that all life was sacred and must not be injured. All nature, including animals, plants, rocks, and trees, have souls (jiva). There was no supreme deity and no universal soul.

It must not be thought that the intention of either Mahavira or Buddha was to deny the Hindu conception of religion. They accepted the teaching of the Vedas as binding. Caste they did not actually try to deny, but in their own orders they did not recognize it. The Jainism of Mahavira never went so far as Buddhism did as a reforming religion, and Jains count themselves still as Hindus—indeed to-day they are outwardly little more than another Hindu caste, but their ideas had a great influence on Hindu religion. Later they divided into two main sects with different scriptures or holy writings, the Swetambara or white-robed and the Digambar Jains, sky-clad or naked.

Buddha

That noble soul who was afterwards to be called the Buddha, the Enlightened One, was born sometime earlier than Mahavira, if the date 563 B.C. is accepted, founded a religion and not a sect, and has exerted his influence over a great portion of the human race. He was the son of a noble of the Sakyas—hence his name Sakyamuni ' the sage of the Sakya,' and his father was a raja in part of the territory of Kosala, where he was born in the *terai* between the present district of Basti and Nepal at Lumbini. Siddhartha as he was named was a Kshatriya, and was brought up, as young princes of that age were, with all the refinements of wealth and luxury at Kapilavastu. He is reported to have been shielded from all evil and not to have been allowed to know that poverty, disease, and death existed. In this state of happiness he married a beautiful and gentle princess and had a son. Then his eyes were opened and he began to realize that the world was a place of sorrow and toil, cruelty and disease. The legends tell us how he was introduced to these truths of human existence, and how he felt it was his destiny to try and remedy them in some way. He left his luxurious palace, his beautiful wife and his little son, and tried to find out some cure for the evils of life. For a time he lived the life of an ascetic at Gaya and tried to find salvation by the usual ascetic tortures of

the body, but in vain. This was not the road to salvation. But during this time he had made for himself a philosophy of life and an explanation of existence which he felt would satisfy mankind, so he now set off on the most important part of his life, his preaching. It was at Sarnath in the Deer Park, where to-day we find those noble remains of Buddhist *stupas*, that he started his sermons. There his five first disciples joined him. This was the origin of his order of *Bhikshus*, the Buddhist *Sangha*. For over forty years he continued to preach. He preached at Kausambi, the great city near Allahabad, and again at Sankissa near Farrukhabad. Finally at the age of eighty he died at Kusinagara —identified with Kasia, near Gorakhpur. It is round this area that the main events of his life were enacted : his birth at the Lumbini gardens—his preaching at Sarnath and his death at Kusinagara. Indeed the Buddha is especially closely connected with the United Provinces, and all who can should go and see the museum at Sarnath where his images are preserved, and the site of the Deer Park where he preached his first sermon, and if possible the Buddhist remains at Kasia, with the large recumbent image of the great teacher, where thousands of Buddhist pilgrims come every year from Tibet and Ceylon, Siam, Burma, China, and even Japan, where his teaching is still revered. The teaching of Buddha is preserved in countless Buddhist scriptures written in Pali and also in Buddhist Sanskrit, the successor of classical Sanskrit.

Buddhism has now almost entirely disappeared from India, but it has spread instead over a large part of the eastern world and has largely influenced the philosophy and ethics of Hinduism itself. He preached the Noble Eightfold Path, as it was called by him, right belief, right thought, right speech, right action, right means of livelihood, right effort, right remembrance, and right meditation. Truth-telling, purity, respect for animal life like the Jains, and proper respect to one's superiors were also insisted on. His doctrine aimed at breaking the everlasting circle of existence. The doctrine of *karma* was accepted, but right living would ultimately bring the pure soul to *nirvana*. Hindu gods were accepted, and in later Buddhism these became more important. He did not teach asceticism, and laymen and women could attain *nirvana* without following the extreme vocation of the monks and nuns of the *Sangha*. They were to follow the middle way between asceticism and worldliness. It was not a new religion, but a new interpretation of religion in which conduct

rather than belief, works rather than faith, were the supreme test. Buddha was a man, but his followers elevated him into a divinity, and the Buddhism of to-day worships him as divine. This is the Mahayana school of teaching, the Greater Vehicle as it is called, as opposed to the Hinayana or the Lesser Vehicle.

Buddhism spread slowly, and it was not until it was accepted by the great Asoka who became its greatest missionary that it was anything more than the religion of a small sect. It is said that the followers of Mahavira when he died were only 14,000, so too Buddha's followers were not numerous at first. They spread as a result of Asoka's acceptance of Buddhism.

Tribes and Kingdoms

One of the interesting developments in this very early period of Indian history, is the existence of many communities which were not ruled over by kings at all, but by a body or assembly of the leading men. These have been called republics, but they were not what we mean by republics to-day where all members of the state have a real share in the government. They were ruled over by the few and resemble what the Greeks called oligarchies, where the power was in the hands of the rich or leading men—the few, not the many. Videha, which we have mentioned before as a kingdom, got rid of its king and joined a confederation of tribes called the Vajjis. Other tribes who belonged to this confederation included the influential Lichchhavis, of whom we shall hear again. Other republican tribes were the Mallas, and the Panchalas who had once been a great kingdom in the very early times and were to be a kingdom again, as the coins show.

At and around Mathura in the modern United Provinces were the Surasenas. The kingdom of the Vatsas with its capital at Kausambi had a port at Bhita on the Jumna close to Allahabad. The most famous king of this kingdom was Udayana, a great but almost legendary hero. Ujjain was even at this early time the capital of an important state which was known as Avanti. The state however which was most important was Magadha, which covered part of the modern Bihar. The history of Magadha at this time is concerned first with its struggles with its eastern neighbour Anga, with its capital at Champa and later with Kosala and then Avanti. The king whom we first hear of as really powerful was the founder of a new dynasty, Bimbisara.

He must have reigned between 540 and 490 B.C. He was a contemporary of Buddha and is reported to have shown much favour to the Buddhists. He was succeeded by his son Ajatasatru, who added to the kingdom by annexing Vaisali after a long war with it and its ally Kosala. The capital of the kingdom was Rajagriha, but in the time of Ajatasatru's successors it was moved to what became Pataliputra. The life of the dynasty was not, according to tradition, very quiet and few of its kings ended their days in bed. Finally they became unpopular and were replaced by another dynasty known as the Saisanaga dynasty, from Saisanaga the name of the first king of this line, who had been governor of Kasi and minister to the last ruler. During his reign the power of the kingdom of Avanti was overthrown. This line of kings ended about the beginning of the fourth century B.C. with the murder of the king by the founder of the Nanda dynasty.

The Nandas

The Nandas are a somewhat mysterious family. There are said to have been nine of them, but it is possible that they were not 'nine' but 'new,' as the last kings of the Saisanaga dynasty had names ending in Nanda. The first Nanda was Mahapadma. He is said to have been the son of a barber who murdered the king and seized the throne. According to other accounts he was the king's son by a Sudra mother. The Nanda who was ruling when Alexander invaded India is called by the Greeks Agrammes or Xandrames. This has been identified as the Dhana Nanda mentioned in the Puranas. He was obviously a very powerful king, and from Greek sources we know he was wealthy and had a great army. The very orthodox scribes who wrote the Puranas did not approve of the Nandas, and it is possible that this is because they were Buddhists or Jains. At any rate the accounts are unfavourable and were possibly written by people who did not approve of their actions or religion or both.

Education

The literature which existed in early times in northern India could not have survived unless there had been teachers and students as there are to-day. The Vedas were taught to some at any rate of the boys of early India, especially as they were first handed down by word of mouth and so had to be learnt by heart.

We hear of forest schools where the students lived together learning from some great Rishi or sage. Later the Hindu system of life laid down the period of *brahmacharya* when the child had to leave his family and adopt the simple life of the student. Here he learnt the religious *mantras* which it was necessary he should know, and was taught to prepare for the future when he went into the world and undertook his duty as a householder. How far all children were taught we do not know. As time went on, however, the priestly caste of the Brahman grew more and more a caste apart, and there is little doubt that Brahman boys had to study, whatever boys of other castes did. Yet we know that in the time of the Mauryas writing was common, as contracts and trading agreements had to be written down and all officials had to be educated to deal with all the different regulations.

A large amount of literature grew up which was studied by students somewhere, as for example in the great universities at Taxila and Nalanda and elsewhere. The literature which was connected with the Vedas, namely the prose Brahamanas and the philosophical Upanishads, was certainly early, the former as early as 800 B.C. and the Upanishads not later than 600 B.C. Writing came to India certainly about the time of Darius the Great's invasion of 516 B.C., as the alphabet used was Semitic and came via Persia, and it may have come before.

The first schools in India were probably schools where the priests taught the secret rituals of the sacrifices. They were not open to all, and probably at no time was there anything in the nature of universal education. The Brahmans and perhaps the king's sons, though this is not essential, and the class from whom the officials were selected, would see to it that their children were educated. These schools were voluntary schools, and only those who wanted to, sent their children to study. But besides this there must have been centres of the type of university towns where scholars gathered round some great teacher and listened to his lectures. It was for such centres and such students that the Brahamanas and Upanishads were compiled, and later the Sutras or text-books on ceremonies and on law. Later were the Puranas, which included genealogies of kings and which give us the only history we have. All this was in Sanskrit and there was much written on the rules of grammar. Panini, the great authority on grammar, lived somewhere about the fifth or fourth century B.C., while Patanjali, who wrote commentaries on his great text-book, is thought to have lived in the time of the

Sungas. Asoka wrote his edicts in the tongue of the common people—Prakrit, a vernacular form of Sanskrit, and thus the language of the common people and that of the scholars were growing apart as early as this.

The Brahman schools were discussing and fixing the theology or philosophy of Hinduism. Before the time of Buddha the system of *Samkhya* had arisen. There had been other changes—as for instance the rise, apparently originally at Mathura, of the doctrine called *bakhti*, devotion to Krishna, which is expressed in that part of the *Mahabharata* called the *Bhagavadgita*. But this was not the education which the children had, nor did all children by any means follow the system of *Brahmacharya*, which was only meant for a special class.

Social Life

The life the people lived was changing from the simple life of the Vedic times. The king is supreme and has full power over the people. The nobles or Kshatriyas are a privileged order, which engages in fighting and regards itself as superior to the traders and common people. The Brahman was not so influential as he afterwards became, and apparently the royal family and the nobles were the most important element. The common people had few rights, except the merchants who protected themselves by guilds or associations to look after their affairs. The Sudras were regarded as non-Aryans and thus of little importance. Slavery existed as a definite condition, slaves were those captured in battle, those who had been sold for debt, and possibly those born slaves. Women seem to have lost some of the status they had in Vedic times and do not in the Sutras have the right to inherit property. The age of marriage had also gone down and there was child marriage, while the education of the Brahmans was as laid down according to the four *asrams* : brahmacharya (student), Grihastha (householder), vanaprastha (recluse), sannyasi (wandering mendicant). The education of the nobles and most of the others was probably very slight, perhaps no more than the ability to recite a few lines of a hymn. The civilization had become more advanced in some ways and coarser in others. Fighting was the chief glory and to die fighting was the best death. Widows were occasionally *sati* (burnt on their husband's funeral pyre), and if they lived they could not remarry and led a miserable existence. The right of the Kshatriya princess

to choose her husband by the *Swayamvara* ceremony shows that the women of the noble families had perhaps a greater independence. Next to war gambling was the great amusement, and this was a national pastime.

Alexander

It will be remembered that one branch of the Aryan family, in those far-off days when the original tribes or peoples broke away from their early home in the south of Europe, or wherever it was, was later known as the Greeks. The story of this great people is familiar to all, and how they fought against the Persians who tried to enslave them and defeated the armies of Darius the great king of Persia. Darius had spread his conquests over a great part of Asia, and had sometime after 516 B.C. occupied the Indus Valley. The whole of the country west of the Indus became part of the Persian Empire as the northern part, Gandhara, had been before. In Gandhara was the famous city of Taxila which had a great reputation as a centre of learning. How long the Indus Valley remained part of the Persian Empire we do not know, but at the coming of Alexander it was divided among a number of Indian kingdoms and tribes.

The civilization attained by the Greeks centred around the city states of Athens, Sparta, Corinth and Thebes in the fifth and fourth century before Christ, and reached the highest standard of any in the world at that time and in many respects afterwards. Their statesmen like the great Pericles of Athens, poets like Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripedes, philosophers like Plato and Aristotle have perhaps been equalled but never surpassed in after times.

By the fourth century, however, this civilization was changing, and the kingdom of Macedon, part of Greece indeed but not so advanced, gradually achieved supremacy under the king Philip. His son Alexander, one of the greatest generals the world has ever seen and a statesman whose work was cut short by his early death, succeeded to an established kingdom and the leadership of the whole of Greece. His tutor had been the great philosopher Aristotle, and he combined all the knowledge and culture of Greece with a military skill which has never been surpassed. His father Philip had organized his army into a fighting force, which used new tactics and was so well trained that nothing could stand up against it. Its main strength was the infantry who were

drawn up in a dense body called the phalanx, consisting of sixteen lines of spearmen which presented a bristling hedgehog of steel to any attack and which no enemy was able to break. This body when it advanced could break through any defence, and Alexander added to it bodies of heavy cavalry which charged on the rear or flanks of the enemy and broke them into inextricable confusion while his mounted archers added to the slaughter. These were the main part of Alexander's tactics in the field, but he added to it such an insight into problems of strategy that he became a world conqueror. No less careful was he of the service of supply which was necessary to keep his troops in the field on a campaign which started from the shores of Greece and ended at the extreme borders of the Punjab.

Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire and Egypt was not only a conquest of the armies in the field. He turned the Persian Empire into a new Hellenistic Empire which lasted nearly three hundred years, and the ideas and civilization he introduced lived on much longer—indeed till the coming of the Turks. If he had lived it is impossible to say what his influence over India would have been. As it was it did not cease with his death. The later expansion of the Bactrian Greeks into the Punjab, which they held for over a hundred years, was a direct consequence of his conquests and his settlements.

Alexander's invasion of India was a result of his attack and overthrow of the Persian Empire. This Empire had been a danger to Greece ever since the days of Darius the Great, when the great king tried to enslave that country of freemen and failed. The empire of the Persians had been falling from its greatness for a long time. It had lost its twentieth satrapy or province, the satrapy of India west of the Indus, and apparently the country of Gandhara with its capital city of Taxila, and had lost too the Parapamisadae, the country round the modern Afghanistan. The twentieth satrapy of India contributed to the Persian treasury a great sum of money every year as well as cotton goods, and even sent archers to serve Xerxes, the son of Darius, in his attempt to enslave Athens and the free Greek states.

By the time of Alexander's invasion, however, the Indus Valley and Gandhara had reverted to Indian rulers, and the mountain passes were held by wild and bellicose tribes who were a difficult obstacle to surmount. Taxila was the centre of an Indian kingdom ruled over by a powerful prince, and east of this was a powerful kingdom of a king who is called by the Greeks Poros,

possibly Paurava, not a name but the title of a dynasty. However that may be, there is no reference in the Puranas to any such name, and the most important ruler of the times was in the Ganges Plain where the dynasty of the Nine Nandas held sway. Here the king was known to the Greek writers as Agrammes or Xandrames, said to have been son of a barber. The latter may be the Greek attempt to render Nanda. His son according to one source was Ugrasena which might be rendered Agrammes. At any rate it was the Nanda dynasty which held the power in the Ganges Valley at this time.

It was another Darius that Alexander conquered, but a much lesser man than his ancestor. It was in 334 B.C. that Alexander began his campaign against Persia. At the battle of the Issus in 333 B.C. he scattered the Persians sufficiently to proceed south and conquer Egypt the following year, visiting Jerusalem on his way. He founded Alexandria in Egypt in 331 B.C., and returned to Persia to give the final blow to the Achaemenid dynasty which ended with the defeat and death of Darius.

He spent the next years till 327 B.C. in consolidating his conquest of the Persian Empire and setting up a government of Greeks and Persians, which held the conquests for Greek ideas and the Greek way of life for many centuries. It was the Hellenization of Asia. He then proceeded to attack Bactria, having first founded another Alexandria to the south—the present Ghazni. Then he crossed the Hindu Kush (Paropamisus) and set up yet another Alexandria in the Kabul Valley, and proceeded to make his communications safe by crushing the wild tribes of Swat and Bajaur. This took the year 327 B.C. and he made a very complete job of it. He could not let his communications be threatened by these robber tribes, and so he dealt with them as the frontier tribes have never been dealt with before or since. He advanced on India to avenge, he said, the help given by the Indians nearly two centuries before to the Persians in their attack on Greece.

He summoned the kings of the Indus Valley to meet him at another Alexandria, near the modern Kabul (Charikar). Sissikottos (Sasigupta), possibly king of that region, joined him, and the King of Taxila decided to follow his example, possibly because his neighbour Poros was already threatening him. But Alexander had made his rear secure and advanced on the Indus. He went through the Swat subduing the tribes as we have already mentioned. The most difficult of his attacks was that against a great

hill called by the Greeks Aornos, which cannot be identified with any certainty. The main body of his army had marched down to the Indus along the Kabul river and he joined them at Ohind above Attock. Thus began his invasion of India in the year 326 B.C., the first certain date we have in Indian history. The city of Taxila and its king Ambhi received them with great enthusiasm, and the Greeks have left accounts of the interesting things they saw. Even then apparently *sati* was practised as it was practised by the Northmen far to the west. Alexander inquired about the kings of the east, and was told about the Prasii and the Gangaridae, that is the kings of the east and the Ganges Valley.

He undoubtedly intended to advance to the sea of Bengal, but first he was met by an enemy nearer at hand. This was Poros, king of the land between the Hydasphes (Jhelum) and the Akesines (Chenab). He had apparently put himself at the head of a large confederation of princes of the Punjab kingdoms. It was at the beginning of the rains that Alexander advanced to meet him, and at first he found difficulty in crossing the flooded Hydasphes where Poros had collected his forces to oppose him. Poros' army is reported to have consisted of 30,000 footmen, about 4,000 cavalry, and 300 chariots, with 200 elephants. The Macedonian horse at first would not face the elephants, and the flooded nature of the country made an attack in the face of such force very difficult. Alexander ostentatiously collected stores as if he meant to sit down opposite the Indian army till the rains stopped. This state of affairs went on for some weeks. Then Alexander one dark night led a body of his best troops up the river, and where a wooded island screened his movements managed to get them across and formed into battle array before Poros got word. Poros' son with cavalry and chariots hurried up but could not stand against Alexander's famous Macedonian horse, who charged and routed them completely. The main body of Poros' army was then encountered. Alexander employed his favourite tactic—a holding advance by the phalanx in the centre and attacks by his heavily armoured cavalry on flanks and rear. At first the elephants held up the infantry, but before the determined attack of the phalanx they ultimately took fright, as elephants so often did, and they trampled on and threw into confusion their own ranks. It is said that the Indian archers who were expected to do great execution were handicapped by the state of the ground which was wet, and so the ends of the



Plate 3 A capital of a Mauryan pillar showing the Rampurva Bull (*c.* 3rd century B.C.) in the Indian Museum, Calcutta



Plate 4 A female figure with panniered dress, from Pataliputra (*c.* 2nd century B.C.) in the Patna Museum

great bows which they used and which were fired with one end resting on the ground slipped, and thus the archers could render little support. But it was the superior tactics of Alexander and the proved discipline of his men which won the day. Alexander found the answer to the use of elephants in the discipline of the phalanx. The Indians were brave fighters and fine big men who won the admiration of the Greeks. Poros on his elephant was conspicuous throughout the battle, but he could not win alone. The Greeks lost 1,000 men, but the Indian army had 15,000 killed and 9,000 taken prisoners.

Poros at last was persuaded to surrender on promise of good treatment. The story goes that Ambhi, or Taxiles as the Greeks called him, was sent to parley with him, but Poros flung his spear at him and refused to have any dealings with a traitor. It is however doubtful if there were any ideas of an Indian nationality so early. When brought before Alexander he stood tall and proud, though bleeding from nine deep wounds, and when asked how he expected to be treated made the famous answer, 'Like a king.' Alexander was much impressed by his courageous bearing and became his friend. His kingdom was extended and he became a ruler for Alexander.

That the Greeks considered this a very important victory is shown by the fact that a special gold medal has been found which Alexander may have made to commemorate the victory. On one side is a figure of a warrior with a thunderbolt who may be meant to represent Alexander, but more likely Zeus, and on the other is a Greek horseman attacking an elephant on which are two riders. Alexander built two towns to mark the site of the victory—one called Bucephala after his famous horse Bucephalus, which had borne him throughout the campaign and finally died of exhaustion here. This is supposed to be the site on which the present town of Jhelum is built.

After a rest the advance was continued, and after meeting with varied resistance from other kings and peoples he reached the Ravi (Greek Hydraotes) and met with great resistance at the city of Sangala, where it is stated 17,000 were slain and no less than 70,000 taken prisoner. Finally the army reached the Beas (Hyphasis) where at last his generals called a halt. The Greeks were worn out after eight years of intensive fighting during which they had conquered the greatest empire—the Persian—of the then known world, and had adventured farther than any army in history. Alexander had been planning to overcome the king-



Map 2 Alexander's March

doms of the Ganges Valley and reach the sea. Perhaps he thought of becoming emperor of India, and it is difficult to see what could have stopped him had he lived. Now after this preliminary reconnaissance he decided to lead his veterans back and leave the conquered Punjab to his Indian allies and the Greek cities he had founded.

Before he turned his face westwards, however, he set up twelve mighty stone altars to mark the limit of his advance. These altars long remained, and are reported to have been objects of veneration by the kings of India for many years after.

Alexander now determined to explore the Indus to the sea and reconnoitre another return route to his base at Babylon. On his return to his base on the Jhelum he found reinforcements awaiting him. He then collected a large number of ships and proceeded along the Jhelum until the junction with the Chenab. Ambhi had been left in charge of the country from the Jhelum to the Indus, and Poros was given charge of all the country west as far as the Sutlej. Philip, one of his generals, remained in charge of the trans-Indus country. The army marched in two divisions down the rivers, one on each side. There was considerable opposition in places, especially from a tribe or confederacy called the Malloi (Mallavas) on the lower Ravi. In this Alexander was wounded, but on his recovery the Malloi who had suffered severely submitted. They presented rich presents to Alexander, cotton goods, a large number of four-horsed chariots, shields, iron, tortoise-shell, and many lions and tigers. It is clear they were a very advanced and wealthy people. They are stated to have had, with their confederates, an army of 90,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 800 chariots. The numbers of the Greeks and their allies are stated to have been 120,000.* This shows that the exhausted army which had nearly mutinied on the Beas had been largely reinforced. At the junction of the Jhelum and the Indus a halt was made and another town founded, or probably the foundations traced out ; though possibly a garrison was left behind in all these towns Alexander founded. An interesting note is the statement that the ' Philosophers,' that is the Brahmans, were urging the people of the country which had submitted to rise and throw out the Greeks. The king of the country—probably Upper Sind—revolted and Alexander took a very stern vengeance. He felt, no doubt, that he must put down

* Plutarch. This must include the Indian contingents and also the camp followers, for Alexander could not have had more than 30,000 Greeks in India at any time.

treachery or patriotism (whichever it might be called) with a heavy hand, and the king of the country and many of the Brahmans were executed.

In the hot weather of 325 B.C. the army reached Pattala, where the Indus delta began ; Krateros with the heavy baggage and troops having already been sent off over the passes of Baluchistan back to Persia. The mouth of the Indus was very different then from what it is now, and the Rann of Cutch was part of the ocean into which one mouth discharged.

Finally in October 325 B.C. Alexander set off to march through the deserts bordering on the Persian Gulf. The idea was for his admiral Nearchus to sail along the coast and keep in touch with him, but the nature of the coast and the rocky mountains bordering it prevented this, and the army had to strike inland into a burning treeless waste. The army suffered terribly from the heat and lack of water. They had to abandon most of the booty they had taken, except of course the main objects which had gone with Krateros.

The fleet meanwhile sailed along the coast on the Persian gulf, encountering great adventures and suffering no few privations. Finally they reached Ormuz and heard that Alexander and the remnants of the expedition who had survived the desert were nearby. Nearchus wrote a report of his navigation, a large portion of which is quoted by later historians. In May 324 B.C. Alexander arrived back at his base. He died a year later in 323 B.C. at Babylon (near Baghdad) at the early age of thirty-three.

Alexander was in India only two years. His death put an end to whatever plans he had for the future of the country. It is the custom of historians of India to say that Alexander exerted no influence over India at all. No Indian chronicle of that or even later times mentions his name. What he did do however for India was to break up the kingdoms of the Punjab and prepare the way for the Maurya Empire, the first empire to extend over the whole of northern India from the sea on the east to the mountains in the west. He changed the whole of Asia by introducing Greek ideas and civilization. This had a great though unseen influence on Indian ideas through the century which followed. Finally he led the way to the later Greek supremacy in the north-west of India, which was what really influenced India.

CHRONOLOGY

Buddha	born 563 B.C.
Mahavira	born 538 B.C.
Bimbisara	540 to 490 B.C.
Ajatasatru	490 to *c.* 460 B.C.
Darius the Great, King of Persia .	521 to 486 B.C.
Saisanaga	411 to 393 B.C.
Dhana Nanda	326 B.C.
Alexander	356 to 323 B.C.

Chapter IV

THE MAURYAS

Alexander had left the north-west of India under control of his satraps or governors and various Indian kings, but this state of affairs did not last long. It was in the Ganges Plain that the first great change took place. Here the Nanda dynasty ruled at Pataliputra over the kingdom of Magadha. Apparently it was a strong kingdom, for the army as enumerated by the Greek writers consisted of no less than 200,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and 2,000 chariots—the tanks of those days—not to mention 4,000 elephants. This was the army of a very strong king. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that Chandragupta Maurya was able to overthrow the Nanda king. The king was undoubtedly unpopular, and if it is true that he was a Buddhist or a Jain the change in kings may have been the result of Brahman help. We know that Chandragupta's great minister, Chanakya or Kautilya, was a Brahman. Chandragupta is said to have been the son of a low-caste woman. His father was of the royal house of Magadha. It is suggested that the name of the dynasty, Maurya, referred to his mother's name. There was however a noble family in Buddha's time called Moriyas, and this may be the origin.

Whether Chandragupta won the throne of Magadha before or after the death of Alexander is not clear. The Greek writers who call him Sandracottus say he visited Alexander's camp and, it may be, quarrelled with him—for the passage says that he did and fled back to the east. Another Greek writer however says that Chandragupta advised Alexander to attack the kingdoms of the east. However this may be, Alexander died in 323 B.C. and possibly the next year Chandragupta had overthrown the Nandas and proceeded to attack, as it is said, the Greeks left behind in the Indus Valley. It is however not likely that he did more than take over the kingdoms which Alexander had subdued. The Greek generals and their soldiers had in all probability gone to take part in the great fight for supremacy which was waged in Greece and Asia Minor between the generals of Alexander.

The steps by which Chandragupta conquered the whole northern portion of India are not known. Apparently he succeeded to the wealth and power of Magadha, and thus was ruler

over the whole of the Ganges Valley from the sea to the borders of the Punjab, and when the Greeks had either been driven out or gone of their own accord he succeeded to the conquests of Alexander. Meantime Seleucus and Antigonos, generals of Alexander, were fighting out the supremacy, and by 304 B.C. Seleucus had got the upper hand sufficiently to give him Asia and the title of Nikator or Victor. It was time to follow up the conquests of Alexander and return to the Indus Valley.

What exactly happened is not clear. Seleucus' generals apparently—for he himself was undoubtedly not able to leave the west—appeared on the Indus. Whether there was a campaign we do not know—only the results. The Indus Valley and Afghanistan and Baluchistan were given up to Chandragupta, and Seleucus received five hundred elephants for use against his rival who was again stirring. Seleucus may have given a daughter in marriage to Chandragupta, but that again is not clear nor does it appear that there was any actual fighting. It is unlikely that in such a short time the matchless fighting force forged by Alexander should have been defeated by an army of the sort he had so often shattered, however much Chandragupta had reformed it. Probably Seleucus wanted peace on his eastern frontier, especially in view of the renewed attempt of Antigonos to dispute the empire with him again—an attempt which Chandragupta's elephants helped to defeat at the battle which soon took place between them.

The importance to us of this treaty was that Seleucus sent an ambassador to the capital of Chandragupta, by name Megasthenes, and it is the account which this ambassador has left which throws such a light on the organization of Chandragupta's kingdom. The complete account is not extant, but large extracts are quoted by later Greek writers. His description of the court, power, and kingdom of Chandragupta is full of interest. Palibothra, as the Greeks called the city Pataliputra, stood at the junction of the river Son with the Ganges, and was a city eight miles in length and one and a half in breadth. This extreme disproportion was due no doubt to the character of the site between the two rivers. The city was walled and bastioned—apparently the wall was earthen with wooden palisades and not of stone. These wooden timbers of Mauryan days have been found in recent excavations. In front of the wall was a deep broad moat full of water. To protect the kingdom there was a standing army of 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, and 9,000

elephants. There were also chariots. The infantry would of course include camp followers who were not fighting men. The administration of the country was carried out by a civil service of officials responsible solely to the king. For instance the army was administered by an army board of thirty officials who were divided into sub-committees of five. One of these had charge of the service of supply, which included both the provision of rations, transport, and munitions of war as well as the technical services. Another department administered the admiralty. The other four sub-committees controlled the actual fighting forces, *i.e.* infantry, cavalry, chariots, and elephants. The horses and elephants were kept in special stables and were provided by the state, unlike the usual custom in later times when they were furnished by the men themselves or the great nobles. In the same way the equipment was standardized and kept in special depots.

The arms are interesting. They consisted for the infantry of a long bow as tall as a man, with a very long arrow which could break through the heaviest armour. This bow was rested on the ground at one end. Apparently this was meant for preliminary bombardment, for such long arrows could not have been carried in any large numbers. The subsidiary armament was a long narrow shield and a long sword. Some javelins or hurling spears were also carried by part of the infantry, but apparently these were not used as pikes. The cavalry was armed with the lance, but they also had a sword and buckler. This was the chief support of the royal power, but the king had his own personal bodyguard of women recruited apparently from outside, who were armed with every variety of arms and formed bodies of charioteers and elephant guards as well.

These women guards were adopted because of the fear of assassination felt by all these monarchs who were absolute in power, frequently cruel, and not controlled by anything save their own conscience and the dictates of policy. Chandragupta himself, it is reported, was saved by his minister Chanakya from poisoning on one occasion and from being stabbed in his chamber on another. The history of the Nandas and also the Saisanagas shows how threatened the lives of these kings were. Chandragupta when he left his palace was surrounded by his women bodyguard, and the route was roped off to keep the people at a distance and soldiers kept the line and killed anyone who infringed. When he went hunting special precautions were taken, and the king

took up his stand alone on a platform so that no-one should inadvertently have a shot at him while the game was driven towards it. The Mauryan kings were so afraid of rivals or risings and sudden assassinations that they kept a special service of spies or news writers, who reported everything which went on to the king, something like the Gestapo of Hitler's Germany apparently.

Civil Administration

Megasthenes' account of the civil administration shows a very well organized state. There were six more boards of five who were responsible for the administration of the capital city of Pataliputra. There was a board of industries and a board of hospitality for foreigners, who gave them quarters, issued passports, and looked after them generally. There was registration of births and deaths, a most advanced proceeding which was apparently instituted from humanitarian motives and not only for financial purposes. Another board looked after weights and measures and was responsible for markets, and another dealt with the taxes. These were the market taxes, an *ad valorem* tax on everything sold. All articles had to have an official mark or stamp before they could be sold. This is all we know about the finances of the state, except that one-fourth of the product of the lands went to the state.

The provincial governments were administered by ministers and governors, and they again were apparently watched by inspectors. The Brahmans were assembled every year to give advice. This is the only sign or semblance or anything in the nature of a general assembly, and it is not recorded whether the advice was ever accepted. Good advice, we are told, was rewarded by exemption from taxes. The agriculturists were exempt from military service, which seems to suggest that such service was usually compulsory. The traders and artisans were a class apart. There were craftsmen and workers in gold and precious stones, sculptors and artists who were employed about the court or worked in the king's arsenals or ship-building yards. The royal ships were apparently hired out for private voyages. The irrigation services were carefully regulated, and there is an inscription which refers to the king's construction of a great lake or irrigation reservoir at Sudarsana in the neighbourhood of Junagarh.

The information about the state of the people in Chandra-

gupta's reign is not very clear. They had no share in the government, of course, as the king was absolute. The punishments were cruel, and we are told that the king was a very stern ruler. As we have seen, anyone who intruded on the royal route was killed without ceremony. We are also told that torture was always used as a means of eliciting a confession, though Brahmans were exempted from torture. Death was the penalty for minor offences such as theft and not paying the municipal taxes, and the cutting off of hands, ears, noses, etc., as a punishment was also prescribed. We are told little about the administration of justice, but apparently there were proper facilities for the trying of cases. The king himself spent a good part of every day hearing appeals. The land being the property of the crown, with the agriculturist only having an occupancy right, it would seem that the lot of the *kisan* could not have been very happy. Still he was defended by a standing army for which he was not conscripted himself, and was free from invasion, robbery, and starvation—and what people in wartime Europe would not welcome such a state ?

Apparently the great edifices of later kings were not in existence and we have no remains of any great building of this period. Pataliputra was apparently built largely of wood, and the royal palaces too seem to have been wooden kiosks or pagodas, hung with silken hangings and adorned with golden ornaments and precious furnishings. Some of the relics of Asoka's time show that the art of jewellery had reached a wonderful degree of delicacy and beauty, as the objects found in the Piprahwa *stupa* in the Basti district show, especially the exquisite bowl of crystal, now in the Calcutta Museum, one of the most perfect ever made.

Megasthenes tells us that the king wore garments of fine muslin ornamented with gold and purple embroidery. He was surrounded by women attendants who fanned him in the heat and sprinkled costly perfumes over him, while some held the royal umbrella of state over his head. It may be presumed that the rich men and the nobles lived a somewhat similar life. The common people were made happy by frequent festivals and by the royal shows and displays. There were apparently drinking shops for those so inclined, and the soldiers of the standing army between wars and warlike exercises would be found taking their ease in them. The coinage was probably of the punch-marked type of which so many examples survive. These had various signs stamped on them by a punch and were of silver mixed with

copper—square or oblong in shape commonly. The signs include the elephant, lotus, deer, fish, and swastika, but they cannot compare with the Greek coins of Alexander and of earlier times, and are disappointing when one considers the workmanship of the jewellery which has survived.

The Arthasastra

Early in this century a manuscript was discovered in South India, which was stated to have been written by Chandragupta's minister Chanakya or Kautiliya. It gives very detailed accounts about the administration of an Indian kingdom and was a kind of treatise on government, that is, how a government should keep itself in power by any means good or bad. Though attributed to Chanakya it cannot be said that it was actually written by him. It is apparently a collection of different theories on how to govern efficiently and is likely to be much later than the time of Chandragupta. It does not refer to the empire of Chandragupta but to a small kingdom, which also makes it more likely to have been written later. Chandragupta is said to have abdicated, while still comparatively young, to become a Jain ascetic after twenty-four years on the throne. This is quite possible.

Bindusara

When Chandragupta exchanged his dangerous throne for an ascetic's robe his son Bindusara succeeded. We know little about him, but he must have spent a large portion of his reign in extending the kingdom, as he was called Amitraghata, 'the slayer of his foes,' while the kingdom which he handed over to Asoka was much larger than that he had received from his own father. He remained on friendly terms with Seleucus Nikator who sent him another ambassador, as Megasthenes had returned to his own country where presumably he spent his time in writing those reminiscences of his life in the Indian court which have proved so valuable. We know the name of his successor Deimachos.

Asoka

The exact dates of the Mauryan kings are not clear, as they are decided by the accession of Chandragupta, and we do not know this definitely. It is generally taken to be 322 B.C., a year after the death of Alexander. If he reigned for twenty-four years

then Bindusara succeeded in 298 B.C. He is reported to have been king for twenty-five years, which would place the accession of Asoka at 273 B.C. His full name was Asokavardhana, and it does not seem that he was the eldest son but had been for some time marked out as heir apparent. He had been governor at Taxila, where there had been apparently a rebellion which he was perhaps sent to put down. He was then viceroy of Malwa at the important capital of Ujjain. His coronation was delayed until 269 B.C., possibly because his succession was disputed by his brothers, and there is a tradition that his elder brother defied him for a time. In his edicts he is referred to not as Asoka but as Devanampriya Priyadarsin, which means 'dear to the gods,' 'the well-wisher,' and is generally translated as 'His Sacred Majesty.' In one edict only does the name Asokosa or Asoka appear.

Asoka is the most famous of all rulers of India up to the time of Akbar, and it is his character which makes him so interesting and so remarkable. He was the Buddhist king, who not only put into practice in the administration of the kingdom the religious precepts of the good Buddhist, but sent out missionaries to spread the doctrines all over the then known world. At first he apparently led the ordinary life of a king of those times, feasting and hunting and waging war, and carrying on the government on the stern and even cruel lines set in force by his grandfather. Then, as he says himself in his edicts, he became conscious of the crime done by conquest and war. He had in 261 B.C. led his army against the Kalingas, a people who had a very strong kingdom on the Bay of Bengal. In the words of one of the edicts, 'Directly after the annexation of the Kalingas began His Sacred Majesty's zealous protection of the Law of Piety, his love of the law and his inculcation of that law. Thus arose His Sacred Majesty's remorse for having conquered the Kalingas, because the conquest of a country previously unconquered involves the slaughter, death, and carrying away captive of the people. This is a matter of profound sorrow and regret to His Sacred Majesty.' Never has there been such a remarkable confession by any conqueror.

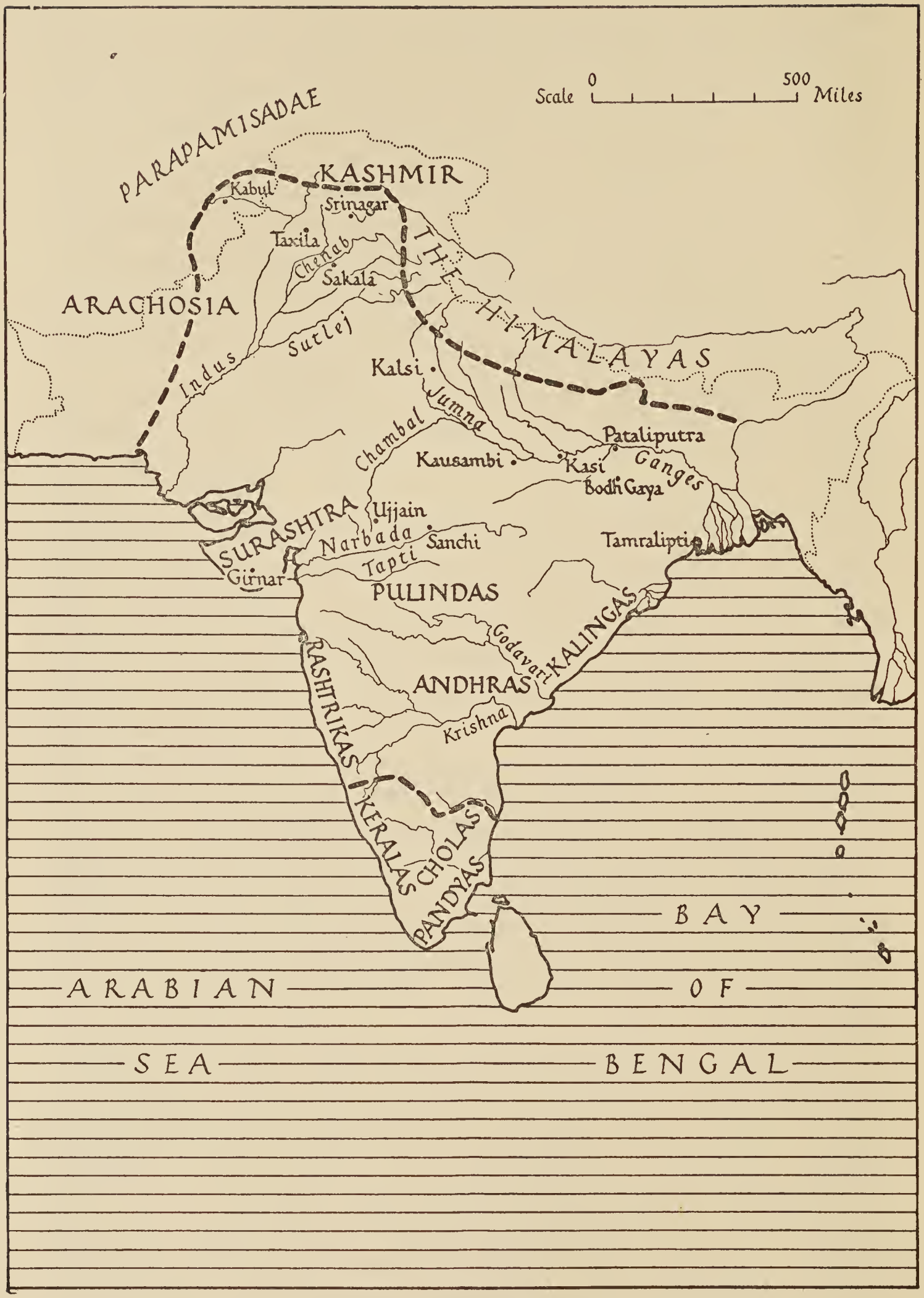
The Emperor then proceeded to set up throughout his immense dominions edicts explaining his principles and how they were to be carried out. His inscriptions were carved on pillars and on rocks and extend all over India, except the extreme south and the lands of the Himalaya. Two pillars are to be found in Delhi, but both come from elsewhere, one being brought from Meerut and

the other from Ambala ; there is a famous one now in the fort at Allahabad on which Samudragupta almost six hundred years later carved his metrical inscription, and which originally, almost certainly, stood in the ancient city of Kausambi ; there were two in Bihar, at Lauriya Nandangarh and Rampurva ; one at Sanchi in Bhopal and two in the Nepal Terai at Nigliva and Rumnindei. The rock inscriptions are very widely distributed from Mysore in the south to Kalsi, close beside the Jumna bridge in the Doon ; one at Shahbazgarhi forty miles from Peshawar ; one away to the east at Dhauli in the old Kalinga kingdom, and one in the west at Girnar in Kathiawar, besides many others.

The kingdom of Asoka covered the whole of India from the modern Afghanistan to the Bay of Bengal, and from the foothills of the Himalayas to the south of Mysore. The Cholas and Pandyas were independent, as was Ceylon. Kashmir was included in his empire but apparently not Nepal or Kumaon, which may as early as this have been part of the kingdom of the Kunindas. Assam, or Kamarupa, also was independent. The pillars and rock inscriptions mark pretty definitely the bounds of his empire. The rock inscriptions are earlier than the pillar inscriptions. There are fourteen of these which have been found, all dated 257–256 B.C. There are also seven minor rock edicts of the same date. There is also one in Jaipur addressed to the Buddhist monks, and some inscriptions in caves near Gaya known as the Barabar caves addressed to a non-Buddhist sect. The two Kalinga edicts were addressed to the people of Kalinga specially.

The pillar edicts are nine in number, of which two in the Nepal Terai are in places sacred to the Buddha—the Rumnindei pillar most probably marks the site of the Lumbini garden, the legendary birthplace of Buddha. The other seven were dated about 243 B.C.

All these proclamations are connected with the Buddhist doctrines Asoka preached, and lay down the rules to be followed. They contain a good deal of information about his relations with foreign rulers and his administration. They were written in Prakrit the language of the people, and the alphabet used except in the north-west was Brahmi, which is the origin of the Devanagri script of modern Hindi. In the north-west it was Karoshthi the script of Gandhara which was used. It was written from right to left and seems to have come from Persia. We do not know when written records first were used in India, but we have seen that the early people of Mohenjodaro had a script of their own



Map 3 Empire of Asoka

which we cannot read. We have no literature of Mauryan time in the sense of actual manuscripts, but the art of writing must have been known for some time—though the coins bear no inscriptions. The existence of these inscriptions however show that many of the people could read, and the Buddhist monks had undoubtedly schools in their monasteries, while tradition refers to the ancient schools and universities of India, of which Taxila was an early example.

As to the administration of the empire, Asoka himself had been governor of Taxila or the north-west, and later of Ujjain the important centre of the west of India. The different provinces were ruled by governors, some no doubt of the royal family. One of his sons Jalauka was governor of Kashmir and became king of Kashmir apparently on his father's death. Another viceroy had his headquarters at Suvarnagiri in the south where the gold mines were.

The civil service of the state was properly organized, and in the different edicts we read about various officials. There were, for instance, the highest grade or *mahamatras*, as they were called. There was a chief or *anta mahamatra* on the border who was possibly a general as well as a chief commissioner. But the most interesting of all are the *dharma mahamatras*, who saw that Asoka's instructions as to conduct were carried out, and all his orders about not taking the life of certain animals and following the principles of the moral law. He seemed also to have had another kind of official called the *rajukas*, who had control over hundreds of thousands of men, and who could punish them for breaches of the law and also reward them. They may have been a form of judicial officer.

Asoka's love of animals is remarkable. No flesh was allowed to be eaten in the royal household. Animal life was protected strictly throughout his dominions. He was the first king in history to introduce laws for game preservation. He did not forbid however the killing of animals for food. Certain close seasons were laid down when fish were not to be caught or animals killed. This was to preserve them during the breeding season in all probability, but there were reasons of humanity for many of Asoka's rules about animals. Nothing which was not useful or edible was to be killed, parrots, bats, squirrels, porcupines, and lizards for instance, were protected, also ants and rhinoceroses. Young lambs, pigs, or kids were not to be killed until six months old, nor animals with young. Cruelty to animals also drew his

attention. His intention was to make his people moral. He asks the question in one of his edicts—'How might men progress by an adequate promotion of morality? The following occurred to me—I shall issue proclamations on morality and shall order instruction in morality to be given. . . .' He goes on to say, 'Noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality consist in this—compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness.' He states that the people are progressing in good deeds, and emphasizes especially obedience to father and mother, obedience to elders, courtesy to the aged, courtesy to Brahmans and ascetics, to the poor and distressed—even to slaves and servants.

That Asoka was a Buddhist is clear from his edicts, and especially from one in which he addresses Buddhist monks. 'Ye know, reverend sirs, how far extends my respect for and faith in the Buddha, the Sacred Law, and the Samgha,' but he did not persecute other sects as others did and counselled respect for Brahmans and Jains. He tried to make the people live in accordance with the precepts of Buddha's teaching. He sent missionaries to other countries to spread the faith. His brother Mahendra is named as the monk who converted Ceylon, a Buddhist country to this day, while others spread the faith in Nepal, Kumaon, and Tibet. He refers also to the kingdoms of the Greeks, and it has been supposed that he sent missions to them. On the XIII rock edict, that to be found on the bank of the Jumna near Kalsi in the Doon on the road to Chakrata, he mentions as his contemporaries Amtiyoge, King of the Greeks, who is Antiochus Theos, son of Seleucus, King of Syria, and Tulamaye, who stands for Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt, who had ports on the Red Sea, and had undoubtedly trading connections with India. It is interesting to remember that Euclid, the great mathematician, lived in Alexandria in Ptolemy's time and so was a contemporary of Asoka.

It may seem strange that we have no great buildings of Asoka's time still remaining. We have the great pillars of polished sandstone—so remarkable a polish that it cannot be mistaken, and which identifies objects of Asokan workmanship wherever found. But apparently, as we know from accounts of Chandragupta's reign, the royal palaces were of timber and not stone or brick. That remarkable Sarnath Lion capital has certainly been influenced by Persian and Greek art forms, but it is a very fine piece of carving and shows to what a high standard of technical skill the



Plate 5a Stone railing round the Stupa at Bharhut (*c.* 150 B.C.) in the Indian Museum, Calcutta



Plate 5b The Great Stupa at Sanchi (see page 59)



Plate 6 North gate of the Great Stupa, Sanchi

Mauryan artists had advanced—the sculpturing of the reliefs is beyond praise. It is a pity we have not more of this fine art.

We have records of Asoka's public works—his roads with their banyan trees to give shade to man and beast, with wells at eight *kos* distance, and tanks with steps for the bathers ; drinking-places too for both men and cattle, and mango groves along the route.

This great king and great man died about 232 B.C. after reigning for forty years. It is said he became a monk and abdicated, but this is only a legend.

We know little about what happened after his death. We know that Kashmir was ruled by a son of his, and apparently his empire was split up between two grandsons, Dasaratha in the east at Magadha and Samprati in the west at Ujjain. The lists given in the Puranas mention several successors but nothing is known about any of them. All that is known is that the last, Brihadratha, was assassinated by his commander-in-chief, the Brahman Pushyamitra Sunga who founded the Sunga dynasty about 185 B.C. It seems a sad commentary on human affairs that such a great and good man as Asoka should for a time revolutionize the history of the times and then pass away and leave so little behind him. What he did leave was the Buddhist religion as a living force and not a mere sect. He left certain principles of action and conduct which could never be forgotten. He also advanced the civilization and culture of his people.

Education

The Buddhist *bhikshus* lived in monasteries and studied the life and doctrines of their founder. This form of life led to the spread of education, and Buddhism is responsible for a great extension of literature and knowledge. Not only was this literature connected with Buddha and Buddhism, but different systems of theology sprung up among the successors of the Buddha, and it is thus that the two great Buddhist systems of the Mahayana and Hinayana gradually evolved. These monasteries became centres of education, and the Buddhist schools in the monasteries became a most important influence in the extension of education among the people. Thus new ideas and more enlightenment spread among all classes of the people, and not only in literature but in art and culture generally was there an improvement. The gentle teaching of the Buddha was responsible for a more humane attitude towards the poor and the weak.

Social Life

Greek writers such as Megasthenes give us an interesting glimpse of life in north India in the time of the Mauryas, and we now are able to get a clear picture of what it was like. First as to dress. Cotton was the chief wear, and there was a tunic which reached to the shin, a kind of shawl or *chaddar* flung over the shoulder, and a *pagri*, or turban. Bright colours were worn, and the rich had flowered muslins and ear-rings of ivory. They dyed their beards and wore shoes of white leather, often with high heels to give them height. In the hot weather they had umbrellas to protect them from the sun, and the umbrella was also the symbol of authority.

The fighting men were armed with long bows as tall as a man and with arrows six feet long. They had long narrow shields which protected the whole body, and hanging from the shoulder a two-handed broadsword. The horsemen had two javelins for throwing and a shield of a smaller kind.

Their houses were mainly of wood, but brick and stone was known in Mauryan times. The roads were specially lined with trees for shade, and wells and bathing tanks were constructed along the main roads by Asoka for travellers' use. Of course they were unmetalled and most of the merchandise would be carried on pack animals, camels, and elephants, for there were no bridges and thus carts were not much used for travel though chariots were much depended on in battle.

We may be sure that the roads were very busy during the Maurya Empire when peace was widespread all over India and trade was safe and carefully protected.

We do not know much about the coins which were used—the punch-marked objects which are so common—but we know that trade contracts were punctiliously carried out and the word of a merchant could be trusted implicitly. 'An Indian has never been convicted of lying,' says Megasthenes. Theft was unusual and houses were unguarded.

CHRONOLOGY

Chandragupta Maurya . . .	322 B.C.
Bindusara	298 B.C.
Asoka	273 B.C.
Dasaratha	232 B.C.

End of the Mauryan dynasty about 185 B.C.

Chapter V

THE BACTRIAN GREEKS OR YAVANAS

When Alexander the Great died his generals fought over the succession to his dominions for many years, and from these wars resulted various Greek or Hellenistic kingdoms, of which the most important were the kingdom of Syria, ruled over by the family of Seleucus, which extended over the whole of Asia Minor, and the kingdom of Egypt ruled over by the Ptolemies. The word Hellenistic is applied to the culture of the Greeks as shown in the largely Asiatic kingdoms of Asia Minor ruled over by Greek kings. It will be remembered that Seleucus Nikator himself made an attempt to recover the Indus satrapy, at any rate, which Darius the Persian had first occupied in 516 B.C., and which Alexander later reconquered as the successor of the Persians, and how Chandragupta Maurya either by actual fighting or negotiations not only recovered the Indus Valley but some of Afghanistan and Baluchistan as well—the old Gandhara and Paropamisadae region of the north-west and the hill country of Baluchistan.

The kingdom ruled over by the Seleucids extended over the whole of Asia Minor and east to the Hindu Kush, and one of its satrapies was Bactria, the modern Bokhara. We first hear of a certain Diodotus as satrap of Bactria under Antiochus II. His son Diodotus II took advantage of the decline of the power of the Seleucids, which was due to the rise of the Arsacid kings of Parthia to the south and east of the Caspian Sea about 248 B.C., and declared himself an independent king. When Antiochus the Great, in his efforts to restore the power of Syria, came to reduce the Parthians and bring back Bactria to his realm, the king was Euthydemus, apparently not of the family of Diodotus. Antiochus was so impressed by him and his son Demetrius that he confirmed him as king and married one of his daughters to Demetrius.

No doubt this was an alliance against the Parthians. This happened in the year 216 B.C. The Parthians realized the strength of the coalition and submitted, and Antiochus then marched into India where he made a treaty with Saubhagasena (Sophagasenus), described as King of the Indians, probably one of the successors to Asoka's empire in the north-west.

The Bactrian kingdom thus recognized by Antiochus and

allied to him by marriage proceeded to grow in importance, and the ambitions of its rulers grew with it. It was Demetrius who was the king who planned and carried out a big-scale invasion of India, which we learn of from references in Greek writers and also from Indian sources. His reign was roughly from 189 to 167 B.C.

The coins of these Greek kings of Bactria and North-West India are remarkable examples of the coiners' art, finer than anything seen before in India and well up to the best standard of Greek coins. They have Greek inscriptions on one side with generally the head of the king, and Prakrit inscriptions in the Kharoshthi alphabet on the other and the representation of a Greek god or goddess.

Demetrius invaded India somewhere about 182 B.C. in all probability. With him was his general Menander and his brother or relation Apollodotus. The invasion was on a wide front like a modern pincer movement. Kathiawar was occupied in the extreme south-west, and two movements made, through the Punjab where Sagala or Sakala was captured from Pushyamitra's governor, and another through Rajputana where Ujjain was the objective. We hear from Indian sources of the siege of Madhyamika near Chitor on this route. Madoura or Mathura was occupied, and the armies then attacked Saketa in Oudh and went on to take Pataliputra itself—the heart of the Sunga kingdom. There is no doubt that the Greeks overran the whole of the Punjab and the Indus Valley and advanced far into the heart of the Ganges Valley. Mathura, 'the daughter of the Gods,' called by the Greeks Madoura, was apparently for long a city of importance in Menander's kingdom, and there are traces of Greek or rather Hellenistic influence in the typical Mathura art.

But before the Greeks could consolidate their conquests in the Ganges Valley happenings elsewhere called their main forces away. About 167 B.C. Demetrius had to hurry back to Bactria because Eucratides a rival had appeared and threatened his throne and all that part of the Seleucid empire he had acquired. It may be that he was an emissary of the Seleucid king, Antiochus IV (Epiphanes), and was trying to win back all that the Seleucids had lost. This put a stop to any idea of a conquest of the Sunga kingdom, and the Greeks withdrew from the Ganges Valley as a result. Apollodotus remained in charge of the north-west apparently, and Menander established himself at Sagala or Sakala with his frontier round about Mathura.



Map 4 Indo-Greeks, Sungas and Andhras, 200-100 B.C.

This withdrawal perhaps gave rise to the legend referred to in Kalidasa's play, the *Malavikagnimitra*, about the horse sacrifice performed by Pushyamitra, where his grandson Vasumitra is stated to have defeated a body of Greek horsemen on the banks of a river in the south United Provinces when they tried to interfere with the horse.

Demetrius was defeated and killed by Eucratides in Bactria, and Eucratides then proceeded to attack his possessions in India itself. What exactly happened we do not know, but Apollodotus was apparently killed and the Paropamisadae and Gandhara were taken by Eucratides. This led to the existence of two Greek kingdoms in India, for Menander remained in possession of his kingdom, which must have included the Lower Indus and the eastern Punjab from Sialkot, his capital of Sagala, to Mathura and perhaps the west of the present United Provinces.

Menander

Menander is a great name in Indian history. He set up his capital at Sagala, and with the disappearance of the line of Euthydemus became king himself ; probably Agathocleia his wife was the daughter or sister of Demetrius, and Menander became the successor to the house of Euthydemus. He possibly was too strong for Eucratides to attack, and the latter was in fear of an attack by the Parthians on Bactria and is likely to have made a treaty with Menander. In Buddhist stories Menander or Milinda plays a great part, and in the famous questions of Milinda or *Milindapahna* is represented as arguing on matters of doctrine with a Buddhist sage, afterwards becoming a Buddhist himself. The danger from Eucratides lessened when Mithridates I of Parthia attacked him, and there was heavy fighting in which Eucratides was killed and the Eucratid dynasty driven out of Bactria for a time. During this period Menander recovered Gandhara and Taxila. Menander reigned until about 145 B.C. at the latest, and when he died left a young son, Strato I, and his wife Agathocleia as regent.

The rest of the history of the Greeks in India is not very clear. Apparently Heliocles the son of Eucratides drove the Parthians out of Bactria or they retired themselves, and was subsequently strong enough to recover Gandhara from the Euthydemids after Menander's death. Pushkalavati (the city of the Lotus) and Taxila were the chief cities of Gandhara which was a centre of

Hellenistic influence for some considerable time. There were no less than thirty-six Greek kings who ruled in India and one queen, and their occupation of the country or some part of it lasted for at least a century and a half. They might have ruled longer and exercised a very different influence over Indian civilization than they did but for the movements of barbarian tribes behind them which cut them off from Hellenistic Asia, and they finally vanished away.

These barbarian tribes are referred to in Chinese writings, and the most important was called by the Chinese writers the Yueh-chi. They came from the steppes, north-west of China, and were gradually pushed west by other movements of stronger bodies until they reached the region of the Oxus and the fertile country of Bactria, the base of the Greeks in India. In the confused fighting that followed Bactria fell and with it the Hellenistic civilization of that area. Another horde called the Sakas were driven by the Yueh-chi south, and we shall hear of them again.

Though Bactria fell, the Greek kingdoms in the Punjab and the other side of the Hindu Kush did not immediately disappear, indeed they lasted for a considerable time. The successor of Heliocles of the house of Eucratides was Antialkidas, who ruled over a kingdom which stretched from the Hindu Kush to the Jhelum—which was roughly the western boundary of the other Greek kingdom. We have an interesting relic of this king in a column at Besnagar (Bhilsa in Gwalior) set up by his ambassador Heliodorus the son of Dion a Greek who announces himself as a worshipper of Vasudeva. The king to whom he was accredited was Bhagabhadra, King of Vidisa, who is not mentioned in the Puranic lists, though a Bhagavata is. Antialkidas must have begun to rule about 130 B.C. and may have continued until 100 B.C. His kingdom included the Paropamisadae or Kabul country of Afghanistan, with its capital of Kapisa, Gandhara and Taxila.

Sind and Kathiawar still at this time belonged to the eastern kingdom of the successors of Euthydemus, whose capital was Sagala, until it was captured by the Sakas, who had been driven out of Parthia by the Parthians somewhere about 120 to 115 B.C. and moved into the lower Indus country which they took from the Euthydemids, thus cutting them off from the sea. Now they found themselves being cut off from their fellow Greeks of the other kingdom when the Sakas under their ruler Maues defeated the successor of Antialkidas, apparently Archebius, and occupied Taxila about 77 B.C. and Gandhara about 70 B.C.

Thus the Sakas had driven a wedge between the Greeks, and had cut them off from the sea as they had before been cut off from Bactria. The Sakas kept the Greek administration apparently, and also their coinage which recorded the Saka names in Greek and also in Kharosthi script.

Rise of Indian States

Before this Menander's successors Strato I and Strato II had lost Mathura, and we find coins of an Indian people of the first century B.C. recording some victory, as in the coins of the Yaudheyas—apparently a republican people—and the Arjunayanas, in that vicinity. There are also the Kunindas whose silver coins have been found in Kumaon and Garhwal and also in the Doon, and whose king Amoghabuti's coins have been found with those of Apollodotus. There was also a dynasty in the Panchala country, whose capital was Ahichchatra, of kings with Buddhist emblems on their coins who must have come to power about this time—that is when the Greek kingdoms began to contract before the Saka invasion ; they may be a little earlier than the beginning of the first century B.C. but not much. By 60 B.C. the Sakas had their satraps (or viceroys) in Mathura. The Great Satrap Rajula retained the Greek legend on their coinage. All their coins were Greek, both script and language, on the one side and on the other Prakrit written in the Kharoshthi script of the Persians, though there are some in Brahmi script.

Maues was however not successful in putting an end to the eastern Greek kingdom, and there was a final revival under its king Hippostratus, the last king of Sagala, which for a time delayed its fall. Maues apparently died about 58 B.C., and Hermaeus became king of the Paropamisadae in 50 B.C. These two last Greek kings may have formed an alliance, as they certainly held off the Sakas for some time, and it was not much before 30 B.C. that another Saka attack put an end to these kingdoms when Spalirises and his son Azes finally spread the Saka power over the whole of North India.

This remarkable episode of Greek dominance over practically the whole of the Mauryan kingdom north of the Vindyas for ten to fifteen years, and then over a large part of North India has been pieced together largely from coins, but also from references in Greek authors. It shows how open India lay to the movements over the mountains, and what a large part she played in the

policies and wars of the Greek kingdoms of Asia Minor after Alexander. All this must be viewed as part of Alexander's invasion and its effects. No doubt both India and the West would have gained much from this connection had not a new era of barbarian invasions in the shape of the Sakas and Kushans and Parthians interposed and once more shut India off from the rest of the world.

Parthians or Pahlavas

The Saka rule did not last very long as an independent power, and they became subordinate to the Parthians of the Arsacid family. Gondophares, who was the practically independent viceroy of the Parthian King of Kings, conquered them in A.D. 19 or brought them back to the fold. Parthia was then not strong enough to bring him to heel and he set up as King of Kings himself, as his coins show. It was his satraps who ruled at Mathura and Taxila, and it was he who plays such a remarkable part in the legends of early Christianity. He is Gasper, one of the Three Wise Men of the East who went to worship the infant Christ, and he is connected with the legend that St. Thomas the Apostle came to India. These Parthian rulers of course were really interested in their domains across the Hindu Kush. They were kings of the frontier rather than kings of India, but their Saka satraps ruled over Mathura for some time, and we have inscriptions of Rajula or Ranjubula and Sodasa at Mathura. They copied the Greek coins as has been said before. They also left in the dynasty of the western satraps or Kshatrapas a family which ruled Ujjain for several centuries.

The Sungas

We have already read how the last of the Mauryan kings was killed by his general Pushyamitra, who set up the Sunga dynasty of Magadha. This was about 184 B.C., and the new dynasty had very soon to meet the Greek invasion under Demetrius and Menander. He is stated in Buddhist records to have been a persecutor of the Buddhists, and the Greek kings, especially Menander, certainly took upon themselves the rôle of protectors of the Buddhists. Pushyamitra is stated to have massacred Buddhist monks at Sagala which was soon to be the capital of Menander's kingdom. This tradition does not necessarily mean that Pushyamitra was a persecutor, but he very probably, being a

Brahman himself, favoured or perhaps led the beginning of a reaction against Buddhism.

At any rate it is not even clear that he held the whole of the Ganges Valley, as there are traces of other ruling families at Vidisa and Kausambi and Ahichchatra somewhere about this time, who may of course have been his vassals but who may have been independent. The Greeks probably upset the kingdom of Magadha very considerably, and it seems he had other enemies in the shape of Kharevala, king of the Kalingas conquered by Asoka who invaded northern India, as his inscription in the Hathigumpha cave near Cuttack in Orissa several times mentions, with the statement that he humbled the King of Magadha and bathed his elephants in the Ganges. The date may be about 160 B.C., and this king would then be Pushyamitra.

There were other enemies of Magadha at that time in the Andhras who under the leadership of Satakarni certainly attacked the north. Their capital was Prathishthana (Paithan) on the Godaveri in Hyderabad, and they ultimately conquered Ujjain and Vidisa but not until the time of the later Sungas. Pushyamitra seems to have had to face one invasion after another. He is reported in Kalidasa's *Malavikagnimitra*, a play written five hundred years afterwards, to have performed the horse sacrifice (Asvamedha) when his grandson Vasumitra with the guard of the horse beat off some Greek cavalry on a river called the Sindhu, either near Chitor or in the south of the United Provinces. He was succeeded by his son Agnimitra in 148 B.C., and he again by his son Vasumitra the hero of the horse sacrifice story. The last king seems to have been Bhagavata, who may be the same as the Bhagabhadra of the Besnagar pillar of Antialkidas's ambassador Heliodorus. The Sungas apparently came to an end in 72 B.C. An inscription at Bharhut states that two of the gateways there were put up 'in the reign of the Sungas.' Odruka of the inscription in the Pabhosa cave near Kausambi was also a Sunga king. It is stated that the last king was Devabhuti, who was a man of bad moral character. He was killed by his minister Vasudeva who founded the Kanva dynasty, which is stated to have ruled for forty-five years and which succumbed to the growing power of the Andhras about 28 B.C.

The Andhras

The Andhras in South India were a Telegu people. They are mentioned in early Vedic literature as a non-Aryan people.

They are mentioned by Asoka in his inscriptions as accepting his teaching.

The Satakarni or Satavahana dynasty was founded about the time when the Mauryan kingdom was breaking up. We hear of kings called Simuka and Krishna. The important ruler however was the Satakarni, who fought with Pushyamitra and with Kharevala somewhere about 168 B.C. They conquered Vidisa or Malwa somewhere about the beginning of the first century B.C. but had to give way before the Saka satraps.

Art

The Sunga period is remarkable for a great growth in Indian art. There was an Indian art which had grown up in Mauryan times, and of which the buildings at Bharhut, Buddh Gaya and Sanchi give us some idea. As we have seen before, the buildings of Asoka's time were mainly in wood, and there are no examples of the art of this period except the great pillars and the remarkable capitals and their reliefs, also the examples of wonderfully delicate workmanship in the gems which belong to this period. It was the Sunga period however which saw the development of a definitely Indian form of sculpture and ornamentation. This of course appropriated some of the influences from the Hellenistic art of Asia which had spread over so large a part of the known world as a result of the conquests of Alexander. Nor did India stand aloof. Art knows no boundaries, and what is beautiful is accepted and adopted by all good artists.

The Sunga rule coincided with a marked development in purely Indian art. This is to be seen especially in the railings which stood round the stupa at Bharhut in Central India. These stone railings and gateways round a *stupa* or relic mound of the Buddha gave opportunities for the display of artistic ornamentation. The Bharhut railings and gateways are now in the Calcutta museum, where they can be seen much as they originally stood round the *stupa*. The gateway was $22\frac{1}{4}$ ft. high, and the sculptured reliefs represent scenes from the previous life stories of the Buddha —the *Jatakas* as they are called. Plate 5a shows what they were like. It is interesting to note that the masons' marks on some of the balusters of the railings are in the Kharoshthi script, which was the script of the north-western frontier, and these are by far the best sculptures. The date of the sculptures is about 150 B.C. The Besnagar pillar of Heliodorus is somewhat

later, but shows that Hellenistic influences were to be found in the Sunga dominions.

The railings round the temple at Buddh Gaya are decorated with flowers and animals and with the lotus. The pillars have panels with different scenes—Surya in his four-horse chariot is clear and well done. Here too are traces of Hellenistic influences on the art forms of the time. Two of the pillars bear inscriptions stating they were erected by the queens of two kings Indramitra and Brahmamitra. These were undoubtedly the Panchala kings of Ahichhhatra. The date of these railings is the early part of the first century before Christ.

The stupas at Sanchi in Bhopal are later, though the original stupa was set up by Asoka. Their date or rather the date of the remarkable railings and gateways which surround them is the last half of the first century B.C. Asoka's Lion Pillar is still to be seen near the south gateway. The stupa built by Asoka was of brick but it was later greatly extended. The ornamented railings with their gateways were added much later, and by degrees, by faithful worshippers at different periods. Some of the railings have had their original sculptures erased and new ones done over. The four gateways of the Great Stupa were set up at different times. Plate 6 gives an idea of what they were like. They show the Jatakas or stories of Buddha's lives. It should be noticed that no representation of the Buddha appears, but he is represented by the Wheel or by a throne, or his footprints or the Bodhi tree. It was not considered right by the Buddhists to show the Master in human form, and it was not till later among the Greeks of the north-western kingdoms that Buddha is first represented as a man, like one of the Greek god types—Apollo.

About the same period are the remarkable cave temples, Buddhist in origin, at Karli, Nasik and Ajanta. The great hall at Karli is a wonderful example of carving and construction. The caves at Ajanta begin at this time, but the most beautiful decorations are of a later date. There were besides Buddhist caves also some of the Jains, like those at Udayagiri in Orissa, where at Hathi-gumpha was found an inscription of Kharevala which refers to his war with Pushyamitra. The art of the Sunga period shows that the artists of these days were full of ideas and skilful in execution. At Mathura was another school of art which has much of the same life and good execution as the Sanchi type. Examples have been found there of Hellenistic types which show the influence of Greek or rather Hellenistic artists. Mathura

was probably for nearly a hundred years in the occupation of the Indo-Greeks, and naturally this had an effect on its art. This may be seen from the sculptures of this and succeeding periods in the Archaeological Museum at Mathura. Thus we see that India was full of artists and workmen of a very high standard, and this civilization had existed from an early period and was not a sudden outburst. Hellenistic influences are to be found, but adapted and used in Indian settings and for Indian purposes by Indian artists.

APPROXIMATE DATES

Bactrian Greeks

Diodotus II of Bactria	228 to 206 B.C.
Euthydemus	206 to 189 B.C.
Demetrius I	189 to 167 B.C.

Indo-Greeks

Menander	167 to 145 B.C.
Strato I and Agathocleia	145 B.C.
Strato II	100 B.C.
Hippostratos	50 B.C.
House of Eucratides	
Eucratides	167 to 159 B.C.
Heliocles	159 to 130 B.C.
Antialkidas	130 to 100 B.C.
Archebios	80 B.C.
Hermaeos	50 to 30 B.C.
Sakas	
Maues	80 to 58 B.C.
Spalyris (Spalahoris)	32 B.C.
Azes	30 B.C.
Satraps of Mathura	
Rajula	60 B.C.
Sodasa	his successor

Parthians or Pahlavas

Gondophares	19 B.C. to A.D. 60

Sungas

Pushyamitra	184 to 148 B.C.
Agnimitra	148 B.C.
Kanvas	72 to 28 B.C.
Vasudeva	72 B.C.

Andhras

(Satakarni or Satavahana dynasty)

Simuka	200 B.C.
Satakarni I	168 to 156 B.C.
Kharavela, King of Kalinga	165 to 150 B.C.

Chapter VI

THE KUSHANS

Reference has already been made to the Yueh-chi, as the Chinese writers called them, nomad peoples from central Asia who wandered or were driven by movements of other nomads behind them down into the area on the banks of the Oxus and into Bactria from some time around 175 B.C. These people were at first nomad barbarians. They were not Mongolians but came from that same Aryan centre originally as the people of India, though when the Aryan Indians went east they went north-east towards China. They had remained quietly expanding after driving the Sakas south to Seistan and beyond, and had imbibed some culture probably from the Bactrian peoples and from the Parthians. It was the Yueh-chi who had conquered Bactria from Eucratides.

About A.D. 25 the chief of one of the Yueh-chi tribes, the Kushans, made himself and his tribe supreme. This was a chief who is known as Kujula Kadphises called generally Kadphises I. His name is found on coins of Hermaeus, the last Greek king of the Paropamisadae whose capital was Kapisa, but this does not mean that Hermaeus was still alive at this time. He spread his rule over Afghanistan and was succeeded by his son, another Kadphises, known as Wima Kadphises or Kadphises II. This ruler is said by the Chinese writers to have conquered India—presumably meaning North-West India. His coins both in gold and copper were copies from Roman types, as were also those of his predecessor, and not the Greek types of the Bactrian kings which the Sakas had copied. The inscriptions are still in Greek. He did not himself apparently rule in India. Russian archaeologists have recently shown that the Kushan Empire's centre was Khwarizm. The Chinese at this time were extending their power, and conquered or settled Khotan and Kashgar almost as far as the Caspian and thus threatened the Kushan power in this region, for it must be remembered that the Kushans were more interested in the lands across the Hindu Kush than in their Indian possessions. They undoubtedly took the place of the Pahlavas whom they must have conquered. An army was sent over the Pamirs to attack China, but the route was too much for them and they were defeated and had to make peace with China.



Map 5 Kushan Empire under Kanishka

It was during this time, as the Roman character of their coins shows, that the trade with the west became really important both across Asia Minor and also by sea, for the south-east monsoon had been known for some time.* Pepper was, as later, the chief article of commerce, together with cotton, silk and pearls.

The really important Kushan ruler however was Kaniskha, who succeeded to the power of the Kushans in A.D. 78, though some people think he was later than this. He was not necessarily of the same family as the two Kadphises. He uses Greek on his coins, that is the Greek language itself, not only the alphabet, which is an argument that he was earlier rather than later. His capital was Purushapura (Peshawar), and he conquered Kashmir and avenged the Kushan defeat of the last reign by adding Khotan and Kashgar to his empire. The Buddhist books have a lot to say about Kanishka and his conversion to Buddhism. The figure of Buddha appears on his coins, but so do various Greek and Persian and Indian gods. He is reported to have led his armies as far as Magadha, and there is no doubt that he ruled over a large part of India. During his reign a great Buddhist council was held, it is said under his presidency, to make a revision of the Buddhist scriptures. In Purushapura he built a great Buddhist monastery, which was for long a centre of Buddhist learning and a great stupa where were buried relics of the Buddha. In the early years of this century buried in the ruins of this stupa a small coffer was found with the figure of Kanishka on one of the sides, and on top figures of the Buddha, Brahma and Indra. This coffer has an inscription stating that the architect of the stupa was 'the slave Agisila,' namely Agisilas or Agisilaos who was possibly of Greek descent (slave here is the usual word for a servant of the king). Inside were relics of the Buddha. Buddhist stupas were built to contain relics, real or supposed, of the Buddha. A similar find was at Piprahwa, in Basti, where a stupa mound was opened, and in a bronze coffer was found a cylinder with an inscription stating that it contained a part of the bones of the Lord Buddha, and also beautiful imitations of flowers, etc., in semi-precious stones and a wonderful bowl with a lid shaped in the form of a fish and made out of crystal.† This was earlier than the Peshawar casket and has been mentioned before. It was in

* This is said to have been discovered by a Greek pilot called Hippalos about A.D. 50, but it must have been earlier, and Hippalos is stated by Pliny to have been the name of the monsoon itself.

† Now in the Calcutta Museum

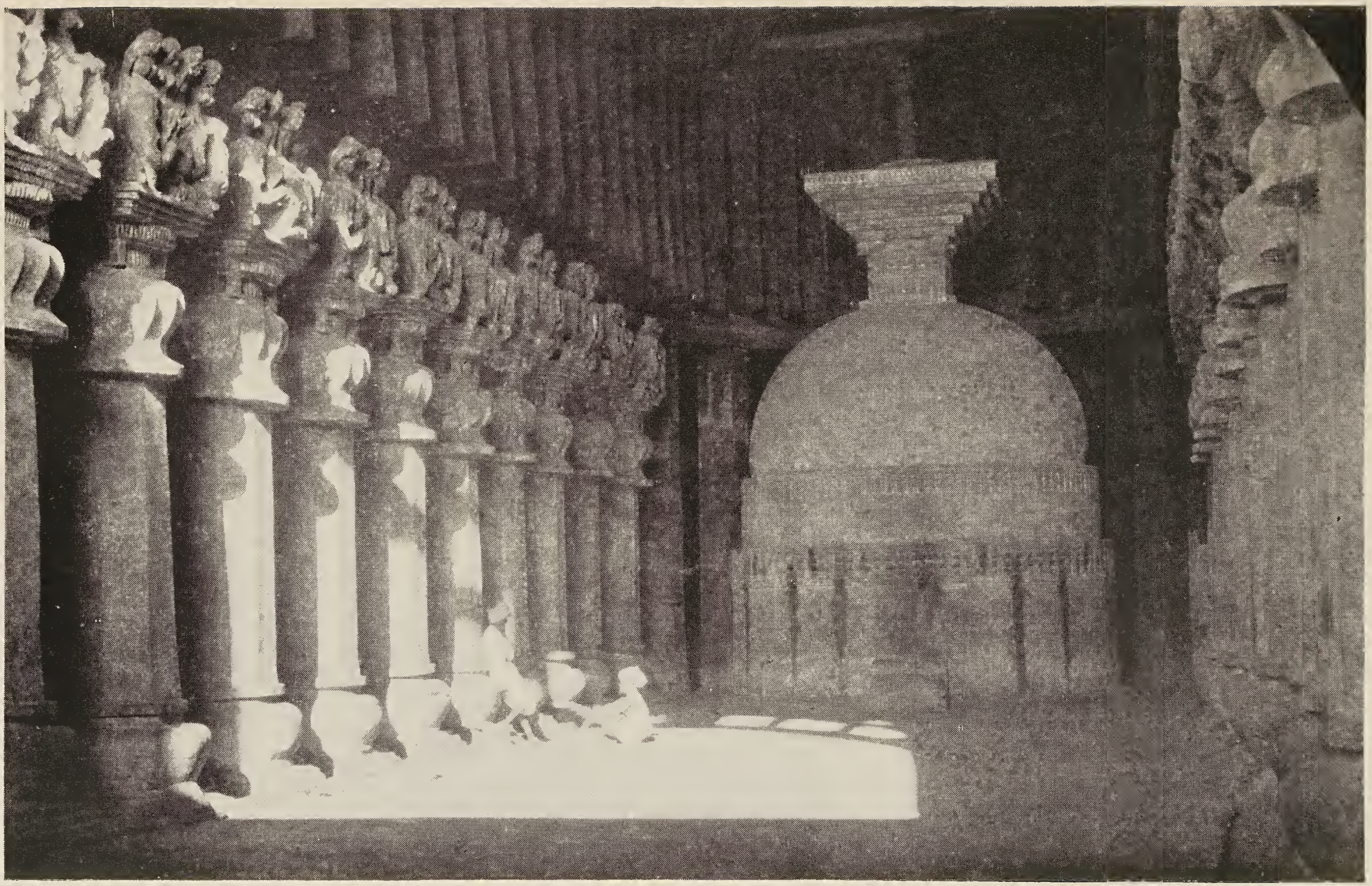


Plate 7 The great hall in the Cave Temple at Karli



Plate 8 Woman and Child—an example of the art of Mathura (late 1st century B.C.) in the Archaeological Museum, Mathura

the time of the Kushans that Buddhism spread into China, where it flourished when it had died away in India.

Kanishka undoubtedly favoured the religion, and his conquest spread it widely. Gandhara became the holy land of Buddhism and was full of monasteries and stupas. It was in this connection that the Gandharan school of art arose to decorate the Buddhist stupas, and it was here that the Greek custom of representing their gods in sculpture was taken up by the Gandharan artists and Buddha was first represented in art. The art of Gandhara was of course largely influenced by Hellenistic motives, that is Greek art which itself had been influenced by Asiatic forms and ideas. This influence is found in the art of Mathura as well, which was a great centre of Kushan culture. The Buddhist art of Mathura and Benares developed however on its own lines into a real Indian style, which reached its zenith under the Guptas. In Mathura was found the great statue of Kanishka himself with his name inscribed on it. It can be seen in the Archaeological Museum at Mathura, but unfortunately the head is lost. Other great centres were Amaravati in Madras where beautiful examples of sculpture have been found.

Asvaghosha the Buddhist monk who took a prominent part in Kanishka's Buddhist conference was a great Sanskrit scholar, and another learned figure of the times was Vasumitra, while Nagarjuna was largely responsible for the extension of the Mahayana school of Buddhism where Buddha became a god. Charaka the physician of Kanishka wrote on medicine. We have already mentioned the great school in the monastery at Purushapura, and there were others too which played a great part in the spread of learning. The fact that the Kushans conquered Khotan and Kashgar had much to do with the spread of these mixed Indian and Hellenistic forms of art and ideas over large parts of Asia far from India and into China itself. Recently the extensive civilization which resulted has been explored by Sir Aurel Stein and others in the deserts of Central Asia, where remarkable traces of a very advanced civilization of this type has been found preserved by the sand which has now for centuries covered what were once fertile kingdoms and large cities.

On the death of Kanishka he was succeeded by his son Huvishka in A.D. 103. He succeeded in middle age and his coins show him as such. It is not known whether he was a Buddhist as his father seems to have been, but it is not even certain that Kanishka himself was a real Buddhist though he favoured the

religion and its followers. Huvishka's coins show a wide religious toleration as they show Persian, Greek and Indian gods, and even the figure of the city of Rome. No reproductions of Buddha appear on his coins.

Vasudeva

Huvishka's successor bore an Indian name, either from motives of policy or because the Kushans were really becoming Indian. The name appears as Bazodeo on his coins. Kanishka was the last Kushan to use inscriptions in the Greek language. Under Huvishka and Vasudeva the Greek alphabet only was used. Kharoshthi is not used by the later Kushans, and their use of Greek shows what a firm hold it had gained in North-West India.

There is very little known, except what can be deduced from their coins, about these Kushans, and references to India in the Chinese writings have ceased. From their coins and statues we know that they recognized the Iranian, Greek and Indian gods. Vasudeva has Siva and his bull on some of his coins and only one foreign goddess. The dress of the Kushans is different from both the Greek and the Indian. They are shown as wearing long coats, with a long flare or skirt and leather boots. They were not Mongolian but Aryan in origin, and so were fair in complexion and fair haired.

It is clear that the empire of the Kushans in Vasudeva's reign was much reduced in extent, and after him it split up into small kingdoms on the frontiers. In the west of India however it was continued by kings who are called satraps or Kshatrapas, and seem to have been originally viceroys of the Sakas, as they are always referred to in Indian writings as Sakas. They are to be found at Mathura and elsewhere, and later they seem to have accepted the suzerainty of the Kushans, who were obviously closely allied in blood and language with the Sakas.

All these of course were foreign dynasties ruling over Indian peoples. The Greek kingdoms of North-West India were never Greek in more than the ruling class and a certain number of Greek and mercenary soldiers. So with the Kushans. They were a ruling caste and probably very few of the original horde ever settled in India. Thus when the armies had intermarried with the population these foreign dynasties vanished away or became entirely Indian. This is what happened with the Kushans as will have been seen, and the Sakas who descended on India

more as a horde than an army, with their cattle and their horses, wives and children, in their turn became part of the Indian population. A similar assimilation happened in Britain when the Norman conquerors became in the course of a few generations more English than the English. These ruling castes were received into the system of Hinduism, and the Greeks and Sakas and Kushans together with later intruders became part of the Hindu people, presumably Kshatriyas. These satraps of Saka descent therefore, when the Kushan dynasty faded away, assumed an independence of their own and asserted it in the west of India for several centuries. They were undoubtedly the basis of that later Rajput chivalry about which legend and history relates so many stories.

Satraps of Mathura

Mathura, as we have seen, had a dynasty of satraps subordinate at first to the Sakas and then to the Kushans. This dynasty we first see in the inscriptions on the Lion Capital from Mathura now in the British Museum. Here we have a family who obviously were of considerable importance. The Lion Capital, which is the top of a pillar with two lions back to back, was set up by a lady who was the chief wife of Rajula who appears on coins as Ranjubula. He copied the coins of Strato and probably succeeded to part of his dominion. We know that the Greek kings of the house of Euthydemus held Mathura for some considerable time, but when Maues and the Sakas advanced about 80 B.C. from Sind one of his armies in all probability advanced via Ujjain, the chief fortress on the west, and so on to Mathura. Somewhere about 60 B.C. may be placed the rise of this family. Rajula's son was Sodasa. Before him were other satraps. We do not know when the Satraps of Mathura ceased, but they were certainly supplanted when the Indian dynasties replaced the Kushans.

The Kshaharatas

Connected in some way with the northern satraps of Mathura were the Kshaharata satraps who ruled over part of western India and who conquered some of the lands of the Andhras. Of these Nahapana left coins and is mentioned in the inscriptions of his son-in-law Ushavadata. He ruled in Surashtra, and his line was finally destroyed by the Andhras, who are stated in an

inscription to have 'exterminated the Kshaharatas.' He ruled about the last quarter of the first century A.D.

The Western Kshatrapas

The so-called Western Satraps or Kshatrapas were in all probability the dynasty which founded the Saka era, for they were of Saka descent—the era which began in A.D. 78 and which had nothing to do with Kanishka. The first ruler was Chashtana, who began to rule in A.D. 78 and paid allegiance to the Kushans. There was hard fighting with the Andhras who owed no allegiance to the Kushans, and it was not till the reign of Rudradaman, grandson of Chashtana, that they really established themselves. They prospered at the expense of the Andhras, the Satakarni dynasty, who were lords of the Deccan and had conquered Ujjain and destroyed the Kshaharatas. Now the Great Satrap Rudradaman won back all the other satraps had lost and more. He had married the daughter of the Andhra king and ruled over Surashtra and Malwa. He probably ruled from A.D. 120 to 155, and this was the time that the Kushan Empire was degenerating and losing its possessions, no doubt to its viceroys. He is the great figure of this dynasty, but they continued in power until finally conquered by the Guptas.

Period of Confusion

The period from the middle of the second century to the rise of the power of the imperial Guptas in the beginning of the fourth is very dark and uncertain. The Kushans were declining in power in the north-west, and we know that various local kingdoms and republics were regaining or starting an independent existence. An inscription of Rudradaman states that he had conquered the 'proud and indomitable Yaudheyas,' that republican tribe who dwelt in the territory round the present Delhi.

Local Dynasties

The Panchalas of Ahichchatra had a strong kingdom which probably extended to Mathura, as we have there coins of kings with the Panchala 'mitra' ending to their names, and there seems no need to postulate a local kingdom of Mathura when there is already this strong and neighbouring kingdom not so far distant.

In the hills of Kumaon and Garhwal and possibly extending





Plate 9 *left* An early Buddha from Gandhara (2nd–3rd century A.D.), reproduced in this book by permission of the Central Museum, Lahore ; *right* Bronze Buddha from Sultanganj (early 5th century A.D.), reproduced by permission of the Museum and Art Gallery Committee of the Corporation of Birmingham (see page 77)



Plate 10 Prince Siddhartha leaving Kapilavastu, from a sculpture at Amaravati (2nd century A.D.) in the British Museum collection

up to Kulu and the Simla hills was the kingdom of the Kunindas, a people of considerable importance judging from the scattered references to them in literature and from the coins which have been found in fair numbers, especially that of Amoghabhuti with its much superior engraving to other Indian coins and its very marked Buddhist symbolism. Coins with similar symbols found in Almora and Garhwal confirm the extension of the Kunindas over the modern Kumaon, while various remains at Kashipur, Dikhuli, and elsewhere in the Terai show that this kingdom was an important power.

The extensive grass-covered walls of Kausambi (Kosam) near Allahabad and the port of this city on the Jumna at Bhita have given much information of this kingdom which was connected by marriage and probably alliance with Panchala. Kushan coins discovered on these sites show that they were subordinate, with the exception of the Kunindas probably, to the Kushan Empire, but when the Kushans declined these kingdoms became independent. Of Magadha we know practically nothing, but no doubt a local dynasty was in power and it was from this locality that the Guptas sprung. The Lichchhavi family still seems to have maintained its importance in Vaisali, for the queen of Chandra Gupta I was Kumaradevi, a princess of that family.

The South

In the south of India the Deccan was, as has been already noticed, in the hands of the Andhras whose Satakarni dynasty had extended right across the Deccan. The Tamil kingdoms of the south had continued their sea adventures and trade, and the discovery of the monsoons had increased the trade with the west. As early as 20 B.C. there is a record of an embassy from King Pandion of south India to Augustus in Rome. This would be a Pandya king from Madura. The Cheras or Keralas held Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, while the Cholas held the Coromandel coast on which Madras now stands. The Cholas sailed to Burma and even farther afield to Malaya, while a great trade in pepper and spices, silk, precious stones, pearls and cotton goods was carried on with Egypt and the west from ports on the Malabar coast. Karikala, the earliest Chola king of whom we know, about A.D. 150 confined the Cauvery river within an embankment which extended for a hundred miles—a great work of engineering.

At this period there was little Aryan influence in the Tamil

south. Caste had not captured society nor had Hinduism made much headway, though it was soon to do so. The Buddhists and also the Jains had penetrated early into the Tamil land, and the neighbouring island of Ceylon was the headquarters of Buddhist theology and the Buddhist scriptures were there written in Pali. Wars between the different kingdoms were continuous and also with Ceylon.

Ceylon

The history of Ceylon centres round the history of Buddhism. Mahendra the brother of Asoka introduced the teaching into Ceylon in 246 B.C. The Dravidians of South India are undoubtedly the basis of the population, with some aboriginal stocks and Aryan admixtures. Who the people called Dravidians were we do not know, but it is clear they were not the original inhabitants of South India and probably came from outside. They may be part of that race or rather culture which is responsible for Mohenjodaro and Harappa. The language, Sinhalese, is an Aryan and not a Dravidian tongue like Tamil and is descended from a similar stock to Sanskrit. Devamanpiya Tissa was king when Mahendra arrived, and was converted and the kingdom became Buddhist. The great Buddhist religious centre of Anuradhapura was built—one of the wonders of the world, now a ruin but still remarkable. The history of Ceylon is given in the Buddhist books, but it has no importance for the study of Indian history, and Ceylon has always been somewhat apart, as the whole south was, from the main current of Indian history.

DATES

KUSHANS

Kujula Kadphises I . . .	A.D. 25 to 50
Wima Kadphises II . . .	A.D. 50 to 78
Kanishka	A.D. 78 to 103
Huvishka	A.D. 106 to 140
Vasudeva	A.D. 140 to 176
Satraps of Mathura	
Rajula	*c.* 60 B.C.
Sodasa	*c.* 30 B.C.
Kshahratas of Surasthra	
Nahapana	*c.* A.D. 75
The Western Kshatrapas . . .	A.D. 119 to 388
Rudradaman	A.D. 120 to 155
Cholas—Karikala	A.D. 150

Chapter VII

THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

There is a blank in Indian history from the time of the Kushan Vasudeva until the time of Chandragupta I of the dynasty who have been called the Imperial Guptas, to distinguish them from the Mauryas and from later Gupta dynasties. They started from a local family of petty kings who seem to have held the country around Pataliputra. We know more about the rulers of Ahichchatra and Kausambi than we do of these kings, and it is clear they were only of local importance. The genealogy of the family is given in the inscription of Samudragupta on the Asoka pillar now in the Fort at Allahabad which probably was first set up at Kausambi.

The first was the Maharaja Gupta, who was followed by his son Ghatotkacha, and the latter by his son Chandragupta. Chandragupta is called Maharajadhiraja—king of kings—and obviously is the one who first extended the family's possessions. The accession of Chandragupta marks the beginning of the Gupta era, which we know exactly and which starts from February A.D. 26–320. So here at last we are on firm ground. Little is known about Chandragupta except that he married the Lichchhavi Princess Kumaradevi, and his son Samudragupta was so proud of this that he had a special coin struck commemorating the fact. Probably this marriage brought more territory to the Guptas. Chandragupta seems to have extended his power over the Ganges Valley and the kingdom of Kausambi, but it was his son Samudragupta who really established the fortunes of the family.

Samudragupta

The inscription on the Asoka pillar at Allahabad is the chief source for the history of Samudragupta. It describes how he conquered the kings of the Ganges Valley whom he 'violently uprooted.' Of these the only one who can be identified is Achyuta, probably king of Ahichchatra, the others are called kings of Aryavarta. He also made the kings of the forest countries his servants, and captured and then liberated the kings of the South.

Apparently this means that he invaded the eastern countries and proceeded down to the Deccan, for the names recorded

include Mahendra of Kosala or Orissa, and he proceeded fighting and conquering and probably making treaties with the kingdoms of the eastern Deccan, until he reached the Krishna river where a confederation of kings led by the Pallava King Vishnugopa met him. This seems to have been the end of his campaign to the south, and he did not annex these kingdoms. The frontier kings are represented as paying tribute, and these included Kamarupa (Assam), Nepal and Kartripura, which is Kartikeyapura the capital of the Katyur kings of Kumaon, in the Katyur valley near the borders of Garhwal, who had succeeded to part of the kingdom of the Kunindas, also the republics of the Yaudheyas and Madrakas in the Punjab and the Arjunayanas, Malavas and Abhiras south of them. The remnants of the Kushan kingdom on the frontiers of India are probably referred to as the Sahis and Sahanusahis. Ceylon sent him gifts, and he probably won considerable wealth from his campaigns. On his return he celebrated the *Asvamedha* or horse sacrifice as a sign that he was an emperor. He struck a coin showing the horse, and the queen on the other side. This shows that Samudragupta followed the Brahmanical religion and was not a Buddhist, though he was very tolerant. He built a monastery at Buddh Gaya for Buddhist pilgrims from Ceylon at the request of the Sinhalese King Meghavarman.

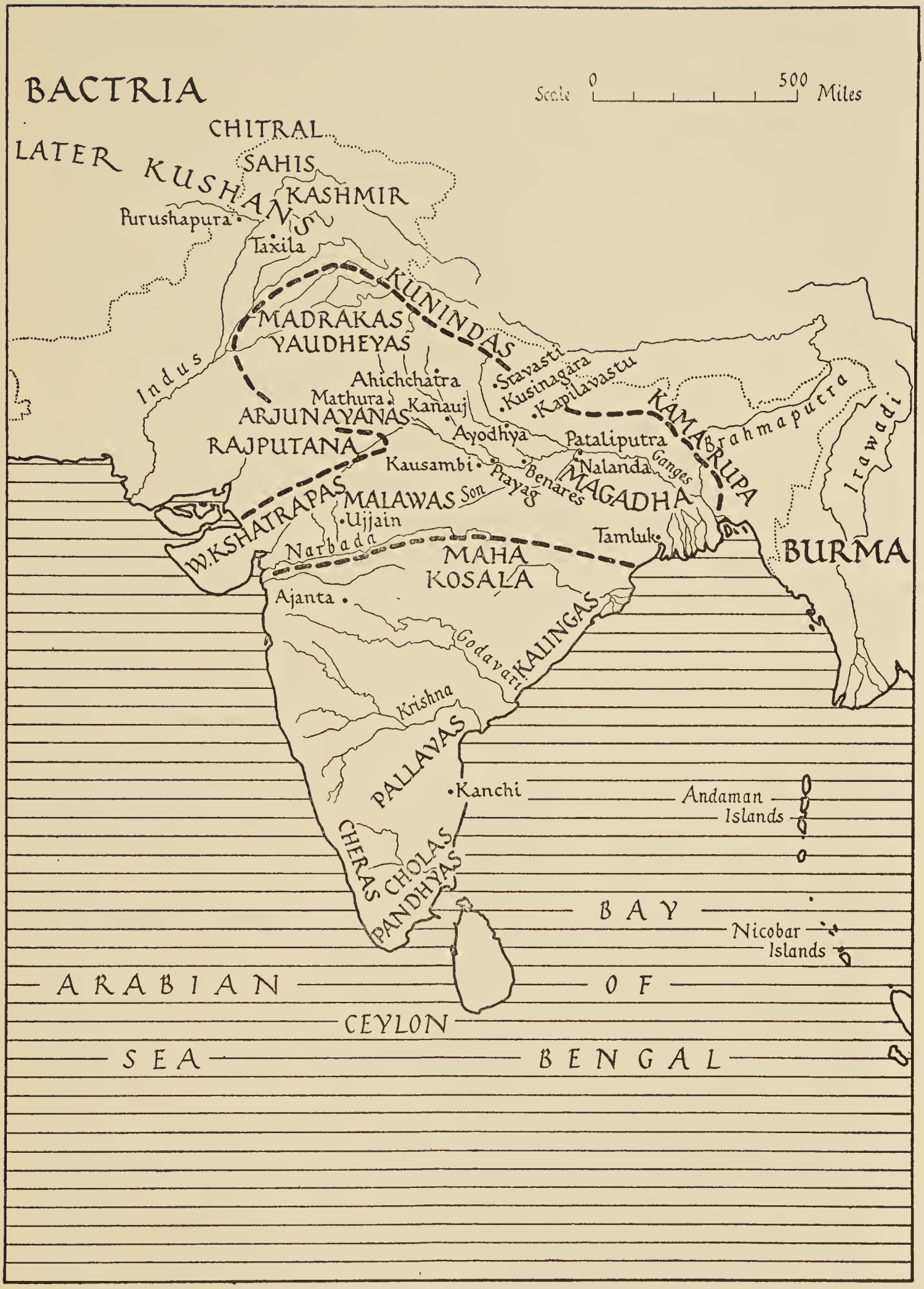
Samudragupta is known to have been a poet and a musician. There is a coin of him sitting playing a vina or lyre. The Allahabad inscription says of him :

' Whose happy mind was accustomed to associate with learned people, who was the supporter of the real truth of the scriptures . . . who having overwhelmed with the commands of the collective merits of learned men those things which obstruct the beauty of excellent poetry, enjoyed in the world of the wise the sovereignty of fame produced by much poetry.' * Again it refers to his sharp and polished intellect in choral skill and musical accomplishments, ' who established his title of king of poets by various poetical compositions.' He was succeeded about 385 by his son Chandragupta whose title was Vikramaditya.

Chandragupta II

Chandragupta II still further extended the Gupta empire, as he conquered the Western Satraps or Kshatrapas and added

* Trans. by R. K. Mookerji in *Coins and Inscriptions* (U.P. Hist. S.).



Map 6 Imperial Guptas *circa* A.D. 400

Surasthra to his realm, and the city of Ujjain now recovered its importance. This was about A.D. 400. Ujjain and not Pataliputra was now the centre of the empire, and Indian literature has references to the court at Ujjain of the king Vikramaditya and the nine gems of literature who are stated to have flourished at the same time. These names are apparently reminiscences of an earlier king at Ujjain, and the great emperor's name is confused with his. At any rate there seems little doubt that Kalidasa, who has been called the Shakespeare of India, lived in Chandragupta Vikramaditya's time. It was the time of a great revival in classical Sanskrit and in the Hindu religion when the great philosophical and religious writings of earlier days were revised and assumed their authoritative shape. The Puranas were now put into final form and the various law books associated with the name of Manu became codified, thus finally fixing the main outlines of Hindu law and custom.

An interesting view of contemporary life is given by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien, who was in India from 405 to 411 and has left his incidental impressions of the civilization he found. He was of course a Buddhist, and came to the source of Buddhist religion especially to obtain from the fountain head information on how the Buddhist monasteries were run. This was his chief intention, and his interest in India is only secondary. Fa-hien came from China by the ancient route south of the Gobi Desert through Khotan and Kashgar and over the snowy Pamirs, and then through Purushapura (Peshawar) and the holy land of Gandhara to Taxila. He was concerned with Buddhist monasteries and visited those at Mathura, a great centre of Buddhism as well as the Hindu Krishna worship. Then he went on to Kanauj, Ayodhya, Sravasti, Kusinagara where the Buddha died, Kapilavastu in the Nepal terai, and then to Kausambi, Sarnath, Pataliputra, and Nalanda the great Buddhist university. Finally from Tamluk the port in Bengal he made his way to Ceylon, the great centre of Buddhism, and so back by sea to China.

The picture he leaves is not very detailed. His purpose was purely religious, and he does not even mention the name of the king. It is evident that the people were prosperous. Pataliputra was then the capital and the palace of Asoka was still standing, which impressed him very greatly, especially the sculptures and the massive stone work. It is clear that there were a very large number of Buddhist monasteries all over the land. Mathura, for instance, had as many as twenty which contained

three thousand monks. The Buddhist principles as to not killing animals were observed, and there were no butcher's shops or drink shops. Pataliputra had a free hospital maintained by public subscription—a very modern note. The government was well organized under the supreme control of the emperor. Mutilation was no longer inflicted except for rebellion or dacoity, and the administration was mild. Land revenue was the main source of public funds, and apparently the tribute from kings on the borders of the empire. The empire extended over the country now included in Bihar, the United Provinces, part of Bengal and Orissa, Central India, Malwa and Gujarat and Surasthra, together with a portion of the eastern Punjab.

Chandragupta ruled till 414 and his son Kumaragupta I succeeded. He retained his empire intact and his rule was a long one, lasting till 455, but in the latter years of his reign it is clear from his son Skandagupta's inscriptions that there was considerable disturbance, and the Huns attacked the empire. These Hunas or Huns were a barbarous horde of warriors from Central Asia, who had overcome the Persian Empire and now poured over the mountain passes into India, killing, burning and destroying as they went. Skandagupta seems to have kept them at bay for the time he lived, and defeated them in one great battle certainly, so that for a time at any rate they refrained from attacking the Gupta dominions. When he died, however, the family of the Guptas seems to have split into two halves—one the descendants of Skandagupta keeping the central and western portion of the Gupta Empire, while Puragupta, another son of Kumaragupta I, and his descendants held the eastern part and Pataliputra. Skandagupta died about 470. The western line seems to have lasted until 510 or so, when they were swept away by the Huns. In the east they remained in possession of Magadha till the time of Harsha apparently.

Art and Literature

The Gupta age was a great period in the development of Indian art and literature. In the first place the classical Sanskrit grammar was now clearly defined and established for all time. The various Sanskrit classics were given their final form, the epics *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* put into order, and various collections of writings standardized. The Puranas were finally revised, and the law books associated with the name of Manu reached their final form. Sanskrit was now the language of the

inscriptions and the coin legends, and was used for all literary compositions. The great poet and dramatist Kalidasa probably lived at this time, and his poem the *Meghaduta* is supposed to have been written during the reign of Chandragupta II. But his play *Sakuntala* is the most famous of his works and it is known all over the world. There were other writers too of great excellence, and altogether Sanskrit literature reached the highest level of classical times. It was of course a Brahmanical revival, and was connected with the victory of Brahmanism over Buddhism. The Buddhists had probably won much of their support among the common people by the vernacular Prakrit in which they wrote. Asoka's inscriptions are in Prakrit, not Sanskrit, and such was the case with the Kushans until they became Hinduized. Thus only the highly educated could appreciate the classical Sanskrit of the Gupta age, and the emergence of a common language understood by the people was delayed by this Sanskrit revival. On the other hand the hold of the Brahmans over education was now consolidated. It was much the same as the hold of Latin in the Middle Ages in Europe—with the same result, the concentration of power in the hands of monarchs and their priestly counsellors. Mathematics and astronomy were also developed, though the great mathematician Varahamihira was later. The *Panchatantra* took its final form about that time, and altogether this was a golden age of literature and learning.

In art this is the period when Indian art had reached its summit. Sculpture, painting and architecture reached a beauty and completeness they had never had before.

Ajanta

The caves of Ajanta give a really complete picture of the development of Indian painting. Here on the walls are painted scenes of the life of Buddha and also pictures of other periods of Indian history. These are great frescoes which have a life and beauty all their own. Much of this painting dates from Gupta times and enables us to judge of the artistry and delicacy of contemporary art. It is certain that there was other painting too, but unfortunately examples of these have not come down to us. Various bronze statues show what the court artists were capable of, but no definite examples of jewellery seem to have been preserved. The sculpture of the time may be studied in the museums at Sarnath, Mathura and Lucknow. The sculptures had reached the acme of technical refinement and achievement,



Plate 11 The Ajanta Caves : Façade of Cave 19



Plate 12 The Ajanta Caves : Cave 17 showing Devas or Heavenly Musicians (6th–7th century) from the collection in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay

and they had evolved a Gupta style which has combined all the various elements of earlier Indian art, and produced a real and definite Indian style which can challenge comparison with any at any period of the world. Unfortunately the various destructive wars which have ravaged India from century to century and the Indian climate, even more destructive, have destroyed most of the great buildings, the triumph of the Gupta architect, and there is no great temple to show the glories of the time. The temples at Khajuraho in the Chhattispur state not far from Mahoba give some indication of what these temples were like, as, though five hundred years older, they have kept to the Gupta style better than any others.

Religion

All these improvements in Sanskrit studies, in literature, and in art are the result of a Brahmanical revival. The last definitely known Buddhist king was Asoka. The Kushans favoured Buddhism but were probably not Buddhists themselves. Fa-hien reports many Buddhist monasteries, and gives the impression that Buddhism was as popular as Hinduism in Chandragupta II's time, but historians consider that it was already dying away gradually. The Hun invasions probably gave it a final blow, as it is said that in Gandhara the Buddhist establishments were a prominent object of Hun fury. All this was responsible, but the definite restoration of Sanskrit to its former position and the reformation of Hindu doctrines also undoubtedly played their part. We have already referred to one—the worship of Vasudeva Krishna and the devotional doctrine of Bhakti. This undoubtedly had a very great influence, and the fact that the religion of the ruling family was Hinduism was also of importance. Thus the Gupta age was a time of great religious revival, and this was partly responsible for the progress in art and literature.

The Huns

The irruption of the Huns had a very great effect on India. It broke up the empire of the Guptas and upset the developments which the Gupta culture was leading to. These barbarous hordes were out for plunder, blood, and rapine and had no feelings for either art, literature, or religion. They had killed the Persian king and overrun his empire and now poured down on India. The Guptas for a time held the frontier against them,

but soon their hold on Ujjain and Malwa and of course Surasthra was gone, and we hear of a Hun chieftain in the west at Ujjain in 500 whose name was entirely foreign, Toramana. The Huns overran the north-west and west and overcame the last Kushan princes of the frontier, and overran, as we have seen, the Buddhist holy land of Gandhara. Toramana's son Mihirikula was especially prominent in this destruction. His capital was Sakala (Sialkot) where Menander had ruled, and he spread fire and rapine far and wide. He seems to have adopted Hinduism himself. Finally there appeared a saviour—a mysterious king from somewhere in Central India, who in an inscription states that he, Yasodharman, had captured Mihirikula and released him after breaking his power. Mihirikula fled to Kashmir and managed to become king there.

The history of North India is very confused after the irruption of the Huns. Guptas reigned in Magadha, and there was a dynasty called the Vakatakas whose kingdom lay between the Gupta Empire and the kingdoms of the south. Another kingdom of which we hear is that of the Maukharis who held part of the present United Provinces and who defeated the Andhras under Isanavarman (*circa* 554). The Andhras had lost their power in the southern Deccan among others to the Pallavas whose headquarters was Kanchi (Conjeeveram). We have seen how it was probably a confederation of kings of the south, headed by Vishnugopa the Pallava, who stopped Samudragupta from proceeding farther south. The Pallavas seem to have established a kind of suzerainty over the other kingdoms of the south and extended their kingdom up to the borders of Orissa. We shall return to the history of the Pallavas later, but first the rise of the last great empire of the Hindu powers must be described.

DATES

The Imperial Guptas

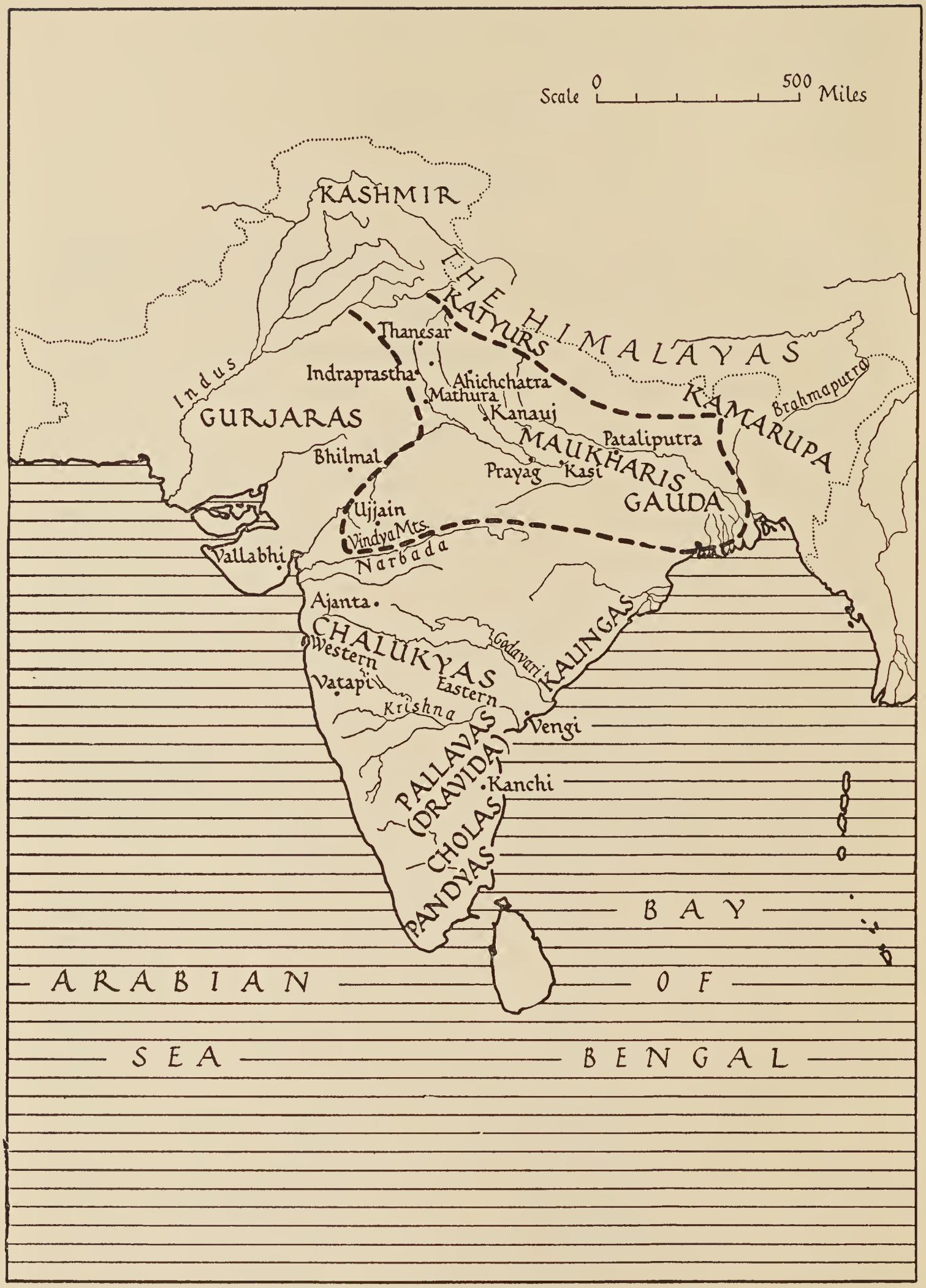
Chandragupta I	A.D. 320 to 335
Samudragupta	335 to 385
Chandragupta II	385 to 414
Kumaragupta I	414 to 455
Skandagupta	455 to 470
Puragupta	480 to about 485
Fa-hien in India	405 to 411
Kalidasa, contemporary with Chandragupta II	
Invasion of the Huns	about 500
Toramana	500 to about 510
Mihirikula	510 to about 534

Chapter VIII

HARSHA

We have seen how the invasion of the Huns affected India and led to the destruction of the Gupta Empire and the rise of many local kingdoms. One of these kingdoms was that of Thanesar. Thanesar is a town near which is the legendary site of the famous battle of Kurukshetra between the Kurus and Pandavas. It is an important position and guards the entry to the Ganges Valley. Harshavardhana's ancestors do not seem to have been more than petty rajas, and it was Harsha himself who made his empire and with his death it collapsed. His father Prabhakaravardhana extended the dominions of Thanesar and fought successfully against the Huns, and also against the Gupta rulers of Malwa whose sons became hostages at his court. He was allied with the Maukharis of Kanauj, and Grahavarman the Maukhari king was married to his daughter. He died in 605 and was succeeded by his son Rajyavardhana, who had to march immediately against the king of Malwa who had defeated and killed Grahavarman and had imprisoned his wife—Rajya's sister. The king of Malwa was defeated, but Rajya was treacherously murdered in Bengal by Sasanka the king of Gauda.

Harsha immediately set out to avenge his brother and release his sister. He marched east and found she had escaped to the forests of the Vindhyas. He was only about sixteen, and during a period of over five years was continuously at war. Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, says that during this period 'the elephants were not unharnessed nor the soldiers unhelmeted.' Harsha did not at first take the title of king, but as successor to his brother-in-law Grahavarman he transferred his court from Thanesar to Kanauj. He soon overcame the Gupta kings of Malwa, and apparently the Guptas of Magadha became subordinate to him. His conquest of Malwa brought him into contact with the Chalukya Pulakesin II about A.D. 620, and he suffered a defeat, but later reduced to obedience the king of Valabhi in Surastha. He was sought in alliance by the king of Kamarupa (Assam), and he exchanged embassies with Persia and with China. Thus his empire—for empire it can be called



Map 7 India *circa* A.D. 640—Empire of Harsha

—was extensive, and for forty-two years he kept the middle country together.

Hiuen Tsang

Yuan Chwang or Hiuen Tsang, a Buddhist pilgrim from China who came in search of the Buddhist scriptures, was a Chinese scholar of great eminence. He started off from China in 629, and travelling by Tashkent and Samarkand arrived in Gandhara the following year. He spent fourteen years in India and travelled all over it, and has left a very accurate account of what he saw. He was of course chiefly interested in Buddhism and Buddhist sites and monasteries, and went back to China with a wonderful collection of Buddhist manuscripts and relics. Known as the Master of the Law he was welcomed everywhere for his learning, and was especially favoured by Harsha. Harsha held for him a great assembly at Kanauj and then took him to Prayag to the great religious meeting, where the king distributed his wealth to religious men and others after the ceremonial weighing. He returned to China via the Pamirs and Khotan—the same route as Fa-hien took—in 643 and died in 664.

Hiuen Tsang's picture of the kingdom over which Harsha ruled is much more detailed than that given by Fa-hien. Kanauj the capital was an important and well-built city with no less than a hundred Buddhist monasteries and many more Hindu temples. Buddhist monasteries and buildings were not in such good order as they had been in the days of Fa-hien, and many had fallen into disrepair. In Gandhara at Taxila and elsewhere the Huns had unleashed their spite against them. Though it appears that Harsha was himself a Buddhist, at any rate when Hiuen Tsang came into contact with him, Buddhism was gradually dying away in the north. At the great Assembly in Prayag the first day was devoted to the worship of Buddha, but the second and third to Surya and Siva, and the holy men of all the different religions shared in the distribution of the king's treasures.

The government of the empire appears to have been largely entrusted to the local rulers who had submitted to Harsha. He himself kept an observant eye on everything by his continuous tours through the length and breadth of his dominions. Hiuen Tsang reported well of the way in which the empire was governed. Taxes were not too high, trade flourished, and justice was done, though perhaps more ruthlessly than under the Guptas, as

mutilation had been once more brought into use and dacoits and rebels were thrown into prison and left to die. It has been said that the king was somewhat intolerant in his practice of Buddhism, but he appears, in the assembly at Prayag at any rate, to have shown almost equal favour to Hinduism and Jainism. About the same time Sasanka the king of Gauda had shown himself a persecutor of Buddhism, as he burnt the sacred Bodhi tree at Buddh Gaya.

The army as the chief support of his power received special attention from Harsha. There seems to have developed a regular caste of professional soldiers. While the old four divisions of the classical Hindu army were retained in theory, the use of chariots seems to have been going out.

The condition of the people did not call for any comment. Officials' salaries were paid regularly, so there was no excuse for peculation. There were regular ferries over rivers maintained by the government, but the tolls were light. It is mentioned that the roads were not as safe as in Fa-hien's time, and Hiuen Tsang himself was more than once a victim to robbers.

The theory of caste was now in full existence and intermarriage forbidden. There are examples of *sati* being practised by queens and princesses. Whether the humbler wives had to pay this tribute to departed worth is, however, not known. Education was paid great attention to by the Buddhists. Hiuen Tsang gives an account of the great Buddhist university at Nalanda in Magadha, where ten thousand students studied and the revenues of a hundred villages were assigned for its support. The university was open to all without question of religion or of caste, though naturally the Buddhist scriptures and history were the most studied. At Valabhi in Surasthra was another famous university, also mainly for Buddhists, but no more is heard of Taxila : the Huns had seen to that. As to the ordinary education of children—for these Buddhist universities were mainly for scholars and *bhikshus*—nothing is reported, but the existence of these universities postulates also the existence of schools where the three R's at any rate were taught. There was of course no state education. It is only very late in the world's history that the government has taken an interest in education. Before that it was the concern primarily of religious bodies ; in Europe the Church and the monastic schools, in India the Brahmanical and Buddhist schools and later the mosques.

Like Samudragupta Harsha himself was a man of culture and

a scholar. He wrote a grammar of Sanskrit and was also something of a poet. He is however most famous as a dramatist, and three of his plays in Sanskrit have survived. One, the *Nagananda*, has been translated into English. They are good of their kind, though not remarkable. Bana, who wrote the *Harshacharita* which is an account of Harsha's early life and his rescue of his sister Rajyasri, had a great reputation as a writer of Sanskrit. Bhartrihari the famous lyric poet also lived during Harsha's time.

It was only a few years after Hiuen Tsang's departure that Harsha died. He had reigned for forty years and had for a time restored a stable and peaceful centre to Hindustan, but he left no strong successor. Absolute monarchies depend on a succession of strong rulers, which are seldom forthcoming, and thus on his death his empire resolved itself into its separate parts once again. When he died one of his ministers, Arjuna, seized the throne, and very foolishly attacked the escort of the Chinese ambassador Wang Hiuen Tse who had been sent to Harsha and arrived in India after his death. Wang escaped to Tibet, received aid from its king, and returned to India with a force of Tibetans and Nepalis. With these he defeated the minister and took him prisoner to China. Tibet was a strong kingdom during this period, and it was at this time that Lhasa was built by the Tibetan king.

In India itself the Guptas of Magadha appear to have revived some of the glories of their race under Adityasena. Kanauj apparently became an independent kingdom once again. There was a local dynasty at Ahichchatra, as appears from some inscriptions of a dynasty found at Budaun in the vicinity. In Kumaon the Katyur dynasty was in power.

We know little of the Punjab, but the same jumble of local dynasties probably held sway. Kashmir had been the refuge of the Huns on their defeat in Hindustan. Hiuen Tsang visited it in 631–33 and was treated with great respect by the king of the Karkota family. Later it seems to have fallen under the suzerainty of China which in the seventh and eighth centuries spread its power widely. An invasion of Hindustan from Kashmir in 740 (by Lalitaditya) merely helped to increase the confusion which had lasted for a century after Harsha's death.

The South

The Pallavas

We have already referred to the Pallavas who were the chief power in the south of India during the fifth to the ninth century. They included part of the old Andhra empire of the Satakarni or Satavahanas, as well as some of the former domains of the Cholas on the east or Coromandel coast. The capital was Kanchi. We do not know where the Pallavas originally came from, but they were undoubtedly foreigners, possibly connected with the Pahlavas or Parthians of earlier days. They were a reigning family, of course, and not a separate people. About A.D. 600 Mahendravarman became king; he was a great builder of temples.

The Pallavas were the first builders of the great temples of South India. Before them wood was the material mostly used, and they introduced building in stone. It was at this time that the long wars with the Chalukyas began which lasted for such a long time. Pulakesin II who had even defeated the great Harsha also defeated Mahendravarman and took from him Vengi, but later Mahendravarman in his turn defeated the Chalukyas. Narasimhavarman the next ruler pursued the quarrel and defeated Pulakesin in several battles, finally capturing and sacking the Chalukya capital Vatapi (now Badami). It was probably in this campaign that Pulakesin was killed.

Narasimhavarman sent an army to Ceylon to place a claimant on the throne and succeeded. He founded Mamallapuram, where the great temples are his. He reigned from 625 to 660, and in his time Hiuen Tsang visited the kingdom which he refers to as Dravida. He reported the capital Kanchi as being largely Buddhist, but states that various forms of Hinduism were also flourishing. The history of the Pallavas is a history of wars with the Chalukyas, Cholas and Pandyas, with various and fluctuating results. It is as builders that they are chiefly famous and they have left great memorials at Kanchi.

The Chalukyas

The Chalukyas held most of the present Bombay Presidency and Hyderabad from their capital city of Vatapi. They are known to history as the Western Chalukyas, and Pulakesin I was the first important king in about 550. The most famous member



Plate 13 Two lintel pillars at Garhwa (Gupta period, 5th century)





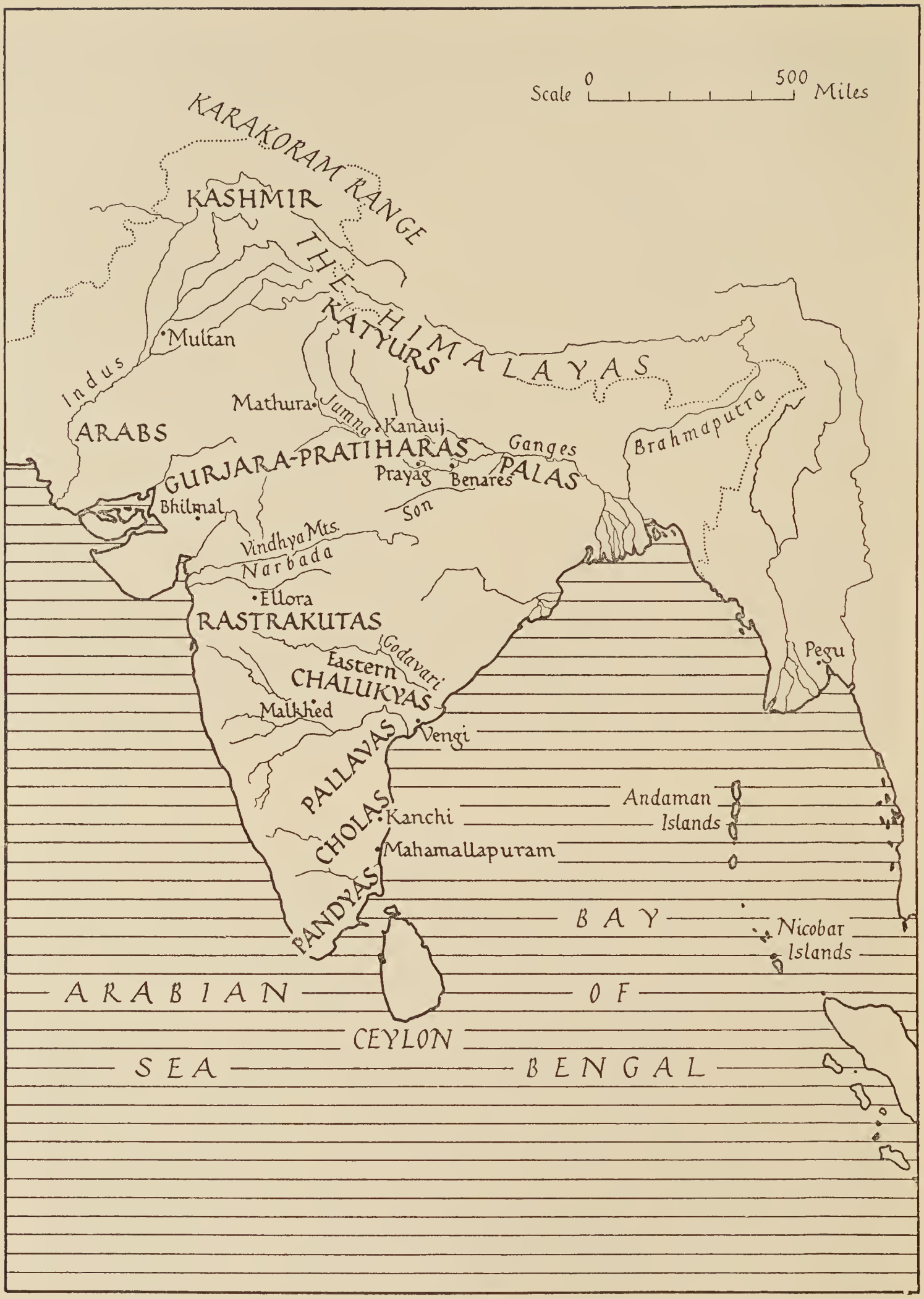
Plate 14 Figures from Mathura (Gupta period, 5th century)
left Buddha, in the Indian Museum, Calcutta *right* Vishnu, in the Archaeological Museum, Mathura

of the dynasty was Pulakesin II, who defeated the attempts of Harsha to extend his empire over the Narbada into the Deccan. He extended the Chalukya power very greatly, advancing as far as Kanchi against the Pallavas and taking from them the eastern seaboard round Vengi, where he established his brother as viceroy and where the kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas was founded. He was finally defeated and killed by the Pallavas. His dates are 608 to 642. The Ajanta cave paintings show Persian ambassadors giving a letter to an Indian king who was probably Pulakesin. Hiuen Tsang visited his kingdom. The Chalukyas continued their wars with the Pallavas and finally reduced them to impotence, but about 750 they were conquered by the Rashtrakutas. The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi continued to hold the country between the Godaveri and the Krishna, and had frequent wars with the Rashtrakutas and later with the Cholas.

The Rashtrakutas

For two hundred years the Rashtrakutas played a great part in the Deccan and South India. They overran the Western Chalukya territory, and spent most of their time fighting with the Eastern Chalukyas. Dantidurga, who is dated 753, overthrew the Chalukyas and established the kingdom of the Rashtrakutas on a firm basis. He was succeeded by his uncle Krishna I, who ' made the boar flee like a timid deer.' The boar was the badge of the Chalukyas. He made the famous rock-cut temple at Ellora. Govinda III, who ruled from 783 to 815, was able to make the Gurjaras submit and also ' the lord of Malwa.' He it was who built the capital of Manyakheta (Malkhed), and his kingdom stretched from the Vindhyas to the Tungabhadra. Jainism was adopted by the later Rashtrakutas.

The wars with the Eastern Chalukyas went on, but after much fighting the Rashtrakutas were overthrown in 973 by Taila II, who was a descendant of the Western Chalukyas and now restored their dynasty. He was an important king and recovered most of the lands the Rashtrakutas had usurped. The next reigns record wars with Malwa and the Cholas before Somesvara I set up a new capital at Kalyani (1053). This branch of the Chalukyas are known as the Chalukyas of Kalyani to distinguish them from the earlier Chalukyas of Vatapi. They enjoyed supremacy for another century and a half before they succumbed to the rising power of the Yadavas of Devagiri and the Hoysalas of Mysore.



Map 8 India, 800–900

The Cholas

The Cholas reached their zenith under Rajaraja who came to the throne in 985. He conquered the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi and other neighbouring kingdoms as well as Ceylon. He maintained a large fleet which ventured far afield. His son Rajendra Choladeva who succeeded in 1012 was a great monarch who defeated the Pala king of Bihar and Bengal. His fleet seized Pegu across the Bay of Bengal and also the Andaman and Nicobar islands. The Pandyas were conquered, and for a time formed part of the Chola kingdom. The Cholas continued the traditions of the Pallavas as builders, and their temples are fine examples of architecture. The local administration of the Cholas is interesting for the great use of local self government, by which village assemblies enjoyed great powers and unions of villages governed themselves in all local affairs. Rajendra II the Eastern Chalukyan succeeded to the Chola throne through his mother, and united Vengi with the Chola kingdom. He is known as Kulottunga and reigned from 1063–1112. The kingdoms of the south though cut off from North India were not cut off as regards religion. During the time we have been describing, though Buddhism and Jainism held their place the popular religion was Hinduism and Hindu ideals had been firmly established. Except in the Tamil countries the language of scholarship and theology was Sanskrit and literature flourished. It should be remembered that the reformers of Hinduism, Sancharacharya and later Ramanuja, both came from South India.

Northern India

After Harsha there is no great kingdom, and Hindustan was split up into a number of local kingdoms of different sizes and no very great stability. The details of their history are unimportant, but the life lived by the people must have been hard and precarious. The Rajput tribes are prominent in history, and there are many tales of the bravery and chivalrous nature of the great families. The Rajputs were the peoples who arose after the end of the great empires, and appear to have been largely mixed with the remnants of the invaders of North and Western India from the Greeks to the Sakas, Kushans, and even the Huns. Perhaps the Gurjaras of the western parts of India are the most

representative of these clans. They spread widely over Central and Northern India, even up to the hills of the sub-Himalayan tract.

The Gurjara Pratiharas

The Gurjaras seem to have entered India with or shortly after the Huns and settled in Western Rajputana, as it is now called, and Gujarat. There they established several principalities. Of these one with its capital at Bhilmal near Mount Abu was visited by that great traveller Hiuen Tsang. In 725 the Pratihara clan or branch formed a new dynasty under Nagabhata. In 816 his descendant, also called Nagabhata, captured Kanauj and transferred his capital to this centre. During his reign the Rashtrakutas under Govinda III advanced as far as the Himalayas. They did not stay however, and the Palas too were defeated.

Nagabhata's grandson Mihira, known as Bhoja, who came to the throne in 832 is the most famous of the family. He continued the war with the Rashtrakutas and the Palas with varying success, until Devapala the most eminent of the Palas died. Then Bhoja came into his own and ruled over nearly the whole of Hindustan except Sind and Kashmir. Magadha finally succumbed before him and his kingdom was as big as that of Harsha, if not bigger. He was king for nearly half a century and died about 890.

After his death the fighting with the Rashtrakutas continued, and in the reign of Mahipala the Pratihara they occupied Kanauj itself. The Chandels helped Mahipala to regain his throne in the year 940. The Chandel power was now rising, and they gradually occupied more and more of the possessions which had belonged to the Pratiharas. The Paramaras under Bhoja I became powerful in Malwa and the Pratiharas lost their supremacy there. It is recorded however that the king of Kanauj assisted the Sahi king of the north-west frontier against the Muslims in 991 and again around Peshawar in 1008. Mahmud of Ghazni sacked Kanauj in 1018 and after a second invasion the Pratihara king Rajyapala submitted, but was attacked by the Chandels and other powers for doing so and killed. The kingdom later fell to the Gahadavals of Benares about 1090.

Chandels of Jejakabukti

The Chandels of Bundelkhand are supposed to have been a non-Rajput family of Gond origin who early assumed Rajput

pretensions and were admitted. They first dwelt at Khajuraho where Yasovarman (930–50) built a great temple to Vishnu, which is a remarkable monument of the art of this time and one of a remarkable group of temples built by these kings, which are the best examples of Hindu art remaining in North India. He conquered the fortress of Kalinjar, and under him the Chandels greatly extended their power. Dhanga his son ruled for fifty years and added to the temples at Khajuraho. He joined in the Hindu confederacy against the raids of Mahmud of Ghazni. He lived to the great age of a hundred and died in 999. His son Ganda however surrendered the fortress of Kalinjar to the invader in 1023 but got it restored to him, and for two hundred years Jejakabukti never saw the Muslims again. Mahoba had now become their capital. Kirtivarman (1060–1100) fought with the Kalachuris of Chedi. Paramardi (1163–1263) fought against the famous Prithiviraja in 1182 and was defeated, and Mahoba was captured. Kutb-ud-din Aibak finally captured Kalinjar after a stern defence. This was the end of this interesting and artistic dynasty, though they lived on as local chiefs for some time.

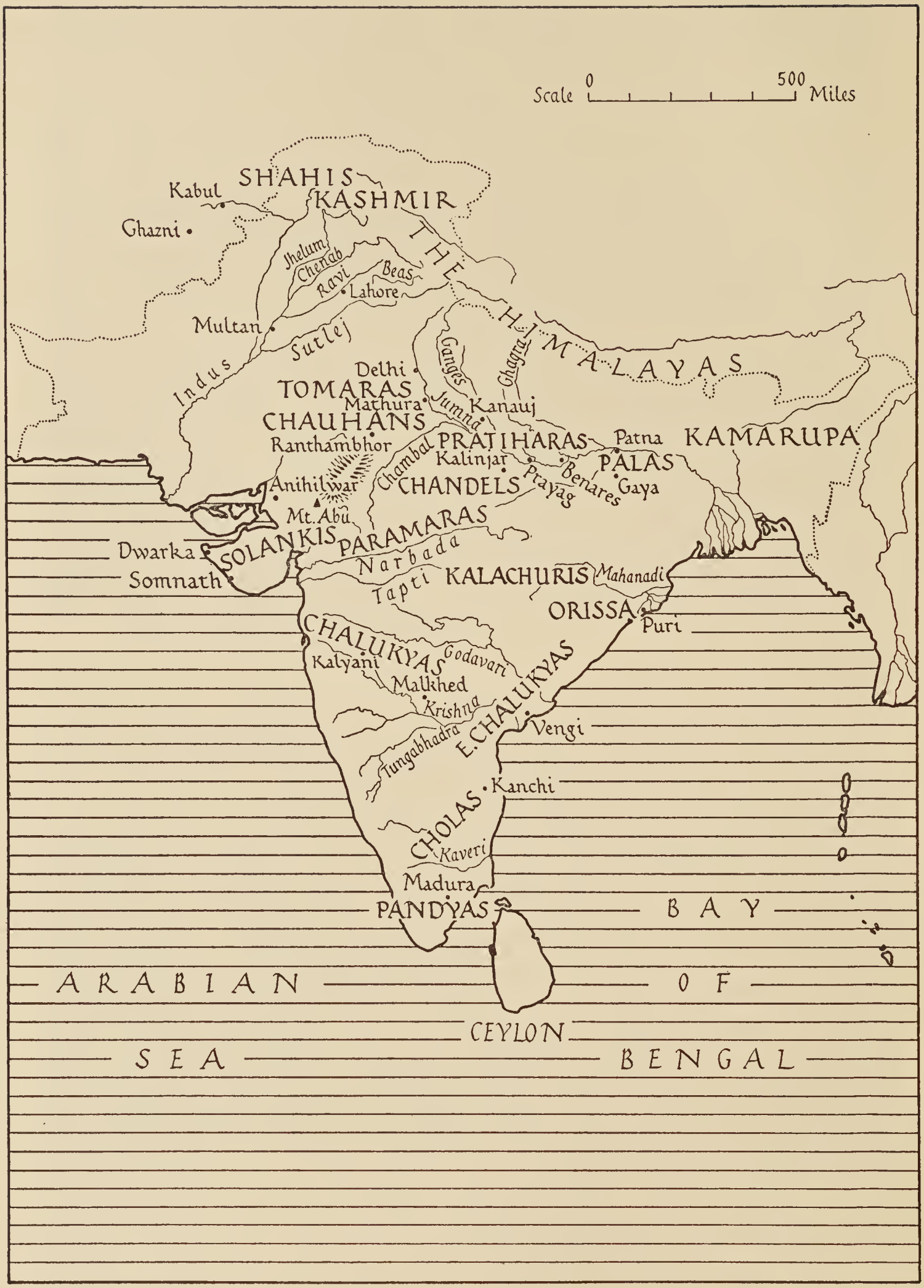
Chauhans

Vigraha Raja IV or Bisala Deva, the Chauhan ruler of Sambhar, apparently conquered Delhi in 1163, which is the date of his inscription on the famous iron pillar.

Perhaps the most famous hero of Rajput story was his nephew Prithiraj, or Prithiviraja, who ruled at Ajmir. Ajmir was founded about the end of the eleventh century. Prithiviraja is celebrated in the *Chandraisa* by his court poet Chand Bardai. He was the hero of the tale of the carrying off of the daughter of Jaichand of Benares. Delhi which had belonged to a clan called the Tomars, of whom Ananga Pala was prince in the middle of the eleventh century, was part of Prithiviraja's kingdom. Prithiviraja was the great leader of resistance to the Muslim invasions and fell at the battle of Tarain in 1192. His successors ruled at Ranthambhor for almost a century more.

The Gahadavalas or Gaharwars

The Gahadavals succeeded the Pratiharas as rulers of the Kanauj dominions, making Benares their capital. Chandradeva who ruled from 1090 to 1100 was the first king, but Govinda-chandradeva was the most famous. He reigned from 1112 to



Map 9 India *circa* 1000

1155. He extended his power against the Palas and also resisted the Muslims with success. Jaichand, the ruler in 1170 to 1193, was the father of that Samyogita whom Prithiviraja carried off, thus causing a feud which divided the Hindu opposition to the Muslims. Jaichand did not join in the resistance to the Muslims at Tarain when Prithiraj was finally defeated and killed by the Ghori invaders. Jaichand was then attacked and was killed in a battle in 1193 with Muhammad Ghori and Kutb-ud-din Aibak. Benares was taken and sacked. The dynasty apparently survived for a time in the east of the kingdom but its glory was over. It was the feuds of the Rajputs and other kings which made their defeat certain. Had they been united the result might have been different.

Bengal

The Palas

With the fall of Magadha, Gurjaras and Rashtrakutas fought for the land once occupied by the Gupta dynasty. After years of confusion Gopala was elected to take control. This was about 765–70. His son Dharmapala (770–815) was the real founder of the dynasty. He conquered Kanauj for a time but found his hands full with the Rashtrakutas. He was a Buddhist. His son Devapala also had considerable successes against both the Pratiharas and the Rashtrakutas, but after him the Palas suffered from the growing power of the Pratiharas. The Rashtrakutas at one time almost conquered the country and put the Palas to flight. Mahipala I (992–1040) restored their fortunes, and seems to have ruled over the present Gaya, Patna and Muzaffarpur districts. In his reign Rajendra Chola invaded Bengal and won great success, but later Mahipala recovered it. The Kalachuris of Chedi also attacked the Pala kingdom, though Ramapala for a time held off defeat.

In Dharmapala's day Pataliputra was the capital, but attacks from Pratiharas and Rashtrakutas gradually led to a withdrawal, and Monghyr became their centre when Pataliputra was lost, and the later Palas moved farther east still to the neighbourhood of Gaya. Marriages with the Kalachuris of Chedi and Rashtrakuta princesses indicate some form of dependence on these powers, who from time to time invaded the Ganges valley and Pala power gradually decayed.

The Palas were great patrons of art and literature. Pala art

is exemplified by their fine sculpture and bronzes which bear witness to a high degree of artistic development. The paintings with which their palm leaf manuscripts are decorated continue the tradition of Hindu painting which had never died out and which continued independent though not uninfluenced by the Persian techniques introduced under the Mughul dynasty. Literature flourished and Buddhist philosophy developed the Tantric tinge which originated in philosophic speculation but branched off into magic and less desirable manifestations later.

The Palas had relations with the Sailendra kingdom of the Malay Archipelago, and Pala art seems to have influenced the Buddhist art of this region. The new universities the Palas founded at Uddantipura and Vikrasamila and the older university of Nalanda sent scholars far and wide. Buddhism in Tibet was reformed by scholars from the Pala kingdom, and a Sailendra king built a monastery at Nalanda.

The Senas

The Chalukya invasions of Bengal brought many adventurers into the country, who established small principalities during the break-up of the Pala power notwithstanding the temporary restoration under Ramapala. Madanapala seems to have died about 1150, and during his reign the Senas, already a power in Eastern Bengal under Vijayasena, extended their power over much of the Palas' remaining territory. The Sena dynasty was Hindu and not Buddhist, so it was a revival of Hinduism and a triumph of orthodoxy as well. They are thought to have come from the south, and gradually extended their power as that of the Palas waned.

Vijayasena was the first king of importance who may be said to have based the dynasty on firm foundations in the middle of the twelfth century. Ballalasena his son is referred to as Lord of Gauda, showing that the Palas had been entirely driven out. He was a cultured sovereign and a writer of merit. His son Lakshmanasena finally wiped out the remnant of Pala rule, and is credited with wide conquests as far as Prayag and Kamarupa, though no doubt the Gahawars prevented his expansion to the west.

Literature and art were patronized by the Senas as they had been by the Palas. Jayadeva, the author of the *Gita Govinda*, enjoyed the favour of Lakhshmanasena, and it is clear that the



Plate 15 Great Temple by the sea, Mamallapuram



Plate 16 Temple at Ellora

kingdom was a centre of culture. But a change was near, and in 1194 or 1201 the Muslim raid under Muhammad ibn Bakhtiyar surprised the capital Nadia, the later Lakhhauti, and Lakhshmanasena ingloriously fled before no more than eighteen horsemen, which makes the story of his conquests somewhat doubtful, or explains the ease of the Muslim onslaught. For a time he and his successors lingered on in Eastern Bengal, but the Muslim invasion soon spread over the whole country and the Sena dynasty disappears from history.

Indian Colonization

The Jatakas give accounts of long sea voyages, and there are earlier references in Indian literature such as the expedition to Ceylon in the *Ramayana*. The organization of the royal shipping under the Mauryas has already been referred to. The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, written by some unknown Greek in the first century of the Christian era, mentions Indian commerce in the Red Sea ; and Indian sailors and merchants took part in the trade with Egypt. Indian embassies made their way to Rome in the time of Augustus, while the recent excavations at Arikamedu near Pondicherry confirm the existence of a Roman trading centre there. Chinese annals record visits of Indian ambassadors who came by sea as early as the 2nd century A.D.

But it was to Indonesia that the main wave of Indian colonization spread. Burma was early influenced by Buddhist ideas from India and by expeditions of exploration or conquest. From Burma Indian influence spread overland to Siam and Indo-China, and the Mons of Burma seem to have had connections with the Khmers of Siam and Cambodia. The Mons were Buddhists, but the Khmer kingdom of Cambodia, which is stated in Chinese records to have had a ruling dynasty of Indian origin, were followers of Siva as far as the court creed and its art are concerned. The Khmers appear as a power first in the second half of the 6th century or even earlier. Their temples are Hindu in architecture as can be seen in the wonderful group at Anghor Vat, which was originally a Siva temple. The city of Anghor Thom near by was founded by a king called Yasovarman. The Khmer kingdom lasted until the 15th century. Another kingdom with the old Indian name of Champa in the present southern Annam shows as definite Indian influences in its sculpture as in its name.

The settlement of Sumatra and Java by colonists from India began early, at least as early as the 3rd century. Fa Hien the Chinese pilgrim in his voyage home from India visited Sumatra or Java, and bears witness to the already strong hold that Hinduism had obtained over the people. This was in A.D. 414. As far away as Borneo there have been found traces of kings with Indian names. It was the Sailendra dynasty of Sumatra and Java with its city of Srivijaya (Palembang) in Sumatra which is perhaps the most interesting.

The great temple of Borobudur in Java built by them is Buddhist, and Buddhism and Hinduism seem to have existed side by side. Borobudur was probably built in the middle of the 8th century when the Sailendra empire extended over Java, Sumatra and parts of Malaya. The island of Bali was apparently settled by colonists direct from India and has remained Hindu ever since.

The Cholas had much to do with the seas of the archipelago, and Rajaraja I and his successor Rajendra I at the beginning of the 11th century, when presumably the Sailendra power was failing, records naval expeditions to Malaya and Sumatra, but it does not appear that the spread of Indian culture over Indonesia was the result of conquest, but rather of peaceful colonization and the victory of ideas.

The art forms and architecture are a development of South Indian models reinforced by Gupta and Pala prototypes executed by native craftsmen. The architecture of Kambuja or Cambodia is superior to that of Java, but the sculpture of the latter is finer.

To this day the story of the *Ramayana* figures in the dance drama of Java and Bali. While the conversion of the Malay Archipelago to Islam at the end of the 16th century put an end to both Hinduism and Buddhism, in Bali both the Hindu religion and its culture still holds sway.

DATES

	A.D.
Harsha	605–647
Hiuen Tsang in India	629–643

Kingdoms of the South

Pallavas

Mahendravarman	*c.* 600
Narasimhavarman	623–660

Chalukyas of Vatapi

Pulakesin I	*c.* 550
Pulakesin II	608–642
Vikramaditya I	642–680
Kirtivarman II	746–753

Rashtrakutas

Dantidurga	753–760
Krishna I	760–775
Govinda III	783–815
Krishna III	940–970

Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi

Vishnuvardhana	*c.* 612–633
Bhima I	888–915

Western Chalukyas of Kalyani

Taila II	973–997
Somesvara I	*c.* 1053–1068
Vikramaditya VI	1078–1126

Cholas

Rajaraja	985–1012
Rajendra Choladeva	1012–1042
Rajendra II Kulottunga	1063–1112

Northern India

Gurjara-Pratiharas

Nagabhata I	*c.* 735
Nagabhata II	818–834
Mihira Bhoja	832–890
Mahendrapala	890–908
Mahipala	*c.* 910–940
Ragyapala	990–1018

	A.D.
Chandels of Jejakabukti	
Yasovarman	930–950
Dhanga	950–999
Ganda	999–1023
Kirtivarman	1060–1100
Paramardi deva	1163–1203
Paramaras of Malwa	
Bhoja I	1018–1060
Chauhans	
Vigraha Raja	1151–1164
Prithiviraja	*c.* 1167–1192
Gaharwars	
Chandradeva	*c.* 1085–1102
Govinda-chandradeva	1112–1155
Jaichand	1170–1193
Palas	
Gopala	765–770
Dharmapala	770–815
Devapala	815–*c.* 854
Mahipala	992–1040
Ramapala	1077–1120
Madanapala	1130–1150
Senas	
Vijayasena	1100–1165
Ballalasena	1165–*c.* 1185
Lakshmanasena	*c.* 1185–1202

INDIAN COINS

from the earliest times

		No.
I	Punch-marked, *c.* 5th–3rd century B.C.	1
II	Kuninda, 2nd century B.C.	2
III	Panchala, *c.* 100 B.C.–A.D. 100	3
IV	Greek Kings of Bactria and Northern India	4–7
V	Indo-Scythians or Sakas	8, 9
VI	Kushans	10–13
VII	Imperial Guptas	14–21
VIII	Harsha	22
IX	Medieval Hindu Dynasties	23–25
X	Sultans of Delhi	26–34
XI	Mughuls	35–40
XII	Kings of Oudh	41–45

From *Descriptive List of Coins and Inscriptions* (1936) compiled by the United Provinces Historical Society



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Plate 17

1. Silver punch-marked coin. 2. Silver coin of Amoghabhuti, *ob.* Woman offering fruit to a stag ; *rev.* Tree and swastika. 3. Copper coin of Phalgunimitra, *ob.* Figure on lotus ; *rev.* Symbols of the Mitra dynasty. 4. Gold coin, *c.*245 B.C., *ob.* King Diodotos ; *rev.* Zeus hurling thunderbolt. 5. Silver coin, *c.*175 B.C., *ob.* King Eucratides ; *rev.* Dioscuri. 6. Silver coin, *c.*155–130 B.C., *ob.* King Antialkidas ; *rev.* Zeus. 7. Silver coin, *c.*140 B.C., *ob.* King Menander ; *rev.* Pallas. 8. Silver coin of King Maues, 1st century B.C., *ob.* Zeus ; *rev.* Goddess of Victory. 9. Silver coin, 20 B.C.–A.D. 20, *ob.* King Azes ; *rev.* Pallas. 10. Gold coin, *ob.* Wima Kadphises ; *rev.* Siva holding trident. 11. Gold coin of Kanishka, *ob.* King making sacrifice ; *rev.* The Moon-god. 12. Gold coin of Huvishka, *ob.* King holding sceptre ; *rev.* The Sun-god. 13. Gold coin of Vasudeva, *ob.* King holding trident making an offering ; *rev.* Siva with bull. 14. Gold coin struck by Samudragupta A.D. 335–85 commemorating the marriage of Chandragupta, *ob.* Chandragupta offering gift to Kumaradevi ; *rev.* Goddess Durga on lion couchant. 15. Gold coin of Samudragupta, *ob.* King playing lyre ; *rev.* Goddess Lakshmi.



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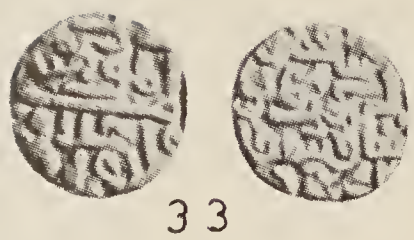
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Plate 18

16. Gold coin of Samudragupta, *ob.* Horse standing before sacrificial post ; *rev.* Chief queen. 17. Gold coin of Chandragupta II (A.D. 385–414), *ob.* King holding bow ; *rev.* Goddess on lotus. 18. Gold coin of Chandragupta II, *ob.* King on couch ; *rev.* Lakshmi on lotus. 19. Gold coin of Chandragupta II, *ob.* King with left foot on lion ; *rev.* Goddess Durga on lion couchant. 20. Gold coin of Kumaragupta I (A.D. 414–55), *ob.* King and peacock ; *rev.* Karttikeya and peacock. 21. Coin of Skandagupta (A.D. 455–80), *ob.* King with bow and arrow ; Lakshmi on left, *rev.* Lakshmi on lotus. 22. Silver coin of Harsha Siladitya (A.D. 605–47), *ob.* Head of king ; *rev.* Peacock. 23. Gold coin of Kirtivarman of Chandela dynasty (1060–1100), *ob.* ' The illustrious Kirtivarman '; *rev.* Lakshmi. 24. Gold coin of Kumarapaladeva (1019–49), *rev.* Lakshmi. 25. Gold coin of Govinda-chandradeva (1112–55), *rev.* Lakshmi. 26. Gold coin of Muhammad bin Sam (1163–1202), *rev.* Rude representation of Lakshmi. 27. Silver coin of Shams-ud-din Altamish (1210–35). 28. Silver coin of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud (1246–66). 29. Silver coin of Ghias-ud-din Balban (1266–86). 30. Silver coin of Ala-ud-din Muhammad Shah (1296–1316).


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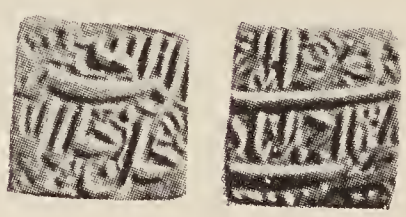

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Plate 19

31. Silver coin of Ghias-ud-din Tughluk (1320–25), *ob.* and *rev.*—inscriptions. 32. Silver coin of Muhammad III bin Tughluk (1325–51), *ob.* and *rev.*—inscriptions. 33. Billon coin of Bahlol (1451–88), *ob.* and *rev.*—inscriptions. 34. Silver coin of Sher Shah (1540–45), *ob.* and *rev.*—inscriptions. 35. Copper coin of Babur (1527–30), *ob.* and *rev.*—inscriptions. 36. Silver coin of Humayun (1530–56), *ob.* and *rev.*—inscriptions. 37. Silver coin of Akbar (1556–1605), *ob.* and *rev.*—inscriptions. 38. Silver coin of Jahangir (1605–27), *ob.* inscription ; *rev.* Bull charging, with rising sun behind. 39. Silver coin of Shahjahan (1628–58). 40. Silver coin of Aurangzeb (1658–1757), *ob.* and *rev.*—inscriptions. 41. Silver coin of Ghazi-ud-din Haidar (1819–27), *rev.* Arms of Oudh. 42. Silver coin of Nasir-ud-din Haidar (1827–37), *rev.* Arms of Oudh. 43. Silver coin of Ali Shah (1837–42), *rev.* Umbrella over crown on top of a fish, enclosed by curved swords. 45. Silver coin of Wajid Ali Shah (1847–56), *rev.* Two mermaids holding clubs and pennants. Shield and crown surmounted by umbrella ; swords and crossed clubs.

Chapter IX

THE MUSLIMS IN INDIA

When Harsha was consolidating his empire in northern India, far away in a city of Arabia a young man was seeing visions and dreaming dreams which were to result in the spread over the then known world of a great religion and a great conquest which have between them influenced the whole of Europe, Asia and Africa. This was Muhammad the Prophet of Islam. Born in the little city of Mecca which was the centre of an Arab community of no great influence about 580 he gradually obtained acceptance of a belief in one God and the need for prayer and a temperate life among a growing band of followers.

Like so many reformers he had at first no honour in his own country and was compelled to flee to Yathrib another small town in 622. This is known as the Hijra or Flight, and Yathrib became known as Medinat un Nebi—the City of the Prophet. There he remained for nine years gradually winning converts and perfecting his revelations which were to be collected in the holy book of the Muslims, the Koran. He returned in triumph to Mecca in 631 and died the following year.

He had not only founded a religion but united a nation, which was consolidated by his successor the second Caliph Omar, and made into a great conquering army. In 636 at the battle of the Yarmak the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius was defeated and the whole of Syria won by the Arabs. The following year Persia was overrun, and in 639 Egypt was invaded, and in 642 Alexandria, the centre of Greek learning, fell. Soon the whole of the Mediterranean became an Arab sea while the invasion spread along the old Roman province of North Africa on the west and to the Oxus on the east. Then for a time there was a pause caused both by internal troubles arising out of the disputed succession on the third Caliph Othman's death in 656, and the difference in the type of resistance. Syria and Persia and Egypt fell easily—the people were unwarlike and the new doctrines were not greatly objected to, but the Berbers of North Africa and the rough tribes of nomads across the Oxus put up a stout resistance. It was not until Mowaya the Ummayyad had triumphed and set up the seat of the Caliphate in Damascus in

692 that the second surge forward took place. In 710 the Visigoths of Spain were broken for ever in a terrible battle, and Spain became an Arab state. In the east they advanced as far as Kashgar between 711 and 714, and it was this advance which spread the doctrines of Islam among the Turki and Mongol nomads who were later to be responsible for its introduction into northern India. In the direction of Constantinople they were however stopped by Leo the Isaurian, and it was the Turks seven hundred years later who captured and ended the Byzantine Empire, not the Arabs.

This great conquering surge of the desert peoples east and west had great consequences for the world at large, but its immediate effect on India was small. The Arabs were after all too few to hold down so great a conquest, and it was their converts among the surrounding peoples who spread Islam over the farther east and the nomad peoples.

What was it therefore that accounted for their conquests? It does not seem to have been their desire to convert all nations—that was a later development. The Byzantine empire was large, unwieldly and riven by religious quarrels and handicapped by its outworn organization, yet it stopped the Arabs ultimately when it had lost its outlying provinces. In Europe the Franks under Charles Martel put an end to all hopes of further progress at Tours in 732. The Hindu Kush was the barrier to a further spread east and there is only the episode of the Arab invasion and occupation of the modern Sind. This was the farthest east of the Arab onrush, and it had no permanence and no effect on India. The Arabs then did not influence India directly, but the results of that religion born of a visionary in Mecca did not end with the Arabs and their conquest of Sind. Its influence was an influence of ideas, and it was carried to India by people of a different race. Before seeing how this came about it is necessary to recount briefly the stages of the conquest of Sind.

The Conquest of Sind

At the beginning of the eighth century Sind was as the Arab historians tell us—there are no other accounts—in the possession of a ruler called Dahir the son of a Brahman usurper named Chach. Arab traders had been sailing down the Red Sea and along the Persian Gulf for many a long year, and tales of the riches of India were spread wherever seafaring men met together.

The trade with the Indian coast ports of the western sea-board had been carried on for centuries, and it was common for ships from India and from Egypt, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, to take advantage of the monsoon for the passage across the Indian Ocean. But this would probably have led to no land acquisition as the Arabs were traders and did not use the sea greatly in their invasions. The Arab invasion of Sind was due to ambition and the proselytizing zeal of Al Hajjaj the great Viceroy of Walid the Ummayad Caliph of Damascus. It was he who was responsible for the spread of Islam among the nomad tribes of Turks and Mongols as far as Kashgar and the Great Wall of China and he determined to attack India as well. Whether the attack was the result of the seizure of some Arab traders or whether this was made an excuse cannot be said, nor does it greatly matter.

Al Hajjaj entrusted the invasion to his cousin and son-in-law Imaduddin Muhammad ibn Kasim, a youth of but seventeen, a romantic figure for whom legend has invented a cruel end. In 712 he set out from Shiraz with a small force for such a great adventure. It consisted of six thousand horsemen, picked men, and six thousand camel sowars with a baggage train of camels—a very suitable force for the route he took through that Mekran where over a thousand years before Alexander's returning army suffered so heavily from the rigours of the desert. He was, it is true, reinforced by the Arab governor of the province, but, all told, his army was small, and his first operation was to be a siege—the siege of the port of the Indus, Debul, near the modern Thatta. The Arabs were masters of all the large catapults and machines which were the equivalent of modern artillery, and after a short siege the place fell, and the vanquished paid the penalty which war in those days demanded, though Kasim was inclined by nature to clemency.

The capital was Brahmanabad up the Indus, but Dahir with 50,000 horse went out to meet the invader. The elephants of the Hindus with their body armour were a new weapon the Arabs had not met before. Blazing arrows, however, broke their ranks, and finally the king was slain, and that was the climax of the day. The rest fled. The wives and daughters of the king and nobles refused to yield themselves to the conquerors, and followed the Rajput custom of burning themselves on a great funeral pyre. Brahmanabad next fell to the invaders, and Kasim dealt fairly with the people. He married Rani Ladi one of the late king's

wives and gave freedom of worship to the people after imposing the usual poll tax. Indeed the Muslim settlement of Sind, after the first fury, was on the whole just, as was the Arab custom everywhere, which explains in part their widespread conquests. He then proceeded to complete the campaign by the capture of Multan. The Arab settlement of Sind was little more than a change of rulers, and the Brahmans and other Hindu officials appear to have continued to administer the land under the Arab governor and his immediate followers.

The story that the daughters of Dahir, who had been sent captive as presents to the Caliph, avenged their father's death by accusing Kasim of insulting their honour, is only a story, as is the further tale that the Caliph ordered him to be sewed up in a raw hide and sent to Damascus and so pressed to death. What actually happened was that the Caliph's successor was an enemy of Al Hajjaj, and as Hajjaj was dead wreaked his spite on his relation and protégé Kasim. He was relieved of his command and imprisoned in Mesopotamia, and finally died under torture with his family.

But the Arabs remained in Sind; their government was tolerant, and gradually became nominal, with the local chieftains exercising the power, while many became Muslims.

The rest of the story of Sind is unimportant and may be shortly told. In 750 the Ummayad Caliphs of Damascus were overthrown by the Abbasids who moved their court to Baghdad and replaced the governor of Sind by one of their own choice. Finally Sind ceased to be dependent on the Abbasids.

Musa the Barmecide, a family famous in the annals of the Abbasids, who had originally come from Balkh, the ancient Bactria, when he died in 836 nominated his son to succeed him. Thus Sind broke away from the Arab dominions of the Caliphs. In 871 two separate principalities were set up, the northern with its capital at Multan and the southern, the present Sind, at Mansura. Muslim Sind exercised no influence on India.

The Arab wave had spent its force and did not even threaten the Rajputs to the west. Arab civilization however spread by trade and trading voyages farther south. The Malabar coast had long been open to their influence. Settlements of Arab traders dating from pre-Muslim times were to be found all down the west coast. All this had its results in influencing ideas.

But we must turn elsewhere for the entry of the Muslims into India proper. These were not the Arabs but a less cultured and

rougher type—not the original missionaries of the religion of Muhammad but converts of a different race who had received the new light more recently and were more ruthless in thrusting it on all they came into contact with. They were racially the same peoples who had disturbed India before—akin to the Sakas and the Kushanas, the Hiung Nu of the Chinese histories, that conglomeration of peoples who were Turki-speaking tribes of nomads.

Turki is not a race but a language, and many different stocks were included under this general name. It is first used by the Chinese in A.D. 545 but generally speaking these peoples were Aryan in culture and not yellow skinned like the Chinese, or Semitic like the Arabs. They appear on the Oxus in A.D. 560, and their cavalry was used in the Byzantine armies. In 630 they received Hiuen Tsang at Tashkent with great hospitality on his way to India. The Arab invasion into Transoxiana split them in two, and Chinese attacks weakened them further. The Arab campaign in 705–14 introduced them to Islam, and they adopted the new religion with avidity.

The Samanid dynasty from Balkh—Persian chieftains who had become Muslim early in the ninth century—conquered Transoxiana, Persia and the greater part of Afghanistan. They were the first to start the custom of enlisting their officers from the Turki captives or slaves they acquired, and this establishment of Turki slaves became the base of the Muslim dynasties for many a year to come, leading finally to a Slave dynasty in Delhi. The name slave simply indicated their origin not their position.

The Turki nomads were now reasserting themselves in the country besides the Oxus. The Samanids whose capital was Bokhara were themselves giving place to other powers. In 962 Alptigin, one of their Turki officers, established his own kingdom in the mountains of Afghanistan at Ghazni. It was at first a small principality nominally subordinate to the Samanids. In course of time as the Samanids declined and the Caliph of Baghdad became more and more the prey of rival mercenaries, Persians, Turks and others, it grew in power. The Seljuk Turks appeared about 985 and occupied the attention of the Caliphate and other powers. Meanwhile Ghazni prospered among its mountains, and Sabuktagin finally established himself as king. He too was a Turki slave of Alptigin and was placed on the throne after two successors of that chief had failed to extend their power. This was in 976.

The Ghaznavids

Sabuktagin now king of Ghazni proceeded to extend his kingdom. It was a period of war when the whole of the country across the Hindu Kush was in a ferment. The Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad were poor copies of the conquering Ummayads and had begun more and more to rely on mercenaries. The Seljuk Turks were on the move and all the vast hinterland between the the Wall of China and the Oxus was in a state of flux. Whether he wished it or not Sabuktagin had to strengthen his kingdom or perish. The Samanids were falling before the Seljuks, and he first consolidated his power around Ghazni by conquering Laghman in the Kabul valley, the territory of the Hindu Shahis and Seistan on the Persian border, and later Khorasan as a result or price of his assistance to the Samanids in their despairing warfare with the Turki tribes. The conquest of Laghman brought him for the first time into contact with India. The people he first encountered were the Shahis whose king, Jayapala, ruled over the Punjab from Bhatinda as far as Kabul itself.

It has been suggested that they were Jats but they hardly showed the fighting qualities of the later Jats, and the history of their resistance is that of long range defiance and short range collapse. Kabul was captured and Peshawar taken.

Mahmud

When Sabuktagin died in 997 he did not name Mahmud as his successor but another of his sons. Mahmud however had disposed of his rival by the following year and now became the Sultan, an independent ruler without temporal subordination to the Caliph of Baghdad. His aim was to become ruler of the country which the Samanids and the Caliphs had held, and India was not his objective. Yet when he died after thirty-two years he had made it certain that India would soon be overrun by the conquerors of Afghanistan and Transoxiana.

It must be clearly understood that Mahmud never contemplated the conquest of India. He had a large empire on the west stretching as far as the Tigris, and on the north was always fighting against the Turki tribes. India was a useful place from whence to draw the sinews of war, but it was both too large and too uninviting a place to occupy. The Turks were men of the steppes and had no love of the hot wet plains of Hindustan. The

dissension among the warring tribes and kingdoms of India, where there was no unity to resist an invader, made it an easy prey for a raider but a hard problem for an invader bent on permanent conquest.

The ease of Mahmud's raids and their success is somewhat hard to explain in view of the bravery and chivalry of so many Rajput kingdoms, but Rajput pride and internal jealousies ever prevented them from presenting a united front to the enemy, and all their bravery availed them nothing. Then there was the religious fervour of the Muslim invaders. The Arabs, as we have seen, were not fanatical, but the recent converts from the pagan Turks and nomads were another type altogether. The intellectual tolerance of the cultured Arab found no counterpart in these wild converts who were rude, unlettered tribesmen fired by the new wine of a faith which inculcated unity and brotherhood among its adherents, and might be held to demand a holy war against all infidels. At any rate that is the way Mahmud and his followers interpreted it, and there is no doubt that their pride in their religion and the feeling that they had a religious duty to perform against infidels lent added vigour to their blows.

Mahmud invaded India seventeen times, each time penetrating farther. First his raids were directed against his father's enemy Jayapala with a reconnaissance in 1000, followed by a real invasion the following year. This time he led a force of ten thousand horse—for cavalry was the Turki arm in which they excelled. Jayapala is said to have disposed of twelve thousand horse, thirty thousand infantry, and three hundred elephants. He was defeated and captured, and though Mahmud treated him with tolerance, for the times, he could not survive his defeat and burnt himself upon a funeral pyre. The fight was carried on by Anandapala who allied himself with the ruler of Multan, one of those Muslim heretics who were so obnoxious to the new converts. In 1008 Mahmud set out to take revenge on Anandapala for taking sides with the ruler of Multan.

Anandapala managed to unite some of the other Indian kings to resist the invader. The names of the rulers of Delhi, Ajmir, Kanauj, Kalinjar and Gwalior are mentioned as joining in—that is Tomaras, Chauhans, Pariharas, Chandels and Kacchwahas—but Delhi, at any rate at this time, was a small town of no great importance and the claim is probably a later development. This confederation at first seemed to show signs that at last the invader could be stopped and his first attack was held

by a great charge of Khokhars, but it did not last, and when the raja's elephant turned the army wavered, and were soon in confused flight. The rest was massacre and demoralization. The Sultan went on to Nagarkot, the fort in which all the treasures of the realm were collected. An enormous booty of gold and jewels was taken back to Ghazni.

The next invasion in 1010 went as far as Tarain north of Karnal where a large army which had been collected to meet him was defeated. Anandapala's son, another Jaipal, had now succeeded, and in 1013 on Mahmud's advance he retired to the mountains leaving his son Nidar Bhimpal to meet the invader, but to no avail. Thousands of prisoners were taken, and the slave markets of Afghanistan and beyond were glutted. The following year the idol-breaker determined to destroy the celebrated shrine at Thanesar. Jaipal was too weak to oppose him and let him through into the Tomara territories of Vijayapal of Delhi. The result was the same massacre and destruction.

An invasion of Kashmir the following year was defeated by bad weather, but in 1018 with an army of 100,000 horse composed of all the adventurers of Transoxiana Mahmud advanced deeper into Hindustan than ever before. He by-passed Delhi and crossing the Jumna laid siege to Baran—the modern Bulandshahr—the High City and its citadel. Har Dat the governor could not resist and it surrendered. Then Mahmud marched towards Muttra and after a battle against the Hindu army, presumably of Tomaras, at Mahawan, where fifty thousand men are with the usual exaggeration stated to have been killed, he proceeded to sack Muttra, that beautiful town which the Greeks of Menander's time called 'the daughter of the Gods.' It was full of temples and beautiful buildings, 'a city of wonderful fabric and conception so that one might say this is a building of paradise,' as the Muslim historian says. This beauty did not stay the iconoclast's puritan hand and Muttra was destroyed and all its images broken for their jewels and gold and silver coverings. Immense booty was carried away. Brindaban too was sacked and its temples destroyed.

Then Mahmud marched on to the centre of Hindustan—the famous city of Kanauj—which he reached early in 1019. The strength of the city was apparently priestly rather than military, for it is reported to have had seven forts but ten thousand temples. The raja Rajyapala of the Parihar dynasty either surrendered or fled and the place was sacked, the temples destroyed, and the

priests massacred. A large number of the inhabitants were carried away captive and several hundred elephants taken to use in wars on the Oxus. It is stated that the other Rajput princes were disgusted at the cowardice of the Parihar raja and Ganda, the Chandel prince of Kalinjar, formed a confederacy against him. The Chandels were now the rivals of the rulers of Kanauj and probably welcomed the excuse. Rajyapala is said to have been slain.

Mahmud determined to avenge this insult to his ally or vassal, and in 1019 once more led an army into Hindustan and south to Bundelkhand to chastise the presumptuous Chandels. Ganda or Chand Rai fled to the broken country, the hills of Central India probably. In 1021–22 another expedition was made to humble the Chandels and Ganda this time surrendered Kalinjar and made peace. This makes it hardly likely he should have attacked the Parihar raja because he had done the same thing. It was in pursuance of his attack on the territories of Kanauj that Ganda had fought Rajyapala, not from any romantic principle of revenge for the betrayal of Hindustan, for there was then no idea of the unity of Hindustan—no national spirit. This explains the otherwise inexplicable successes of the invasions.

The raid which has had most fame is that on the sacred and wealthy city of Somnath in 1025–26. Mahmud proceeded by way of Multan and Ajmir, which he took, and then on to Gujarat and the sacred city. All sorts of legends have grown up about this episode, and the Muslim historians talk of an image which was cut in two by a stroke from the idol-breaker's sword. But it was of course a stone *lingam* and no sword could break that. Pieces however were transported to Ghazni, and great booty of gold and silver and precious stones was found in the vaults below the principal temple. He then attacked Anhilwara and defeated the Raja who fled while his citadel was captured and the garrison put to the sword. The journey back through Sind was not so fortunate, and the Jats of the Salt Range inflicted losses on the heavily laden army. To avenge this attack, the following year Mahmud is reported to have organized a fleet of boats and fought a naval action on the Indus against a fleet of Jats. But Mahmud whose strength was Turki horsemen would hardly have attacked the wild tribesmen of the Salt Range on an element so unsuited to his tactics nor would they have forsaken their guerilla tactics for a set naval battle, and so little credence can be given to this story. That he did chastise the Jats however is established. This was his last raid on India.

The picture of Mahmud presented to Indian eyes by his ruthless raids cannot be flattering. He looked on India as a treasure house to be looted at will, and since it was a sacred duty to destroy infidels and sack their cities and temples there was a religious flavour in all he did.

Though the Punjab was added to his dominions he seems to have had no permanent designs on an Indian empire. Indeed he had his hands full with his possessions on the other side of the Hindu Khush. The Caliphate was a shadow, the Samanids had vanished, and the cities of Transoxiana were his, Samarkand and Bokhara and the lands as far as the Caspian and the Aral seas. To the north the Seljuk Turks were menacing his possessions already, and more than once he had to resist their attempt at invasion. He was a great soldier, but no more than any of his contemporaries a great statesman. Consolidation was far from his thoughts, and his dominions were personal to him and to his reputation as a great conqueror and a Ghazi.

But he was no rough soldier. He made his court at Ghazni in the mountains the centre of learning and culture throughout Asia. He set up a state university at Ghazni with professors and scholarships and equipped it with that essential of any university, a great library. He attracted to his court some of the foremost literary men of the time : Al Biruni, captured at Khiva, mathematician, astronomer and historian who has left such a valuable picture of the state of Hindustan in his time, Farabi the philosopher and his private secretary Al Utbi whose record of his wars is so valuable a witness. Then the poets Unsuri the great master, Asjadi and Farruki and above all Firdausi the author of the Shahnama the epic of the old Persian heroes.

The story of the latter's disappointment with his reward of 60,000 pieces of silver when the Sultan had promised him gold is well known. He left the court in disgust and composed an eloquent satire on the Sultan's meanness culminating in the lines, unworthy both of the poet and the Sultan :

> Being by birth not a prince but a boor
> The praise of the noble he could not endure.*

A later writer and statesman of the Seljuks, the wazir Nizamul-Mulk, summed up the character of Mahmud as ' a just sovereign, a lover of learning, a man of generous nature and of pure faith.' His cruelty to those he considered infidels and heretics must be

* E. G. Brown, *Literary History of Persia*

attributed to the atmosphere of his age. He died in 1030 as his tomb in Ghazni bears witness.

Ghazni

The history of his successors is confused and bloody. Masud who was keeping the eastern frontier when Mahmud died returned to Ghazni and imprisoned his brother whom his father had nominated to succeed him. Later he had him blinded. He was a strange mixture like all these kings. He patronised learning like his father, but was a despot and cruel. A man of fine physique, he listened to no advice but was sometimes guided by his wazir, Khwaja Ahmed Husain Maimandi. Like all the Turks he was a lover of wine in spite of his religion but could give it up if necessary. He seems to have been blind to his chief danger which was from the Seljuk Turks, now started on their great expansion which was to take them to the shores of the Mediterranean and ultimately to pen in the Greek emperors in Constantinople. Instead he occupied himself with Hindustan. Ahmad Niyaltagin, governor of the Punjab, made a lightning raid as far east as Benares in 1033, and returned laden with spoil to Lahore.

His behaviour seemed to point to dangerous ambitions, and the Hindu Tilak, commander of the Hindu troops which the Ghaznavids employed—sure sign of the lack of unity in Hindustan —was sent to deal with him. Niyaltagin was defeated and his head sent to Ghazni. In 1037 Masud in spite of the threat of the Seljuks to his western borders marched to Hansi which he took. Now the storm broke and in 1038 Tughril Beg the Seljuk overran Khorasan and Masud had to face him. Near Merv in 1040 he was utterly defeated by Tughril. Balkh was besieged, and he retired to Ghazni and soon in fear of the Seljuks set off with his treasure and harem to Lahore but was intercepted near Attock and sent a prisoner to Ghazni. His blinded brother Muhammad was put on the throne in his place. Ahmad, the latter's son, murdered his uncle and was in his turn executed with his father by Masud's son Maudud who hurried back from fighting the Seljuks when he heard the news of the revolution. There is no need to proceed further with the detailed story of how the kingdom of Ghazni now decayed and the Seljuks took all their possessions west of the Hindu Khush. In 1116 the Seljuk Sultan Sanjar occupied Ghazni itself. He placed Bahram Shah on the throne as his tributory before he left. Bahram Shah for a time was

successful and consolidated the power of Ghazni in the Punjab where the Hindus had given evidence of a desire to regain their power, but this revival was temporary and a new enemy now appeared.

Ghor

The small state of Ghor in the mountains between Ghazni and Herat had accepted the Ghaznavid supremacy when they offered employment in attacks on Hindustan, and when the kings were strong. With the gradual weakening of the power of Mahmud's descendants, however, the Suri clan of Ghor became practically independent. Their rulers, of the family of the Shansibanids, became definitely opposed to Ghazni when Bahram had one of them poisoned. This led to war, and Ghazni was captured in 1148 and Bahram fled. He soon came back, however, and executed his enemy. The third of the Suri brothers, Ala-ud-din Husain, determined on revenge, marched with a large force to Ghazni which he captured and destroyed with fire and sword. Even the bodies of the sultans were exhumed except Mahmud, Masud and Ibrahim, whose tombs alone remain of all the architectural glories of Ghazni. Women and children were killed or enslaved—so barbarous had the customs of the age made these Afghan Turks whose leader was afterwards known from this holocaust as Jahan suz (World burner). Ghazni became a wilderness and the conqueror returned to Ghor where he soon offended Sultan Sanjar the Seljuk, and both Ghazni and Ghor were ravaged. Bahram Shah did for a time return to Ghazni, but his son Khusru Shah was finally driven out by other Turk tribes, and he made his capital at Lahore where he was succeeded by his son Khusru Malik. Thus ended the connection of the family of Mahmud with Ghazni in 1160.

Meanwhile Ala-ud-din had been restored to Ghor, and on his death in 1163 his nephew Ghiyaz-ud-din Muhammad succeeded. Ghiyaz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam, to give him his full name, drove the Ghuzz Turkomans from Ghazni which became the capital of a new kingdom. He and his brother Muizz-ud-din Muhammed ruled jointly, one in Ghor and the other in Ghazni, and spread their rule both east and west. Ghiyaz-ud-din occupied himself with the western extension of the empire while Muizz-ud-din Muhammad Ghori from Ghazni set himself to conquer Hindustan. It was in 1173–74 that Ghazni had been occupied,

and Muhammad Ghori did not waste much time. First he set out to uproot the Ghaznavids from the Punjab. As a preparatory move he marched against the Ismaili Muslim heretics of Multan in 1175 and installed a Sunni governor. Then Peshawar, gate of the Punjab, was seized. His next advance into Gujarat was not so successful, and the desert and the bravery of the Rajputs cost him dear; but Sind was soon added to his possessions. He next proceeded against Khusru Malik who submitted and gave hostages. Sialkot was taken, and in 1186 Lahore was finally captured. Khusru Malik was taken to Ghor where in 1201, after harsh years of captivity, he and his son were put to death and the Ghaznavid line came to a final end.

The India which Muhammad Ghori had to deal with was, now that the Muslim powers on the frontiers had been disposed of, largely a Rajput combination. 'Combination,' however, is the last word which should be used. The Rajput culture in its essence demanded war to bring out its qualities of heroism, chivalry and fidelity to the clan, while at the same time their pride, hatred of domination and lack of any sense of unity were causes of weakness. Rajput battle tactics and strategy based on the Hindu treatises of war written centuries before, had become stereotyped and the enemy was expected to conform to the types. If the enemy was a Hindu and a Rajput he did conform and personal bravery and individual prowess alone decided the issue. The Turki tribes introduced the different tactics of the steppes, and they had a unity of purpose which was missing among their opponents. This had been apparent during the raids of Mahmud Ghazni; it became the deciding factor in the time of Muhammad Ghori.

The Rajputs

Having cleared the Punjab as far as the Sutlej, Muhammad came up against the Rajput powers. Immediately facing him were the Chauhan kingdoms of Ajmir and Delhi. Prithiviraja, known to the Muslims as Rai Prithaura, is the hero of Rajput story. A chivalrous and attractive figure, he was the only hope of Hindu India and even he, with all his bravery, could not organize effective resistance. This was due largely to the Rajput hatred of subordination to any overlord; and only a well knit well organized empire could have stopped Muhammad Ghori.

Jealousies and clan hatreds prevented this. The Pratihara



Map 10 India on the eve of the Ghori invasion

Gurjara empire in its palmy days might have succeeded but it had long since broken up into a mutually antagonistic collection of small kingdoms, whose enmity to each other precluded any hope of lasting co-operation. The successors of the Pratiharas, the Gaharwars of Benares, had been deeply antagonized by Prithiviraj when he carried off the daughter of Jaichand in one of the most famous episodes of Rajput story. Added to this was the fact that the Chauhan possession of Delhi meant a denial of a Gaharwar claim to the territory it included.

Another of the powers which had risen on the ruins of the Pratihara empire of Kanauj, and which disputed the claims of the Gaharwars of Benares were the Chandels of Jejakabukti. Prithiviraja's campaign against Parmardi Deva, the Chandela king, was another weakening episode in the war which embittered Rajput relations and paved the way for the Muslim successes. In 1182–83 Prithiviraja crushed their power in spite of the great feats of the legendary heroes Alha and Udala, and Jejakabukti was unable to resist the Muslim conqueror twenty years later. The Paramars of Malwa had reached their height under Bhoja, who died in 1054, and by this time exercised little influence on affairs. The Solankis of Gujarat, another Rajput power, had reached their zenith under Kumarapala, who died in 1173, and they were no obstacle to the invaders—in fact, they had contributed by their wars with the Parmars and the Chauhans further to weaken the Rajput power.

Literature and Art

In the midst of all these wars and uncertainties literature and architecture flourished. The Rajput princes all had their family bards who sang their praises. Bisala Deva of Ajmir was a patron of learning and founded a school at Ajmir. He wrote a play which is still extant. The Paramara Munja was a scholar and encouraged learning while Bhoja carried on the tradition at an even higher level : warrior, scholar, poet, architect and mathematician, he was the founder of a Sanskrit college in his capital. Several important works were produced at other centres, and Sanskrit literature flourished greatly during this medieval period. The religious reforms of Sankaracharya had done much to revive the Brahman supremacy and under the Rajputs they more than regained the power which Buddhism had certainly threatened. Ramanuja with his emphasis on the doctrine of *bakhti* or personal

devotion extended the possibilities of religious experience and gave another direction for the flow of poetic talent. Chand Bardai, who wrote the first real Hindi epic *Prithviraja Rasau*, may be a legendary figure and the epic which has come down in a hundred thousand stanzas not his but that of a court poet who sang the praises of Prithviraj in Hindi verse at his court. The Chandelas had a similar bard who wrote the *Alhakand* in honour of Alha and Udal of Mahoba.

Architecture too flourished. Mahmud pays tribute to the marvellous buildings of Mathura though his admiration did not prevent him from destroying them. The fact that the Hindu shrines aroused the fanaticism of the Muslim invaders has deprived posterity of much that was grand and beautiful. Enough remains to give some idea of what Hindu architecture was like. The great temples at Khajuraho of the Chandel kings carry on the traditions of Gupta art. Like the temple of Bhuvaneswara in Orissa they were built in the style of northern Indian architecture which differed from that of the south. The main differences are that in the north Indian temples the shrine or garbhigriha is rectangular and is surmounted by the spire or shikhara. From the garbhigriha are three mandapas or halls leading to the entrance porch, while from the central mandapa there is a porch on each side. The chief examples are those of the Chandels at Khajuraho where the earliest is early tenth century and in Indore at Un and Nemawar, eleventh and twelfth centuries. The sculpture, especially on the Khajuraho temples, is full of life, and it is a matter for the greatest regret that none of the temples of the golden prime of the Gupta age remain. At Mount Abu in Rajputana the Jain temples, more restrained without but marvellously decorated within, show a similar artistry. In the south are famous temples built by the Hoysala dynasty in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Pallava temples at Kanchi have already been mentioned. The Cholas built many temples, and that at Tanjore early in the eleventh century is a good example of the southern type with its more massive shikhara and more ornate decoration. About the art of painting we know nothing. No representations have come down to us, but the beautiful art shown at Ajanta could hardly have died away, and later developments in the Muslim courts, and references in literature, suggest that Hindu art continued to flourish. Like architecture and sculpture it was however a court art, and its examples perished in the destruction of the palaces and forts of the Hindu rulers.



Plate 20 Pala sculpture in bronze : a Buddha from Bihar (9th century) in the Patna Museum



Plate 21 A temple at Khajuraho (10th century)

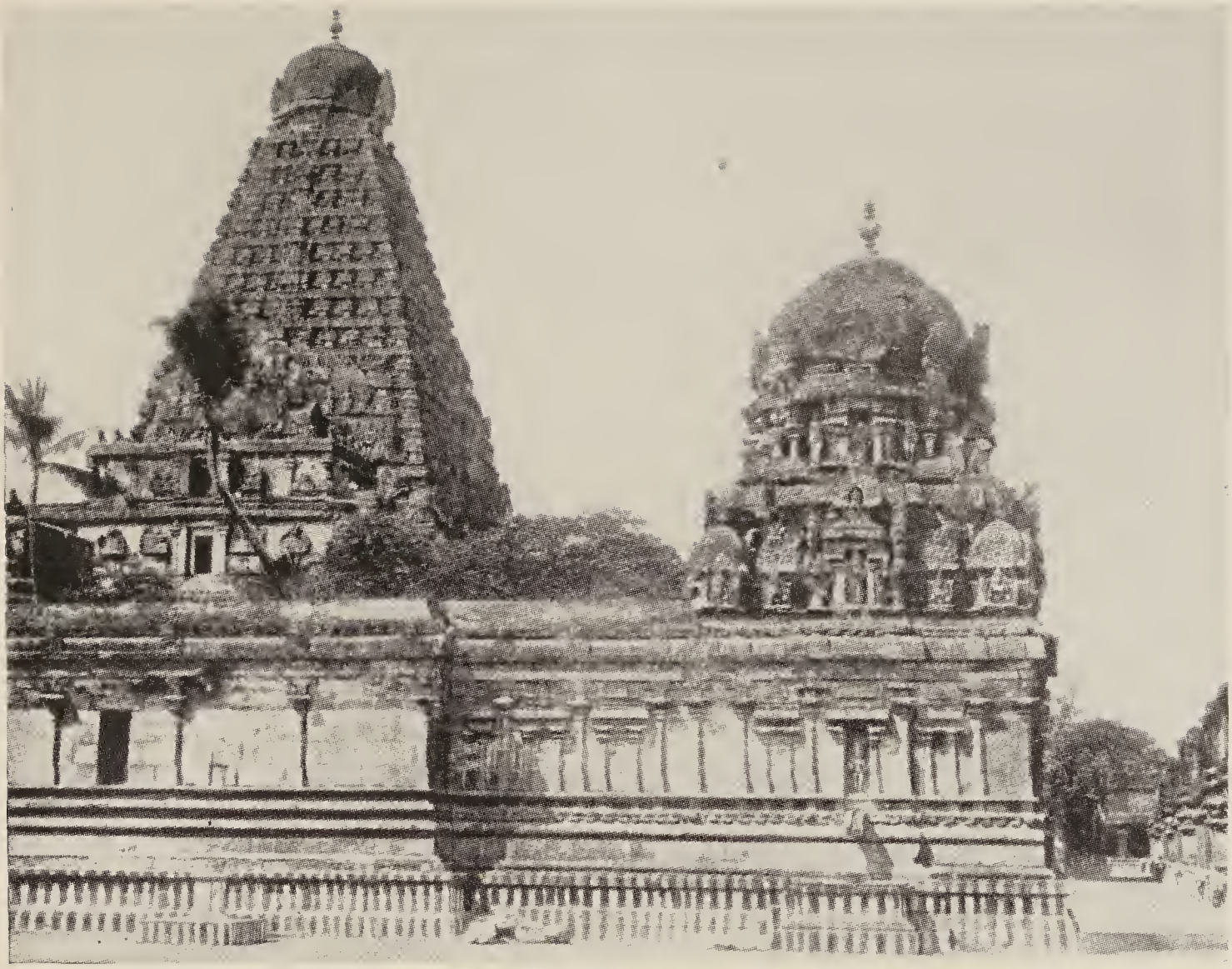


Plate 22a Lingaraj Temple at Bhuvaneswar

Erratum

The illustrations Plates 22a and 23a have been interchanged : the caption of Plate 22a refers to the illustration of Plate 23a and vice versa.



Plate 22b Woman writing, from a sculpture at Bhuvaneswar (11th century) in the Indian Museum, Calcutta



Plate 23a The Shrine of the Great Temple, Tanjore
(see page 87)

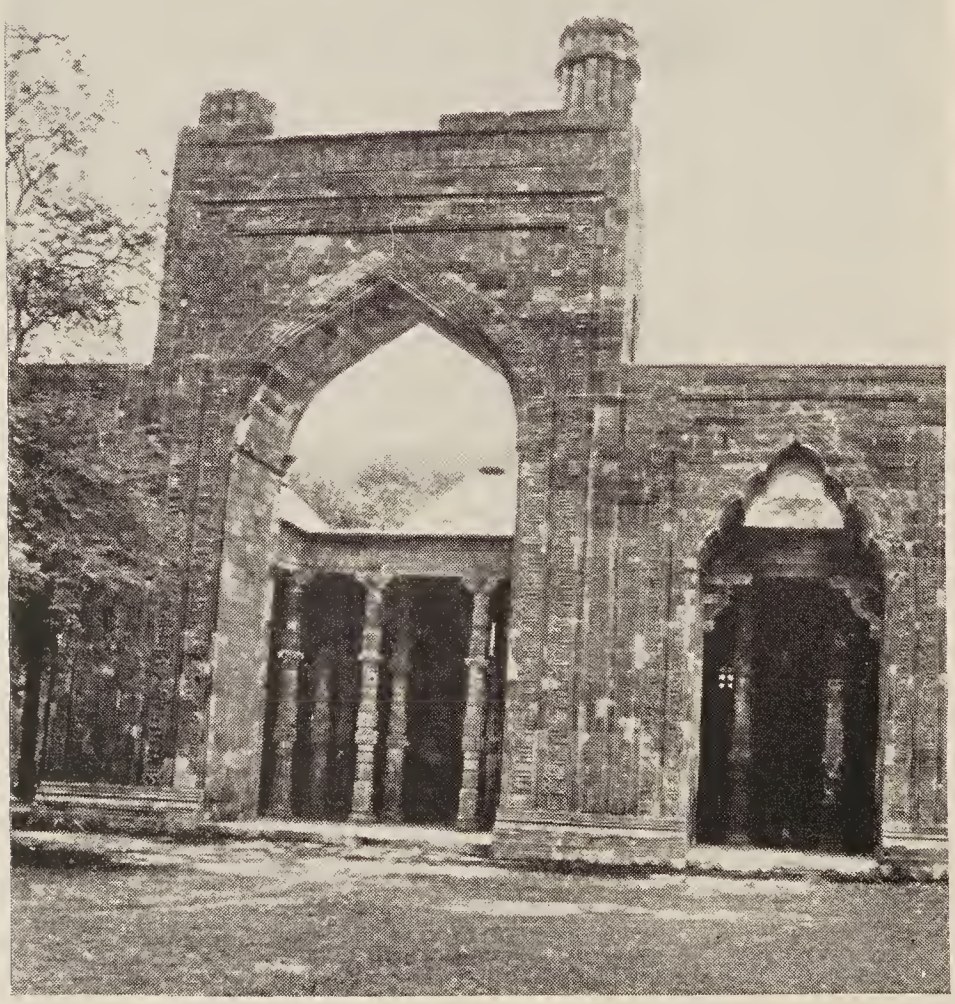


Plate 23b Gateway of the Mosque of Arhai din-ka jhonpra, Ajmir

Condition of the People

The records of the times only give us pictures of the lives of the rulers and the nobles. Al Biruni who came to India with Mahmud of Ghazni has left some description of the Hindustan which the Muslims saw. Rajput influence had changed the conditions of Indian life. It had become a civilization where the power and the riches were concentrated in the hands of the nobles who held their fiefs from the chief of the clan and ruled their little patrimonies without any interference. The clan spirit, it is true, prevented great injustice but the lives of the people could not have been either comfortable or secure. The nobles underwent a very severe training in the arts of war and of the chase. The laws of honour, of truth, and fair dealing between equals in the clan were well maintained. Women were honoured and respected but their life was hard. Girl children were not wanted in a society designed for war, and infanticide was common and indeed continued among the Rajputs till well on into modern times. When the chief died his women went with him on the funeral pyre, willingly in many cases, unwillingly in others. The chief lived for war and degenerated in peace ; wine and opium were the opiates of leisure, and little was done to render the condition of the *kisan* tolerable. It has been the fashion to represent the wars and their cruelties as not affecting the villages which saw the conquerors pass and went on untouched with the routine of seed-time and harvest. We who have seen war at first-hand know that this cannot be so. Ruin and devastation, untilled fields and desolate villages, invariably mark the tracks of a conqueror, and Hindustan must have suffered grievously from these continual years of warfare. This was no golden age of chivalry, and from war and disaster the inevitable consequences flowed, poverty, loss of man-power, whole districts lapsing into wildernesses, and the progressive deterioration of the soil.

The Conquest of Hindustan

Having prepared the way by clearing the Punjab and Sind and safeguarding his communications with Ghazni, Muhammad determined to push his conquest farther and marched to Sirhind. This was an important fortress of the Hindus, and the move meant definite aggression. Prithiviraj the Chauhan ruler of Delhi

and Ajmir for once achieved a combination of the other Rajput states to meet the invader. Almost alone the Gaharwars failed to recognize the danger and allowed mutual jealousies to blind them to their duty. The story that Jaichand invited Muhammad to attack Prithiviraj is presuming too much. The army which Prithiviraja led to the plain of Panipat in 1191 is said to have numbered 200,000 horsemen and as many as 3,000 elephants. Muhammad had nothing like such a force and was himself wounded in the battle at Tarain and his army fled. Muhammad escaped with difficulty, wounded and supported by a faithful follower. Though the retreat was followed up it was not sufficiently pressed, and before long Muhammad had restored some semblance of order and reached Ghazni in safety. The Rajputs proceeded to lay siege to Sirhind which fell after a whole year's siege.

Meanwhile Muhammad collected another army from all over the Ghor empire which his brother had greatly extended over Persia and the west and north of the Hindu Kush. The Suris were probably Persians, not Turks, but large numbers of Turki mercenaries were available and Turki slaves were still employed to lead their armies. The army now collected numbered 120,000 mounted men. Against them Prithiviraja mustered, it is said, 300,000 horse and elephants in thousands. All the princes of Hindustan combined again with the exception of the prince of Benares and Kanauj, but it is doubtful if he would have turned the day. Muhammad's success was due to the mobility he employed—his mounted archers harassed the Rajput cavalry and withdrew when they tried to engage closely.

Finally after a day of this mobile warfare on the same battle-field where a year before he had failed, Muhammad with 12,000 horse led a final charge as the sun went down and the Rajput cavalry were routed in headlong flight. Prithiviraja with a few followers was compelled to ride for his life but was followed up, and at last the gallant Chauhan was overtaken near Sirsuti not far from Sambhal in the United Provinces and killed. Many great Rajput princes perished in the battle of Tarain, and Jaichand who had rejoiced to see his rival engaged with the Muslim invaders proved himself no substitute as a leader of opposition to them. The Muslims took Hansi and Ajmir without any great difficulty, and at Ajmir the temples of the Chauhans were razed to the ground, and the mighty mosque of Arhai din-ka jhonpra was built by Kutb-ud-din on their site.

Muhammad returned to help his brother in Persia but left

his Turki slave Kutb-ud-din Aibak to consolidate his conquests. He captured Meerut, Koil (the modern Aligarh) and then Delhi. This was in 1192–93, and Kutb-ud-din took possession of the capital of Prithiviraja where from the ruins of the Hindu temples he began to build the great mosque the Kuwwat ul Islam (the might of Islam). But the Gaharwas remained, and they required Muhammad to deal with them. In 1194 he marched once more into Hindustan. He is reported to have brought an army of 50,000 horsemen with him. Whether this included Kutb-ud-din's army is not clear, and in any case these figures are unreliable. For instance, the numbers the Muslim accounts give for the two battles at Tarain are undoubtedly exaggerated. The armies met at Chandwar in the present Agra district and Jaichand was defeated and killed. His treasures in the fort of Asni which must be near Jaunpur were looted, and Benares fell without a blow. The great temples which the piety of Hindu rulers had raised in this holy city were levelled with the ground in the usual fanatical manner of the times. There was no resistance and the whole country submitted. The remnants migrated to the wilds of Rajputana where they were safe from the Muslim terror, and founded the state of Marwar, the present Jodhpur. They were known henceforth as Rathors though there is no evidence that they had been called so before. Muhammad returned to carry on his campaign against the Khwarizm Shahs of Khiva and left Kutb-ud-din to consolidate what he had won.

Further Campaigns

First of all the efforts of the Rajputs to recover Ajmir were defeated. The raja of Gujarat, Bhima the Solanki, was chastised and the Doab settled by the capture of Budaun. Gwalior was the next to fall, and the conquerors were free to deal with the Chandels, the sole remaining Rajput power. But before this another Muslim general, apparently in independent command, had advanced against the Senas of Bengal. Muhammad ibn Bakhtiyar invaded Bihar about 1197 and destroyed the Buddhist monasteries in Uddantipur the centre of Buddhist learning, burning the great library of Buddhist classics in the process. He took back the booty to Kutb-ud-din who made him viceroy of Bihar and of any further conquests he could make. This, together with the ease of his former conquest, encouraged him to invade Bengal. In 1202 he advanced to the capital, and Lakhsmansena the raja fled.

Muhammad Bakhtiyar established himself at Lakhnauti (Nadia) and proceeded to organize his conquest. He is stated to have attempted the invasion of Tibet, by which Assam or Kamarupa is probably meant, and to have met with disaster in later years, but the Muslim hold on Bihar and Bengal was maintained.

Kutb-ud-din's campaign against the Chandels in 1202 culminated in the capture of the great fortress of Kalinjar and the capital Mahoba. Parmardi the raja had fought against Muhammad Ghori by sending a contingent to Tarain and now paid for his temerity. The dynasty did not, however, immediately collapse but lived on as feudatories for some time. This happened in several cases, since the Muslims did not always settle colonies in their conquests and often allowed a prince of the defeated family to govern for them. This was done in Ajmir where a natural son of Prithiviraja was at first entrusted with the administration. A similar plan was apparently followed in Kanauj also as there has been found a copper plate grant of Jaichand's son conveying a village to a Hindu, dated three years after Jaichand's death.

Death of Muhammad Ghori

In the meanwhile Muhammad Ghori, whose brother Ghiyaz-ud-din was now dead, had been prosecuting his war against the Shahs of Khiva. These were a Turki dynasty who had destroyed the power of Sultan Sanjar in 1159 and had now assumed the position of protectors of the Caliph at Baghdad. In 1203 Muhammad met with a disastrous defeat, which led to revolts in the Punjab. Kutb-ud-din could not deal with the insurrection but Muhammad was once again equal to the occasion. He restored order in Ghazni where Taj-ud-din Yildiz had shut the gates against him when he returned a fugitive from Khiva, and then marched against the Khokhars whom he defeated and won to a temporary acceptance of Islam. On his way back to Ghazni and to another trial of arms with the Khwarizm Shahs he was assassinated in his camp on the Indus by some of the Ismaili heretics of Multan. He had no son to succeed him, and his one time slave Taj-ud-din set himself up and ruled for a time in Ghazni. The attempt to establish an empire to include India and the lands on the Oxus had failed.

Chapter X

THE SULTANATE OF DELHI

It is really for convenience sake that we speak of the Sultanate of Delhi to distinguish the Muslim dynasties, which ruled over an ever increasing portion of the whole of India, from the succeeding empire of the Mughuls. But though the Sultanate ruled at times over an extent of country as large as was ever under the control of the Mughuls there were differences which are important and need to be stressed. In the first place, unlike the Mughuls, the Sultanate of Delhi included several dynasties whose connection with each other was not that of family relationship or even race. There was the first dynasty, known as the Slave dynasty because the first ruler Kutb-ud-din Aibak was by origin a Turki slave. This was followed by the Khilji Turks who had settled in Afghanistan, and so were more Afghans than Turks. The third were also Turks, Karauna Turks, the Tughluks. Then came the Sayyids who claimed to be of Arab descent, while the fourth dynasty were the Afghan Lodis. The first and second dynasty witnessed the era of conquests, the third of empire, and the fourth and fifth of decay.

Another difference was that the Muhammadans of the Sultanate era, though there was intermarriage and a certain amount of intermingling with the inhabitants of the country, as a whole preserved a close oligarchy of power, wealth and comradeship. They did not try to conciliate the people they had come amongst and were in all essentials an armed camp among the surrounding Hindus. They recruited their ranks from outside India proper, and it was not until this recruitment ceased in a large degree, owing to various reasons—among them the irruptions of the Mongols and the ceasing of fresh influx of new blood from across the border—that the power of Delhi weakened and the field was ready for a new development either from outside or from within.

It has been well said ' The ruin of their empire covered the greater part of India with a number of independent Muslim states.' * These states were, like the Sultanate of Delhi, ruled by a Muslim inner circle of nobles, but the real work of day to day administration in the countryside, and indeed in many

* Cambridge *History of India*, III, Preface

of the towns, was done by the Hindu officials who had been responsible for similar duties since the days of Asoka and the Mauryas. This accounts for the continuance of the Sultanate notwithstanding the many weak and incapable rulers who succeeded from time to time. It was in form a feudal rule where the power was delegated with the fiefs to prominent chiefs—but unlike the Western type of feudalism it was not hereditary. When it did become hereditary the Sultanate broke up.

The Slave Dynasty

Kutb-ud-din Aibak who was the first ruler of the Slave dynasty of Delhi was elected Sultan by the amirs on the death of Muhammad Ghori in 1206. This was the first time that a separate sultan was recognized in India, and it involved no claim to Muhammad's possessions outside India. The custom of using slaves as officials and generals was common among the rulers of the countries on the other side of the Hindu Kush. They formed a corps of adherents whose loyalty could be relied on, and the name involved no disgrace. They were the king's servants, and when they proved their worth were raised to an equality and often married the ruler's daughters. The equality taught by the religion of Muhammad had much to do with the recognition of their special position. Originally recruited from captives taken in war, they were later chosen from slaves bought in the market, but these too were generally the spoils of war and almost always of good stock. Aibak himself was sold when young and trained in the way he should go from his earliest childhood with special reference to his projected future as slave of a ruler. Without some such practice these monarchies could not have survived as the hereditary principle does not ensure efficient successors. Muhammad is reported to have replied to one commiserating with him on having no son—'Have I not thousands of children in my Turki slaves?'

Aibak was bought by the kazi of Nishapur in Khorasan and carefully educated, and on his master's death was sold to Muhammad Ghori, in whose service he rapidly won promotion, and was finally made viceroy of his Indian territories. He did most of his fighting during this period, being actually Sultan for only four years, and had not time to show what he was really capable of. Taj-ud-din Yildiz, whose daughter he had married, had occupied Ghazni and laid claim to the Punjab. Kutb-ud-din could not

tolerate this, and he marched to Ghazni and expelled Taj-ud-din. His subsequent conduct, however, was not such as to endear him to the people of Ghazni, whom he treated as enemies, and they recalled Taj-ud-din. He found Kutb-ud-din and his amirs had forgotten all precautions and were indulging in merry-making over their victory, and he drove them out. Kutb-ud-din thus realized his real position as an Indian sovereign and gave up his intention to hold on to Ghazni. He is said to have treated his Indian subjects with clemency though a writer of the time says of him, ' His bounty was continuous, and so was his slaughter.' He certainly took thousands of slaves and won for himself by his benefactions the name Lakhbakhsh. He left a great memorial in the mosque he built at Delhi, and the Minar or Tower of Victory he raised. When he died, as the result of a fall from his horse when playing polo, his realm was far from being consolidated.

Iltutmish

The son the amirs placed on the throne, Aram Shah, was incapable of coping with the powerful rivals who surrounded him, and the Hindu chiefs who soon took advantage of the death of the great Kutb-ud-din. The new masters of India were themselves at variance. Nasir-ud-din Kabacha, Kutb-ud-din's son-in-law, held Multan and Sind, while Taj-ud-din Yildiz disputed the Punjab with him and when driven from Ghazni by the Khwarizm Shah in 1214 captured Lahore. Bengal and Bihar were independent under the Khiljis and the Rajputs were stirring once more. The times demanded a man, and the man was soon apparent in the person of Shams-ud-din Altamish or to give him his Turki name Iltutmish, another Turki slave. Iltutmish had been one of Aibak's slaves and had risen so high that he married a daughter of his master. Now he was summoned from his post as governor of Budaun to take command in 1216.

The throne he succeeded to was no bed of roses, and he had first to make his position safe by dealing with the amirs who objected to his successsion. These he defeated and then dealt with Taj-ud-din and Kabacha and recovered Lahore in 1217.

The Mongols

But now appeared a new danger. The Mongols under Chingiz Khan had been consolidated into a great nation, and they were to upset the whole world. But Chingiz Khan was not

destined to be one of the conquerors of India. Had he wished there was obviously nothing which could have withstood him, certainly not Iltutmish who was struggling to consolidate his kingdom. The Mongols were peoples of the steppes akin to those hordes which had threatened India so often from the time of the Yueh-chi and others—akin also to those Turki-speaking tribes who had produced such warriors as the men of Ghazni and Ghor, and the Seljuk Turks who overran Transoxiana and established the Sultanate of Roum. They only differed in being more ruthless—indeed they seemed immune from any feelings of pity, truth, or honour. It is worthy of note that the Arabs had been tolerant and spread their empire by assimilation and conciliation among the peoples they conquered, but the pagan tribes they converted to Islam seemed to retain their cruelty and brutality in the form of a fanaticism which broke out in Mahmud's holocausts and the Seljuk's intolerance of the Christian pilgrimages to Jerusalem, which the Arabs had encouraged, and which brought down on the Seljuks the vengeance of the West in the form of the Crusades and the break-up of the Seljuk power. The Mongols have been described as the enemies of the human race and the scourge of God.

Temujin, afterwards Chingiz Khan, became head of his tribe when only thirteen and proceeded to consolidate all the Mongol tribes between the Amur and the Great Wall of China. This was the period when Muhammad Ghori was beginning his conquests. He had confederated all the Mongols by 1206 when he took the name Chingiz Khan and proceeded to the conquest of China which his grandson the great Kublai Khan was to complete. Meanwhile in Baghdad the Abbasid Caliph anticipated the Khwarizm Shah's intentions to suppress him by calling in the Mongols who chased the Khwarizm Shahs, Ala-ud-din and his son Jalul-ud-din out of Transoxiana over the passes into India. Taj-ud-din Yildiz was driven by them into India as has been mentioned and when he seized Lahore was defeated and killed by Iltutmish. Then came the Khwarizm Shah fighting hard with the Mongols led by Chingiz Khan. The Mongols defeated him on the Indus in 1221 and drove him into Sind. But these conflicts between Central Asian powers did not concern India and after a winter spent in the Punjab the Mongols retired to pursue their conquests elsewhere. Jalul-ud-din after fighting with Kabacha returned once more to try to regain his father's domains in Transoxiana and died some years later still resisting the Mongols.

Chingiz Khan himself died in 1227 and his successors were more interested in their raids into Russia and China than in India. This gave the Delhi kingdom time to develop. In 1225 Ghias-ud-din Khilji of Bengal who had acted as an independent ruler, even striking his own coins, was brought to heel, though he rebelled once more and was subdued and slain. The following year the great fortress of Ranthambhor, the Rajput stronghold, was captured and the way prepared to strike the final blow against Kabacha in Sind. His forts were captured and he himself drowned in the Indus while escaping from his foe. This was the final act in Iltutmish's career, and the Abbasid Caliph sent a mission in 1229 to invest him with the robe of recognition as ruler of Hindustan. In honour of this recognition, though it came from one who had no temporal power and was maintained by the Mongols—pagan barbarians—Iltutmish minted a new type of silver tanka bearing an Arabic inscription with his new title 'Aid of the Commander of the Faithful.' He was at last established beyond question.

After a further chastisement of Bengal, rebellion, and a settlement, he proceeded to subdue the remaining recalcitrants. Gwalior, where Mangal Deva offered strong resistance, was captured after a long siege in 1232 with the usual massacre of the garrison. In 1234 an expedition was undertaken against the Rajput state of Malwa with its ancient capital of Ujjain. The temples of this ancient stronghold of Rajput culture were destroyed, a great artistic loss but the usual result of religious fanaticism. Thus the conquest was completed and Iltutmish's kingdom was consolidated. He died in 1235, the real founder of the Slave kingdom.

The Kutb Minar undoubtedly begun by Kutb-ud-din was completed by Iltutmish and was many years in building. The Shamsi mosque at Budaun was built in 1230 by his son Rukhn-ud-din Firuz. Little is known of the details of his state organization but one of his actions, the setting up of an inner ring of nobles called the Forty, had significance. This was an extension of the prevailing habit of employing a selected body of 'slaves' for the carrying out of the administration. It was, of course, no new development but a continuation of the system by which he himself had risen to power. In Egypt much about the same time there was organized the famous Mamelukes who soon were to oust their masters and produce a line of rulers themselves, of whom Rukhn-ud-din Baibars, who defeated Hulagu and stopped the Mongol

power from extending to Syria and the west in 1260, is the most famous. The Forty were to play a great part in deciding the succession to the throne, and from them all the great governors were chosen.

Raziyya-ud-din

Iltutmish had nominated his daughter Raziyya to succeed him, saying she was a better man than any of her brothers, but there was a prejudice among the Forty against her succession and they chose her brother Firuz. He was no man for the times and the great fief holders revolted all over Hindustan. An attempt by his mother to kill Raziyya brought things to a head in Delhi, and the Sultan who had marched towards Lahore to reduce the rebels turned back to Delhi. The Forty and the people of the capital rallied round Raziyya, and Firuz was deposed and died in prison from the usual causes. Raziyya had a difficult prospect before her. Her sex primarily was against her, for though there was another example of a woman ruling a Muslim country at this time, the queen of Saladin's grandnephew Es Salah who defeated, captured, and then released St Louis of France in 1250 during his disastrous attempt to regain the Holy Sepulchre, these were exceptions. The historian of the times says she was a great monarch, wise, just and generous. 'She had all kingly qualities except sex, and this exception made all her virtues of no effect.'

She is said to have dressed as a man, which is not very likely though possibly she wore armour in battle and certainly rode unveiled among her troops. One of the chief objections to her was that she allowed herself to be lifted on to her horse by the Abyssinian 'habshi,' her master of horse Yakut. She held darbars and appeared unveiled among her amirs, and if determination to let her sex be no bar could have sufficed she would have been all that a queen should have been. She found most of the kingdom in revolt when she came to the throne and by diplomacy, mixed with a show of force, was able to restore order for a time, even leading an expedition to chastise the rebellious governor of Lahore. But this was no time for virgin queens, and though her master of the horse was to her no more than his name suggests, the favour she showed him offended the Forty, who in the nature of things feared any one man being singled out for especial attention.

One of the greatest dangers she had faced was a definite

attempt by the Ismaili heretics to upset the realm. These were connected with that remarkable organization of the Old Man of the Mountains, the Assassins, founded in the end of the eleventh century by Hasan-i-Sabbah, which trained murderers such as those who had put an end to the great Seljuk wazir Nizam ul Mulk at the end of the eleventh century. This Shia sect now came into the open. They had tried to assassinate Iltutmish, and now determined to overturn the orthodox Sunni religion and those who supported it. There was an armed rising in the midst of Delhi, but it was put down and the Ismailis annihilated. It is difficult to say how far this was done through the initiative of Raziyya ; more probably she was the figurehead and the Forty ruled. At any rate they now took alarm at the favour shown to Yakut, and so he was slain and the queen deposed and imprisoned. The chief leader of the Forty in this had been Ikhtiyar-ud-din Altunia. Either because he saw an opportunity of becoming sultan or because Raziyya saw she could not hope to succeed alone, Altunia married the queen, and together they proceeded to Delhi to deal with the new sultan whom the rest of the Forty had set up, her brother Bahram Shah. The adventure failed ; they were defeated and fled to the jungles where in 1240 they were killed. So ended this romantic and somewhat puzzling episode of a Muslim virgin queen of Delhi. There seems little doubt that Raziyya's position has been exaggerated, and that at the best she was only a figurehead for the Forty.

Bahram Shah

Bahram Shah, the king who followed, apparently attempted to assert himself against the Forty, and there were murders, executions and treason. The Mongols appeared in the Punjab and took and sacked Lahore with great slaughter. The Sultan marched against them, but his army was seething with mutiny owing to his efforts, ill-timed and unco-ordinated, to restore discipline. He was shut up with a few followers in the Fort and finally surrendered. Soon after he was put to death in May 1242 after a two years' uneasy rule.

Ala-ud-din Masud Shah, another brother, took his place as the nominee of the Forty. He had to face a rebellion in Bengal of the governor, Tughril, which was however settled without bloodshed though there were wars with Hindu chiefs in Bihar. The Mongols again appeared in the Punjab. The Sultan is said to

have degenerated and to have taken to murdering or executing his amirs. Drinking bouts and pleasure took the place of state business, and the Forty had little use for a monarch who neglected his duties. Their theory of government was the administration of the state for their own advantage, but they expected their ruler to play his part. Masud was not worth his keep and so went the way of his predecessor in 1246.

Nasir-ud-din

Mahmud Shah, a son of Iltutmish and uncle of Masud, was now raised to the throne as Nasir-ud-din and reigned for twenty years. The writers of the time represent him as almost an ascetic who lived for religion and spent his time copying the Koran. It is hardly likely that if he had not had other qualities he would have survived in such stern times. He had, however, a servant who was willing to bear the brunt and burden of the crown without actually wearing it himself. This was another of those Turki slaves who invarably came to the rescue of the Muslim Sultanate of Delhi when it appeared to be in danger, Ghias-ud-din Balban. Balban came of a ruling Turki family but had been captured by the Mongols as a boy. There was little security in the steppes in those days, and Turki boys of noble family were often captured when their families were slain, and sold in the slave-market of Baghdad or Samarkhand or Bokhara in the continuous warfare which went on between Turks and Mongols of all the various clans and tribes and kingdoms. High Asia was a country where there was plenty of adventure and danger, promotion or degradation, but no security. These so-called slaves were not sons of the ordinary tribesman but the children of Khans and princes. This accounts for their rapid rise, and it must not be used as an argument for the democracy of the times that slaves rose to be rulers. These slaves invariably came from ruling families captured in the wars. Balban came of the same tribe as Iltutmish and of a family of khans. He was captured by Mongols and sold in the slave-market at Baghdad. He was taken to Delhi and there bought by Iltutmish. There is a story that he was ugly and squat and was placed in the menial employment of a *bhisti* or water-carrier, but he soon showed what he was made of. He was admitted to the close corporation of the Forty and married one of Iltutmish's daughters. In succeeding reigns he rose still higher and soon became the guardian of the north against the Mongol

irruptions. He defeated the Mongols under the Ilkhan Mangu when they poured into the Punjab and Sind in 1245. He was now known as Ulugh Khan, the Mighty Lord. He was naturally the man to whom Nasir-ud-din would turn, and for twenty years he served him faithfully—a remarkable loyalty rare in these times when each man was out for himself.

There was plenty for him to do. The country powers, realizing the weakness of the Sultanate under the feeble successors of Iltutmish, were everywhere raising their heads. The Hindu chiefs in the Ganges-Jumna Doab had driven out the Muslim governors, and were in open revolt. The turbulent Meos of what is now the Alwar state close to Delhi itself were, as always when the central rule was weak, plundering and raiding to their hearts' content. The Punjab had been devastated by the Mongols, and the ever-present Khokhars were adding to the turmoil. This makes it clear how weak the ruling race was, and how few of them there were, and reveals the nature of the occupation—an armed camp in a land which immediately became hostile when the weakness of the rulers became apparent. It is difficult to tell how far the Hindu rulers had been superseded. These frequent revolts seem to suggest that many still held lands and wielded power under the Muslim governors. Rajputana was never subdued, and only kept in check by occasional campaigns. We are told of campaigns by Balban against a raja of the Kanauj country, and of another against a ruler from Kalinjar, perhaps a scion of the Chandels, who had advanced beyond Prayag to Kara. The Rajputs were kept in check by an attack on Ranthambhor, and the Meos were brought to heel. The Khokhars in the Punjab were once more subdued and a raid by Mongols turned back. The Sultan married Balban's daughter in 1249 when the campaign against the immediate foes was over, and thus Balban was connected with the house of Iltutmish by his wife and his son-in-law.

Next he proceeded against the Kacchwaha Rajputs and recaptured the fort of Gwalior and Chanderi, and then advanced into Malwa. Everywhere he was successful and reconquered Hindustan for Nasir-ud-din. This success as usual led to intense jealousy on the part of the Forty. Imad-ud-din Raihan, a converted Hindu, led the intrigue against him, and in 1253 the Sultan was prevailed on to dismiss him. He retired to his governorship of Hansi and later was transferred to a less important post, but he made no demur.

The new régime did not prove popular, and before long the amirs were clamouring to have Balban back again. They rose against Raihan and Balban joined them. At this display of force the Sultan, who had repented of his action, was brought to a better state of mind. Communications were opened, and Raihan finally dismissed to the governorship of Budaun and later executed in 1254. Balban was restored to all his former power and proceeded to restore order, for the country was again in confusion and the Meos raided to the gates of Delhi ; the Hindus in the Doab were again in revolt and the Mongols were over the border. Added to this Kutlugh Khan, who had married the mother of the Sultan and had been prominent in the opposition to Balban, revolted in Oudh and became a focus of all the elements of rebellion and opposition both Muslim and Hindu. They joined Kishlu Khan, governor of Multan, and advanced to Delhi, but the city was prepared and their troops deserted and the leaders fled. Kishlu Khan joined the Mongols, but Kutlugh Khan disappears from history when he fled to the Siwaliks. The danger from the Mongols diminished with the dispatch of an envoy from the great Ilkhan Hulagu promising that he would allow no more Mongol raids on Hindustan.

In 1259 Balban led a campaign against the Meos and punished them with the utmost rigour. Twelve thousand are said to have perished and their leaders were executed. The Doab was cleared and a system of small forts was established to keep the roads clear. The jungle was cut down, for at this time jungle and forests extended over a great part of the present United Provinces north of the Ganges forming an impenetrable barrier. Much country round Delhi and the Doab was cleared and opened up for cultivation, but much remained dense forest till the days of the Mughuls—the country known as Katehr. The details of the last few years before the death of Nasir-ud-din are not very clear, as the history of Minhaj-ud-din Siraj ends with the events of 1260. The Sultan died in 1266 and there was no doubt who should succeed him. Hulagu had suppressed the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad in 1258 and there was no orthodox Caliph in existence. In 1260 Baibars and the Mamelukes of Egypt defeated Hulagu, and the Mongols were thrown back from Syria. Thus they had to turn to the east and India, and Hulagu's promise was rendered void.

Balban

When Balban succeeded to the throne of Delhi in 1266 he had the task of clearing the Doab of rebellion, restoring the supremacy of the Sultanate throughout Hindustan, and keeping the Mongols from breaking in. It was a heavy responsibility and would have been too much for a lesser man. But the strength of the Slave system was shown by his success. This slave of a slave of a slave had first to fashion the instruments of rule. The history of the past reigns had shown that the Forty were tending to establish hereditary governorships, and Iltutmish had extended the system of giving grants of land to officers. Many such grants were revoked, and the Sultan insisted on being once more considered the fount of honour and authority. He centralized the administration and all important measures had to be referred to him. He put down disaffection with an iron hand.

He had begun this policy before the death of the late Sultan, and now that he was supreme he extended it. A vast system of state spies—a kind of Gestapo—was set up to watch the provincial governors, and the rebellious Hindu chiefs of Rohilkand were subdued by wholesale extermination, as the Meos had been. Bengal whose governor had been remiss with tribute began to remit it again. The Punjab had been in the hands of Turks, Mongols and revolted governors, and the Sutlej had become the boundary to be defended against Mongol raids. After the suppression of Kutlugh Khan and Kihlu Khan, Multan was once again in Balban's hands and his governors were able to keep the Mongols out. The peace or truce Hulagu had announced lasted for some years, and the Punjab was at last regained and Lahore rebuilt about 1270. The government of Oudh had been made safe with the defeat of Kutlugh Khan, and the campaign against the outlaws of Katehr had made the governorships of Budaun, Sambhal and Amroha secure after a ruthless slaughter, clearing of the jungles, and maintainance of the roads with blockhouses and armed garrisons. The forests that stretched from the foothills of the Himalayas to the very banks of the Jumna were still, however, the haunt of Hindu tribes and chiefs who did not pay any submission to the ruler of Delhi, while the hill kingdoms were still untouched, though Balban in 1257 had plundered Sirmur owing to the aid the Raja had given to Kutlugh Khan when fleeing from his army.

It was all Balban could do to consolidate his power in the

Ganges Plain, and he did not even try to reduce the Rajput chiefs of Rajputana. A rebellion in Bengal showed the dangers of the time. Tughril Khan, the governor whom Balban himself had appointed, became infected by the disloyalty which seemed inseparable from the climate of Bengal, and in 1279, while Balban was occupied with renewed Mongol inroads on the Punjab, proclaimed himself independent and proceeded to strike coins in his own name. Balban sent an army under the governor of Oudh to deal with him, and when it was defeated had the commander hanged over the gate of his city as an example to others. Another army was also defeated and the Sultan determined to take the matter in hand himself. His eldest son Muhammad Khan, a prince of great promise, was left to hold the frontier against the Mongols, and Bughra Khan his younger son, who had also been engaged against the Mongols but was as pleasure loving and easy-going as his brother was serious and hard-working, accompanied the Sultan and a large army on the hard and difficult march into Bengal. The rains had started, and the hardships of the army were severe in a country of mud, floods and fever. Tughril fled from Lakhnauti, and it looked as if the army would be destroyed by hardships and disease before the rebel was found. But found he was at last by a reconnoitring party and dispatched without more ado. Then the Sultan made an example of the rebels and hanged them on both sides of the bazaar in Lakhnauti. He warned his son Bughra Khan to remember always this example of the retribution which befell rebellion, and then left him in charge as governor.

The other brother, Muhammad Khan, won golden opinions for his conduct of the government in the Punjab. He was a man of artistic leanings, and at his court was Abul Hasan who, as Amir Khusru, is known as one of the greatest Persian poets of India. Muhammad Khan appears to have been a good soldier as well as a cultured scholar, and was without the cruel streak which seemed to be present in all the Turks and Mongols. But he was not destined to show his ability as he was killed after repelling a determined Mongol invasion in 1285. This seems to have deeply affected the old Sultan ; though he gave no sign of it in public, in private he mourned bitterly for his lost son. But he had to consider the succession and he sent for Bughra Khan. He, however, shrunk from the responsibility and slipped back to Bengal. Then Balban nominated the son of Muhammad Khan now known as the ' shahid ' or martyr prince, Kai Khusru, who

showed signs of having inherited some at any rate of his father's qualities. In the following year, weary of rule and disappointed of his hopes, the old Sultan died.

Balban's Achievements

Balban had put the kingdom on a firm basis and cleared away the disorders resulting from past reigns. The holding of the Punjab against the Mongols was no small feat when we remember how they had spread right into Europe and held half Russia, while in China they had uprooted the dynasty of the Sung and established a Mongol kingdom under Kublai Khan the brother of Mangu. This accounts for Balban's failure to proceed in the south after his one expedition to Malwa—he had his hands full. He cleared Hindustan of the forces of disruption, and in so doing prepared a sure base for his great successor Ala-ud-din.

He had to create a standard of kingship, and he did it by hedging the king round with formality and refusing to recognize any but the well born. He was proud of his descent from ruling chiefs, and probably thought it necessary to stabilize the kingly office and free it from the taint which the name Slave may conceivably have given it. He set an example of austerity : no wine or feasting ; the company of the pious, and the reading and hearing of theological exercises. He is said to have wept at sermons—he who remained dry-eyed before the most gruesome executions. There is no evidence that he tried to effect any reconciliation with his Hindu subjects, and his slaughter of the Hindus in Katehr and of the Meos showed an iron determination to brook no opposition. Yet he cleared the jungles and advanced communications—benefits from which the country people chiefly gained. He administered justice impartially, and the chroniclers of the time loved to relate how when one of his great governors had a servant beaten so hard that he died, Balban on the widow's complaint meted out the same treatment to the governor. They also told how on another occasion another governor in a drunken fit stabbed a man to death, and when it was reported to Balban —he had made sure it would be by hanging the agent who had not reported the former episode—he had the culprit, governor though he was, flogged with five hundred stripes, and handed him over to the man's wife to deal with in a similar fashion. The man bought himself off, but was so shamed that he never showed himself in public again. What power these governors must have

wielded that it should have been necessary to make examples in such bloodthirsty terms.

Blood and iron was his policy—a policy universal in a world where Turks and Mongols and their ideals prevailed. But it was not an entirely alien world. The Muslim governors held their courts in the cities of Delhi, Kanauj, Budaun, Sambhal, Benares and Kara to hold the core of Hindustan ; but the people of the soil still tilled the fields either as tenants of Hindu chiefs subordinate to the governor or of Muslim soldiers settled on the land. The machinery of land revenue was in the hands of the village, the town, and, at headquarters, the governor's accountant, all Hindus. The workmen, artisans and traders were mostly Hindus, and the Muslims undoubtedly intermarried with the women of the land. The languages of scholarship among the Muslims were Persian and Arabic, but the language of ordinary use was the common tongue of the Ganges Valley, that colloquial speech which had become common when Asoka used it for his edicts and in which all proclamations must still have been written. Hindu law was administered in the law courts side by side with the Canon law of the Muslim. It is clear that a continuous process of conversion went on and many Hindus passed into the brotherhood of Islam, while the children of Hindu mothers had a certain sympathy with their mothers' people. All this mitigated to some small degree the rigours of servitude.

The end of the Slaves was not long delayed. The son of Muhammad the Martyr Prince was passed over, and Bughra Khan preferred Bengal where, as Nasir-ud-din Bughra Shah, he founded a dynasty which long outlasted the Slaves.

End of the Slave Dynasty

Kaikubad, the son of Bughra Khan, was elevated to the throne in Delhi in 1287. His education had been carefully supervised by his grandfather Balban, but all his care was in vain, for this youth of seventeen gave himself over to pleasure encouraged thereto by Nizam-ud-din who became the chief power in the state. Kai Khusru, the son of Muhammad Khan, who was in command in the Punjab was induced to come to Delhi and was assassinated on the way. The Mongols invaded the Punjab and plundered Lahore, but the army of Balban's training was still strong enough to defeat them, and there was a slaughter of their fellows who had settled round Delhi on the plea that they

were in league with the invaders. Things went from bad to worse, and Bughra Khan advanced from Bengal either to seize the throne himself or to warn his son. They met on the banks of the Gogra on the borders of Oudh, and, whatever were Bughra Khan's original intentions, he contented himself with warning his son of the dangers which surrounded him, and especially against Nizam-ud-din, before returning to Bengal. For a time Kaikubad seems to have taken heed and tried to reform. Nizam-ud-din was sent to Multan, and the Khilji nobles came to the fore. The Khiljis were not liked and were called Pathans, although they sprang from a Turkish tribe which had settled in Afghanistan. Their leader, Jalal-ud-din Firuz, held an important army rank and the other Khilji nobles gathered round him. The Turks were bitter opponents ; the Sultan had relapsed into habitual drunkenness and became a paralytic owing to his excesses. The Khiljis, finding there was a move to exterminate them, seized the baby son of the Sultan and carried him off to the camp, anticipating the move of the Turks to make him king. This bold stroke won them support, and finally a Khilji penetrated to the palace and ended the life of the paralytic Sultan in 1290. There was now none to resist, though the people of Delhi were not favourable to the new succession. Nothwithstanding this, Jalal-ud-din had force behind him and his assumption of the regal power was accepted.

Thus ended the Slave dynasty of Delhi. It had given India of the north two outstanding kings in Iltutmish the conqueror and Balban the organizer, but it had succeeded chiefly because there was no unified power in India which offered any alternative —indeed India was a geographical expression, not an organized realm.

Chapter XI

THE KHILJIS AND TUGHLUKS

There was at first some distrust of Jalal-ud-din Firuz Shah, because he was an Afghan and the Turki clan had come to be regarded as the only true claimants to royalty. Actually the Khiljis were Turki in origin, but owing to long residence in Afghanistan they had adopted certain customs which were different, and the Afghans or Pathans were regarded as barbarians.

Jalal-ud-din however was a complete change from former kings and soon won affection. He was a great contrast to Balban in character, kindly and averse from the policy of blood and iron which the former had adopted. It is suggested by the writers of the time that he was too mild—too mild for the times at any rate. He treated those who rebelled with clemency, and even dealt with the dangerous and murderous organization of the Thugs (who now appear in Indian history for the first time) with what was regarded as foolish softness. These assassins, members of a huge conspiracy, were collected, taken down the river, and set free to continue their crimes in Bengal.

Malik Chajju, a nephew of Balban, who had been one of the Turki nobles to be confirmed in their fiefs, was governor of Kara. He set himself up as a claimant to the throne and was joined by the governor of Oudh. The rebels were defeated but treated with the greatest consideration, and no-one was punished except that Kara was given to Ala-ud-din the Sultan's nephew. A mysterious and very wealthy fakir, Sidi Maula, was the ringleader in a plot to assassinate the Sultan. Whether he was connected with the Thugs is not known, but the plot failed and this time the Sultan did order his death. A famine which occurred soon after was attributed by the superstitious to this action.

The Rajputs had been undisturbed ever since the expedition of Balban to Malwa, and their great castles of Chitor and Chanderi and Ranthambhor were firmly held. This latter fortress had been dismantled but not garrisoned in Raziya's time, and rebuilt was a great stronghold of the Rajputs. Jalal-ud-din led an army into Rajputana in 1290, captured a fort, burnt temples, and broke images, in the usual style of a Ghazi. However when the Rajput chief retired to Ranthambhor he refused to waste his

men's lives in an assault—a piece of military wisdom quite misunderstood. That it was not due to lack of generalship or to cowardice is shown by his behaviour two years later, when the Mongols invaded the Punjab and were dealt with in a decided manner and defeated. This led to a treaty by which some adopted Islam and settled in the country, one of their leaders even being married to a daughter of the Sultan. They were called New Muslims. Actually the Mongols as a whole adopted Islam under the Ilkhan Ghazan at the close of the thirteenth century.

Jalal-ud-din

Meanwhile the Sultan's nephew Ala-ud-din had been winning his spurs. He led an expedition into Malwa with his uncle's consent and captured the stronghold of Bilsa. He sent the plunder to Jalal-ud-din and was made governor of Oudh in addition to Kara. But at Bilsa he had heard of the wealth and possibly the weakness of the Yadava kingdom of the western Deccan whose capital was Devagiri. The Yadavas had risen to power on the ruins of the kingdom of the Western Chalukyas during the thirteenth century, and had been victorious over the Hoysalas who had disputed the succession to the Western Chalukya power with them. Their ruler at this time was Ramachandra, seventh of the line. His capital of Devagiri was the centre of the western Deccan. Southwards and on the east was the Hoysala country, while the Kakatiyas of Warangal were north of the latter on the eastern coast, and the Kadambas on the western. Ala-ud-din made his preparations, and set out secretly without a word to his uncle on what was both a raid and a reconnaissance. He could not have had any ideas of conquest as he only took about eight thousand horse. He had told Jalal-ud-din that he was going on a plundering expedition to Chanderi. He made his way through the Vindhyas, which had so far formed an impenetrable barrier to Muslim aggression, and reached Ellichpur in modern Berar. From there he advanced to the vicinity of Devagiri, giving out that he had quarrelled with his uncle. The Yadava army was mostly in the south with Sankara the king's son, and when Ala-ud-din began to plunder the city Ramachandra fled to a fort and awaited the army's return, but finally made a treaty with Ala-ud-din believing that the Sultan with a large force was following him. A large ransom

was paid, gold and pearls, elephants and horses. Sankaradeva now appeared with the army and demanded the return of the booty. Ala-ud-din refused and attacked him, and after an initial repulse succeeded in scattering his forces. Ramachandra now gave up Ellichpur and Ala-ud-din returned in triumph to Kara. Jalal-ud-din had been at Gwalior when the tidings of the victory at Devagiri arrived and was advised to meet Ala-ud-din at Chanderi on his return, so that the sight of the Sultan's army might curb his ambition. But the Sultan refused to believe evil of his nephew and returned to Delhi. Ala-ud-din affected to be afraid to go to Delhi to meet the Sultan, and the unsuspecting and credulous old man went down to Kara to meet him. He crossed the river in a boat and, as he embraced his treacherous nephew, was cut down and his head severed from his body. There to this day opposite the pathetic ruins of the once great town of Kara is the tomb of Jalal-ud-din, witness of a great betrayal.

Ala-ud-din

Arkali Khan, the eldest son of Jalal-ud-din, was at Multan, and the queen mother proclaimed another son Ibrahim as king in Delhi. Ala-ud-din marched towards Delhi. Here he made use of the gold he had won in the Deccan, and is reported to have scattered gold coins from a catapult at every halt. Before this golden barrage all opposition vanished, and amid the applause of the fickle populace he was enthroned in the Red Palace in Delhi, having bought over the nobles and servants of the old king. Ibrahim who had fled with his mother to Multan joined Arkali Khan, but they surrendered to an army under Ulugh Khan and were brought to Delhi. The two princes were blinded and the queen mother put into confinement. This was in 1296.

Ala-ud-din's chief supporters were Ulugh Khan his brother, Nusrat Khan and Zafar Khan, two of the most distinguished soldiers of the time, and Alp Khan of Multan. Zafar Khan was instrumental in defeating a fresh invasion of Mongols near Jullundur. Feeling now secure Ala-ud-din began to deal with the nobles who had come over to him, distrusting them as turncoats and giving a foretaste of his future procedure. He relieved them of the bribes he had given them and then seized their lands. He deprived some of their liberty, some of their sight, and others of their lives, and their families were left to beg

their bread. Such, he let it be understood, was the reward of treachery.

In 1297 he dispatched Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan against the Bhagela kingdom of Gujarat. Anhilwara was captured, and Karan Singh the raja fled with his fair daughter, Deval Devi, to Devagiri. His wife was taken and sent to join the conqueror's harem, while once again the image of Somnath was carried away, this time to Delhi to be trodden under foot by the faithful. The army went on to the port of Cambay, where a handsome eunuch Hindu slave was taken and sent to Ala-ud-din over whom he obtained a great and unhealthy influence. We shall hear of him again as Malik Kafur the conqueror of the Deccan and the South. Gujarat was annexed and a Muslim governor appointed. On the return march a dispute arose about the distribution of the booty, and Nusrat Khan's brother, a nephew of the Sultan, was killed. The mutineers were mainly Nai Muslims, as the converted Mongols were called, and those who escaped took service with the Rajput princes. Ala-ud-din now and later took a terrible vengeance, and handed over their wives to the sweepers of Delhi and massacred their children. Ulghi Khan, the Mongol prince who had been among the first to be converted and had been married to a daughter of Jalal-ud-din, was blinded by Ala-ud-din.

The terror inspired by the Mongols was of course responsible for their treatment. Sometimes they broke through the defences and spread fire and destruction throughout the settled lands behind. Added to this their unreliability as instanced in this mutiny caused them to be regarded with suspicion, and the authorities were never sure that they would not make common cause with the invaders. Towards the end of Ala-ud-din's reign they formed a plot against the Sultan's life. After the evidence of their untrustworthiness given by this treachery, and since so many had sold their swords to the Rajputs, they were not enlisted in the army and no-one would employ them. Their plight became so wretched that they were driven to plot against the Sultan's life. The punishment they suffered was overwhelming. From twenty to thirty thousand were massacred, and their wives and children and their possessions given to their slayers.

Turks and Mongols

The hatred between the Turks and Mongols was great. The latter had overturned the Turki kingdoms across the Hindu Kush,

and though the Turks had established the Sultanate of Roum with its capital at Iconium, and the Mameluk sultans of Egypt and Syria had defeated Hulagu's attempts to overrun Syria, the Mongols were the masters in Transoxiana, and Hulagu in 1258 had overthrown the Caliphate at Baghdad and killed the Caliph.

Turks and Mongols fought all over Central Asia, and Babur, though a Mongol on his mother's side, later retained all the hatred of the Turk for the Mongol, though his dynasty was to be known through history by the hated name Mughul or Mongol. How the Mongols appeared to the more civilized Muslims is shown in Amir Khusru's account. Faces like fire, slits of eyes, wide nostrils and enormous mouths, short and squat, verminous and bestial—yellow devils created out of hellfire. This of course is the language of hatred and of fear, but it has created a picture which, though exaggerated by poetic licence, has remained for all time. Actually in race the Mongols were of the same Tartar steppe stock as the Turks—not yellow men at all—though Kublai Khan's conquest of China, where he founded an empire, has equated the Mongols with the Chinese in popular imagination.

Plots against Ala-ud-din

Ala-ud-din is reported in the early part of his reign to have nourished great ideas of founding a new religion and embarking on new conquests. His coins call him the second Alexander. But he listened to advice, and determined to consolidate what he had and what was within reach first. An invasion of Kutlugh Khan the Mongol in 1299 with two hundred thousand men threatened Delhi itself. This was an attempt at conquest, not a raid. It failed, as most of these raids failed, owing to lack of supplies and inability to stay long in any place or to conduct the long and weary approaches of a siege. It is stated that an attack was made on the Mongols and that Zafar Khan broke and pursued the Mongol wing opposed to him, but that the Sultan and Ulugh Khan, who were jealous of his military reputation, did not support him and he died in the middle of a host of Mongols. This hardly rings true. However that may be the Mongols realized the position and melted away in the night. Surprise had failed.

Ala-ud-din determined to reduce the Rajputs as a first step in his design of conquest. The castle of Ranthambhor was held by Hamir Deo, descendant of Prithiviraja. Many of the Nai

Muslims had joined him, and Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan were sent to reduce the stronghold. Nusrat Khan was killed by a missile from a catapult, and the garrison sallied out and drove the Muslims back. This situation demanded the presence of Ala-ud-din and he hastened to join the army. On his way he took the opportunity of enjoying some sport, and was sitting alone waiting for the game to be driven towards him when his nephew, Akat Khan, seized the opportunity with his guard of Mongol archers to dispatch him. He left him apparently mortally wounded, and arrived at the camp and announced his uncle's death and his succession. There appears to have been no very marked enthusiasm but some of the nobles acknowledged him. Meanwhile Ala-ud-din's attendants had collected and dressed his wounds, and he hastened to the camp gathering adherents on his way. When he appeared on a small rise near the camp and raised the insignia of royalty the end of Akat Khan was certain. He fled in terror, was pursued, and beheaded.

This was not the only sign of insecurity, however. Two more nephews, Amir Umar and Mangu Khan, revolted, at Budaun and in Oudh respectively, but were overcome by loyal chiefs and brought to Ranthambhor to the royal camp, where they suffered the loss of their sight for their behaviour. The atmosphere was favourable to revolt, and in Delhi Haji Maula, an officer, killed the Kotwal and set up a king, and for some days the city was in the hands of the rebels until again the royal supporters of the Sultan restored order. This convinced the Sultan that reforms were necessary and that no career of conquest was possible without establishing his power on a firm basis. The siege of Ranthambhor was intensified, and when Hamir Deo saw that all was lost he is stated to have performed the ancient Rajput rite of sallying out with his men in saffron robes and perishing to a man, while the women performed the terrible sacrifice of *jauhar* whereby flames preserved their honour. Another account says that he was betrayed and executed.

But the revolts had made Ala-ud-din take thought. He is reported to have attributed the state of affairs to four causes, which may be summed up in the statement that there was too much wealth and consequent insolence, too little control and so sedition was easy, too much social intercourse, and excessive winebibbing, so plots and careless talk were too prevalent.

Ala-ud-din was unable to read and write and apparently worked out his measures by rule of thumb. Zia-ud-din Barani,

the historian of the time, attributes to him certain principles of action, but whether these were actually expressed by Ala-ud-din or only the conclusions reached by Barani from the Sultan's actions is difficult to say. Barani had excellent opportunities for information as his uncle Ala-ul-Mulk, Kotwal of Delhi, held an important position ; though whether his advice was offered or indeed taken by the Sultan, as family pride has suggested in his record, is a matter of doubt. Still the measures taken by the Sultan are such as would appeal to a suspicious nature, whose experience had not been fortified by study or whose barbarity not softened by culture.

The first step was to regulate finances. All wakts or grants were resumed, whatever their origin, whether it was land given to old soldiers for their services, or for religious purposes by pious predecessors. Undoubtedly much public land had been granted away recklessly and in perpetuity, whereas the usual practice was to grant for one or two lives only ; but the resumption was conducted with the greatest strictness. At the same time taxes were more rigorously enforced and their collection more strictly supervised. It was here that the Hindus were marked out for special measures of discrimination. The system as far as they were concerned was so designed that they should be left with only the barest necessities to keep body and soul together. The revenue demand was half the produce, but over and above this was the poll tax or *jiziya*, a house tax, and a tax on all animals. The wretched Hindu revenue officials lost all their perquisites of collection, and were treated almost worse than those from whom they collected. But it was not only Hindu tax-gatherers who felt the iron hand ; the Muslim supervisers also were mercilessly driven to exact the uttermost farthing.

The second matter which received attention was the secret police who were imposed on every department of the life of the state. Spies or secret agents or letter writers, these men are the inevitable accompaniment of every despotism from the time of the Mauryas to Hitler's Nazis. Everything was spied on and reports carried to the Sultan, who punished without further inquiry and without compunction.

The condemnation of wine and strong drink was implicit in the sacred writings of Islam, but drink seems to have had a special attraction for the Turks and the whole people of the steppes, and they were unable to observe moderation as the drunken orgies which disfigure the records of their courts attest.

Indulgence in strong drink was absolutely forbidden, the Sultan setting the example by breaking all his precious cups and pouring out the stores of his cellars before the Budaun Gate of the city. Even home consumption was forbidden, and those who transgressed were flogged or buried in pits of filth. But like so many before and after him he found that making men sober or moral by decree was an impossibility, and by degrees the people were allowed to make wine for their own use and consumption, but wine-shops and public sale was still forbidden.

The fourth decree was to forbid social gatherings and was associated with the third. It was at social gatherings of the nobles (it was at them that the decree was directed) that loose talking and sedition and plots were hatched ; and so opportunities were restricted. Even marriage parties were included, and indeed no noble was allowed to marry until the Sultan had approved of the match.

This was a new conception of kingship, and one Muslim jurist told him to his face that his actions were against the law, except in the matter of the treatment of Hindus where they did not apparently reach the desired pitch. The reply of Ala-ud-din to this criticism was that he was guided rather by expediency than legality. Policy could no longer be controlled by the tenets of the law and traditions.

Further Campaigns of Ala-ud-din

The interrupted campaign against the Rajputs was now renewed, and in 1302–3 Ala-ud-din was engaged against the Rajputs of Mewar. Ratan Singh and his great keep of Chitor were captured and the raja taken prisoner to Delhi. But resistance did not apparently cease, and the Rajput thakurs continued the struggle in the hills of Rajputana.

Chajju Khan, the nephew of Nusrat Khan, was sent on an expedition against Telingana through Bengal and Orissa. The affair was not a success. Ulugh Khan was dead and his experience was missed. Warangal was reached, but the army was defeated and lost not only reputation but arms and baggage, and had to make a disorderly retreat. Meanwhile another army of Mongols under Targhi, 120,000 strong, had penetrated the frontier defences and encamped on the Jumna in the vicinity of Delhi. There was no army to meet them, though the returning troops from Warangal had reached Budaun. They, however, needed to be

reorganized. Ala-ud-din found the city surrounded on his return from Chitor, and had to throw himself into Siri where he too was invested. After two months of close investment the Mongols retired as they had done before. They were unable to keep the field with large forces and no regular supply train, and they were unversed in regular siege tactics, while the forces of the Sultan were collecting for the relief of the city.

This had taught Ala-ud-din a lesson which he was quick to apply. He saw that feudal levies were useless for a conqueror and set about placing his forces on a professional basis. Notwithstanding all his gold won in the south, the expense of a regular army was more than the rudimentary revenue system of the times could bear, and he therefore determined to reduce prices of commodities so that the soldier's pay need not be too large a percentage of his budget. He introduced a system of rationing and licensing of supplies, and laid down by decree a fixed schedule not only for necessities but for luxuries as well. The cost of slaves, concubines, horses, arms, and clothing was fixed. It was a recognition of the fact that money is only a token of exchange, and during his time it answered well. Pay could be reduced when commodities were cheap and so a larger professional army kept in being. It meant setting up government grain shops at first to control prices. Revenue was paid in grain, and thus large stocks in the hands of government were available to keep prices down. Price control was maintained by ruthless measures, and traders who tried to introduce the principle of a black market were severely punished. The forts on the frontier were repaired and strengthened. Samana and Dipalpur appear to have been the main 'hedgehogs,' to use a modern phrase, of the defence.

But even this was not enough to keep the Mongols out. In 1304 another Mongol army slipped through along the Himalayan foothills and descended on Amroha. Ghias-ud-din Tughluk and Malik Kafur, the favourite, caught them on their return march heavy with plunder and broke them up, capturing the leaders and 8,000 of the rank and file. They were trampled to death at Delhi, and their heads are said to have been built into the walls of the Sultan's new city of Siri. Tughluk was made governor of the Punjab and became the famous Warden of the Marches. In 1305 and the following year he defeated another plundering raid. Ibn Batuta records that he saw an inscription in the Jami Masjid at Multan in which Tughluk stated : 'I have encountered the

Tartars on twenty-nine occasions and defeated them ; hence I am called Malik-ul-Ghazi.' There was a state of continuous warfare, and only the hordes that broke through are specifically enumerated. On this occasion, out of 60,000 only three or four thousand escaped. The usual trampling by elephants at Delhi was the fate of the prisoners, and their wives and children were sold as slaves. These invasions were migrations of whole tribes with their families and goods and chattels, and only extermination of the invaders could save Hindustan. In 1307–8 there was another similar invasion which was defeated, and for the rest of Ala-ud-din's reign no other incident is recorded.

Meanwhile the campaign against the Rajputs was continued. Koka or Haran Singh, raja of Malwa, had recovered from former defeats and had raised an army of 40,000 horse and 100,000 foot, or so the historian records with the usual exaggeration of numbers common to all these writers. After a stiff fight he was defeated and Ujjain, Mandu, Dhar and Chanderi fell into the hands of the Sultan. Hamir Deo the Chauhan raja of Jalor became the vassal of Ala-ud-din. The story of Ratan Singh of Chitor and his lovely wife Padmini is a mixture of legend and history. Tired of his prison in Delhi, he was reported to have become willing to win his freedom by giving up his wife to Ala-ud-din. His thakurs (chiefs) hearing of this offered to send him poison, by taking which he might escape the shame of such a surrender. Apparently he managed to escape, though the tale of the armed men concealed in litters under the guise of attendants on his wife, who were introduced into Delhi and then released him so that he fled back to Chitor while they covered his escape and died, is hardly credible. The legend states that he was imprisoned in Ala-ud-din's camp before Chitor ; but Chitor was in the hands of the Muslims under the Sultan's son Khizr Khan. The latter was a young boy and was replaced by Arsi, nephew of Ratan Singh, who played the part of a 'quisling.' Many thakurs, disgusted with Ratan Singh's behaviour, joined him, and Chitor was held for Ala-ud-din until his death. Rajputana was now feudatory to the Sultan, as it had never been before to any of the Muslim rulers of Delhi.

The Deccan

Ramachandra, the Yadava raja of Devagiri, had omitted to send the annual revenue from Ellichpur for three years, and in

1306–7 Malik Kafur, now known as Malik Naib, the lieutenant of the kingdom, was sent to collect it and reduce the raja to submission. He had also given shelter to Karan Singh of Gujarat, and had made him ruler of a small dependency. His son Sankara was a suitor for the hand of the raja's daughter Deval Devi, but the Yadavas were not considered of sufficient standing to espouse a Parama Rajput princess. Now Ala-ud-din, at the prompting of Kamala Devi her mother, who had become an inmate of his harem when Karan Singh fled, demanded that Deval Devi should be sent to Delhi to be with her mother. The reluctance of Karan Singh to the alliance with the Yadavas was thus changed to consent, and the little princess—she was only eight—was sent with a small escort to Devagiri. On the way, while halting to view the splendours of Ellora, they were captured by a body of Muslims and sent to Delhi. Later she was married to Khizr Khan, and the story of their love is told by Amir Khusru in one of his poems. Ramachandra submitted to Kafur and paid the arrears, sending 700 elephants in addition. He was confirmed as ruler and given the title of Rai-i-Rayan (Chief of Chiefs). At the same time Ala-ud-din devoted himself to the conquest of Marwar, which was divided among Muslim feudatories though the raja, Sital Deo, was allowed to retain his fort of Siwana after it had been thoroughly plundered. Hamir Deo of Jalor had been released from prison and raised his head in revolt. To show his contempt Ala-ud-din sent an army under the nominal command of one of the women servants of the court Gul-i-Bihist (the Rose of Paradise). She or her deputy were on the point of taking Jalor when she died, and her successor did not do so well. However the place finally fell and Hamir Deo was killed. Thus the whole of Rajputana was subdued.

In 1308 another expedition was sent to Telingana, not for permanent conquest but to make the kingdom tributory, for Ala-ud-din well knew he could not hope to hold so distant a conquest and believed in the setting up of client kingdoms. Ramachandra gave every assistance and conducted it through his kingdom. Warangal was ruled over by Pratapa Rudra Deva II, the seventh of the Kakatiya dynasty. The town was besieged and the mud-walled outer defences taken when Pratapa made overtures for peace. He had to give up all his treasures and promise to pay an annual tribute. He agreed to this and was left in possession of his kingdom.

The next object of Ala-ud-din's ambition was the Hoysala

kingdom of Vira Ballala II, which included the present Mysore and most of the Konkan. Kafur had heard much about the wealth of the kingdom, and in 1310 set off once more to the south. Vira Ballala had no chance against the professional army of Ala-ud-din and was utterly defeated, and had to surrender great stores of gold and jewels. He himself was carried to Delhi with the spoils, though he was allowed to return as a tributory to his capital of Dwarasamudra. Kafur then proceeded to attack the Pandya kingdom and the Cheras. He sacked Madura and took great store of diamonds, emeralds, pearls and gold. All the wealth of the south was now open to the Muslims. They marched to the extreme tip of India and plundered the great temple at Rameswaram, where a mosque was erected in honour of Ala-ud-din. Kafur returned to Delhi with his great booty in 1311. Ramachandra, the Yadava, had died, and his son Sankara, conscious of his wrongs and the bride who had been reft from him, had threatened Malik Kafur's communications on his southern campaign. It was decided to deal with him. Khizr Khan had been declared the heir to the realm, and this did not appeal to Kafur who hated him. He was only too glad therefore to set out once more for the south in 1312. Sankara was defeated and killed and Devagiri annexed. Gulbarga was also captured, and the land between the Krishna and Tungabadhra rivers taken possession of, with the fortresses of Raichur and Mudgal. Thus the great powers of the Yadavas of Devagiri, the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra, and the Kakatiyas of Warangal were broken. With the submission of the Rajputs and the curbing of the Mongols, the year 1312 saw the culmination of the conquests of Ala-ud-din. India was at last entirely in the hands of the Muslims.

But the final years of the Sultan were not happy, and when he died rebellion had broken out in his wide domains. The Malik Naib returned to Delhi with his influence strengthened by his great success. He played upon the naturally suspicious nature of the autocratic Sultan, aggravated by the disease which caused his death, and spread dissension between him and his sons. Khizr Khan and his brother were imprisoned in Gwalior Fort, and Alp Khan the great general and only rival to Kafur's reputation, since Tughluk was away on the frontier, was accused of plotting with the queen and was put to death. The Rajputs rose, Gujarat drove out the Muslims, and Chitor was recovered by the original holders. Harpal Deva of Devagiri, son-in-law of

the dead Ramachandra, seized the occasion to revolt. Thus the close of Ala-ud-din's life was clouded. He died in 1316.

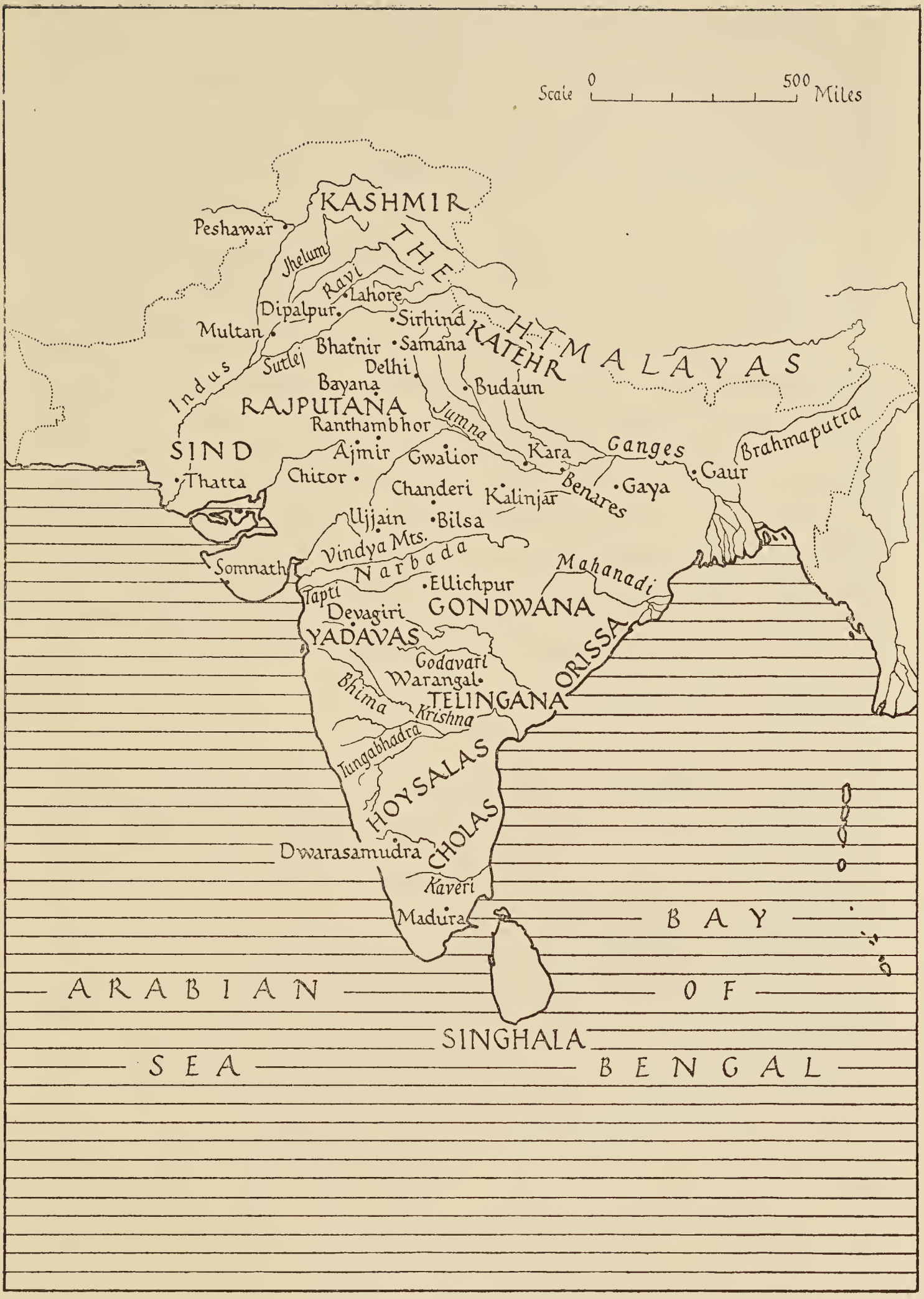
Achievements of Ala-ud-din

During his reign of twenty years Ala-ud-din had extended the Muslim power in India to its furthest limits, and put an end to any possibility of a Hindu prince ever driving out the Muslims. His reforms were not lasting, and were in effect rough-and-ready expedients to meet the immediate problem of maintaining a strong and contented professional army. Events after his death showed that they had no roots in policy, and were only kept in being by the strict enforcement of his decrees. It would however be wrong to consider that there was any popular demand for a more liberal régime based on constitutional principles—such principles were the growth of centuries, and had not emerged anywhere in the world except perhaps in the small island in the extreme west where Edward I had lately called his first Parliament of Lords and Commons.

Barani, the historian of the reign, did not approve of Ala-ud-din's disregard of the law. Yet he praises the general results of Ala-ud-din's reign. He kept, he says, prices low, and maintained at a small cost a large army which rolled back the Mongols and spread conquest and victory. He inculcated temperance and maintained loyalty by severity. Many learned men flourished in his time, though the Sultan was totally illiterate and no patron of literature and learning. He did, however, erect and repair mosques, minarets and forts, and excavated tanks for water.

His greatest contribution to a building programme was his citadel of Siri, of which the mouldering walls only remain to show a great design. He extended the buildings of the Kuwwat-ul-Islam built by Kutb-ud-din by adding another courtyard, and started another minar the unfinished stump of which still remains. To the great Minar he added a cupola and renewed the casing of the other storeys. The Alai Darwarza of the Kutb was added in 1311, and has been described as 'One of the most treasured gems of Islamic architecture' (CHI, Vol. 3).

The Jamaat Khana Masjid at the Dangal of Nizam-ud-din Auliya was built by Khizr Khan, who was a follower of the saint, as a tomb for his master, and was converted into a mosque in Tughluk times. It is the first pure Muslim type of architecture



Map 11 India in 1316

in Delhi free from any Hindu admixture. This prince, says Barani, had been ' brought out of the dovecot ' too young, and had succumbed to bad companions and too early taste of power. But his following of Nizam-ud-din shows there was some good in him, while the story Amir Khusru tells of the mutual love between him and Devala Devi makes it probable that in happier surroundings he would have been capable of better things. She at any rate believed in him, and we should prefer to believe the tale that she died with him rather than the story that she was in turn handed over to Mubarak Shah and the loathsome Khusru Khan.

When Ala-ud-din died, Malik Kafur produced a will nominating Shab-ud-din, a child of five or six, as his father's heir. An officer was sent to blind Khizr Khan and his brother at Gwalior and Siri respectively. He imprisoned the other son Mubarak Shah, who was the same age as Khizr Khan, and intended to blind him also, but before he could carry out his intention the palace slaves or guards put an end to him and his creatures and Mubarak Shah was made regent. In April 1316 Mubarak Shah made himself Sultan and dispatched Shab-ud-din to the prison at Gwalior, where he suffered the same fate as his brothers.

Sultan Kutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah

The new Sultan began by relaxing his father's harsh laws and restoring some, at any rate, of the grants he had resumed. Like his father he was in the hands of a low-born favourite—this time a Parwari, who on his conversion took the name of Khusru Khan and was appointed wazir.

His first step was to put down the rebellion in Gujarat which had been largely the work of the Muslim feudatories. Ain-ul-Mulk Multani dealt with this. Mubarak married the daughter of Malik Dinar, who now was given the title of Zafar Khan and set to govern Gujarat. The other governors were retained.

In 1318 he proceeded to deal with Harpal Deo of Devagiri, who was defeated and flayed alive and his skin hung on the gate of the city as a warning to others. He also built the great mosque and left Malik Yaklaki as governor. This was the end of the Yadavas. Gulbarga and Sagar too were now governed directly by Muslim governors, and Khusru Khan was sent on an expedition to Madura. During Mubarak's absence a conspiracy to put a son of Khizr Khan's on the throne at Delhi was hatched, and he hurried back to deal with it. This done, he sent

to Gwalior to have Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan murdered. A contemporary witness, Amir Khusru, says that Deval Devi tried to protect her beloved husband, and the murderers severed her outstretched arms and she died on his body. Later historians, however, say the reason for Khizr Khan's killing was to gain possession of Deval Devi, and that she became an inmate of Mubarak Shah's harem.

After this Mubarak Shah gave himself over to profligacy and drink. He sent for his father-in-law, Zafar Khan, and had him executed, and proceeded to indulge in the lowest excesses. He never attended the mosque and gave up the observance of Ramzan. Khusru Khan was plotting to get rid of Mubarak and put himself in his place. He returned to Delhi and, in order to obtain a body of men devoted to himself, represented that he should have a bodyguard of his own. The besotted monarch could deny him nothing, and he was permitted to raise a force of his own caste-fellows. In 1320 he introduced them into the palace, and Mubarak, till the last devoted to the foul favourite, was killed almost by the favourite's hands. The royal children were killed, and the women including, if Firishta is to be believed, Deval Devi had to submit to the low embraces of this upstart. He summoned the nobles the same night and was proclaimed by his followers Nasir-ud-din Khusru Shah.

Many of the nobles were massacred, but he tried to conciliate some including Ain-ul-Mulk and Fakhr-ud-din Muhammad Jauna, son of Ghazi Malik, whom he made master of the horse. The latter escaped however and fled to his father at Dipalpur. The troops in Multan joined them, and they marched to Delhi, meeting and defeating Hisam-ud-din, the half-brother of Khusru, on the way. Ain-ul-Mulk removed himself and his army to Malwa, and Khusru was left largely with his own caste-fellows. On September 3 the armies met. The Parwaris fought well, but the frontier fighters, trained in the hard school of the Mongol wars, prevailed and the enemy was scattered. Khusru, found hiding in a garden, was beheaded.

The Tughluks

The Tughluks were also Turks but of a mixed race, which may have had some Mongol admixture like Babur, though, as in the case of Babur, this did not prevent Ghazi Malik from

abominating the Mongols. His mother is said to have been a Jat woman of the Punjab and his father a Turki slave of Balban's. The tribe he belonged to was the Karaunas, who according to Ibn Batuta were a tribe who dwelt in the mountains between Sind and Turkistan. On the other hand, Marco Polo, who met Karaunas in Persia, said they were sons of Tartars by Indian mothers and hence the name Karauna. However that may be they were now considered to be Turks. On the defeat of Khusru, Ghazi Malik sought for survivors of the Khilji royal family, but none remained alive, and the nobles besought him to assume the power. This he did as Ghias-ud-din Tughluk Shah in September 1320, and a new dynasty came to the throne of the kingdom of Delhi.

The Warden of the Marches, as Ghazi Malik has been called, was well fitted to restore the kingdom after the disasters and disgrace which had followed the death of Ala-ud-din. He found affairs in a sorry state. Khusru's conversion to Islam had been nominal rather than real, and he had made no pretence of being a Muslim when he attained power. Mosques were desecrated and the holy Koran defiled. Though the Hindus despised the low-caste usurper as much as the orthodox Muslims, his actions were not calculated to improve the position of the Hindus in the state in the time of an orthodox successor. This indeed proved to be the case, for Ghias-ud-din enforced the full vigour of taxation against Hindus while relaxing the strictness of Ala-ud-din's finance and revenue measures in general. He recovered most of the grants with which Khusru had sought to buy attachment, including a sum of five lakhs given to the renowned saint Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, now an old man of nearly ninety, who had distributed it in charity and refused to return it. He set to work to restore the finances, the collection of revenue and the morals of the nobles.

Ghias-ud-din's Campaigns in Warangal and Bengal

It is clear that he was an orthodox Muslim since he disapproved of the Sufi doctrines of Nizam-ud-din Auliya. As an old soldier he paid special attention to the army, and he set about restoring order in the empire, especially where revolts had resulted from the recent administration. Warangal under its Kakatiya king Pratapa Rudra IV had shaken off the supremacy of Delhi, and Muhammad Jauna the Sultan's eldest son, now given the

title Ulugh Khan, was sent with an army to restore affairs. The campaign was not very successful, and after a preliminary victory and overtures for submission by the raja dissensions set in among the Muslims. Muhammad either believed the news that his father was dead or affected to believe it, and seems to have proclaimed himself as sultan, but he was not accepted by the chief officers. The siege in these circumstances was not successful and Muhammad returned to Delhi. His fault, if fault it was, does not seem to have been taken seriously, and in 1323 he was sent back to Telingana to complete the conquest. There was no mistake this time. The raja surrendered and was sent with his family and court to Delhi, while his kingdom was definitely taken over by the Muslims. The days of client kingdoms were over.

The next province to be dealt with was Bengal. This had been independent since the death of Ala-ud-din, and Bughra Khan's descendants had ruled it without coming into collision with the Sultanate of Delhi. Now there was a dispute among his grandsons, Shihab-ud-din Bughra Shah and Nasir-ud-din, who apparently had ruled at Lakhnauti and had been driven out by their brother Ghias-ud-din Bahadur. They appealed to Tughluk, and he determined to assist them and at the same time assert his claim to the suzerainty over Bengal. He made his son Muhammad regent in Delhi, thus showing his supreme confidence in his loyalty. In 1324 he set out on the long march into Bengal. Either on the way there or the way back he subdued Tirhut, whose raja Hari Singh Deva is reported to have founded a kingdom in Nepal. At any rate Tirhut became part of the Muslim kingdom, and coins were issued from Tughlukpur (late Tirhut) in the following reign. Bahadur was defeated and Nasir-ud-din established as ruler in Lakhnauti.

Death of Ghias-ud-din

Now comes one of the most disputed cases in the history of the times—the death of Ghias-ud-din. Ibn Batuta the Moor, who was in Delhi under Muhammad Tughluk thirteen years later, states that it was engineered by his son, who had a pavilion erected to receive his father on his victorious return near his new fort of Tughlukabad. The pavilion collapsed and the king and his son Mahmud perished. The contemporary historian Barani says in so many words that it was an accident. He lived and wrote in the time of Firuz Tughluk, and may not have been able to speak

the truth. Modern historians on the whole are inclined to believe that the story that it was deliberate is true, and the saint Nizam-ud-din Auliya is cited as involved. He had been on bad terms with Ghias-ud-din and had, it is said, been ordered to leave Delhi before the king returned, and is reported to have made the ominous comment, ' Hinoz Dilhi dur ast '—Delhi is far off yet. Still when all is said it appears to have been a very clumsy expedient which was more likely to fail than succeed, and had Muhammad really wished to remove his father there were easier ways. Nevertheless the report of his earlier attempt to mount the throne at Warangal goes some way to support the story. It is of course in keeping with the reading of his character as a ' mixture of opposites ' so persistingly set before us by Ibn Batuta, and the main authority for the story is Ibn Batuta. On the evidence it is difficult to pronounce either way.

The character of Ghias-ud-din is attractive. His behaviour as the champion of the state against the Mongols in the long frontier wars he waged, and his generally kind and generous disposition make him a welcome relief from the bloodthirsty or sensual tyrants who seem to occur so frequently in the history of the times. He was a patron of the learned and of literature, and gave Amir Khusru the poet a pension—a thing which no-one else had thought of doing. He is also one of the builders of the age, and his great city or fortress palace of Tughlukabad still bears witness to his predeliction for the solid and lasting rather than the surface virtues.

Muhammad bin Tughluk

In 1325 Muhammad succeeded to the throne of the Delhi Sultanate, and, however he attained it, there was no opposition and, apparently, no criticism. His task was to consolidate the conquests already won and to establish for India a system by which unity might be maintained. He failed in both these tasks. When he died worn out by campaigning against his revolting subjects throughout the length and breadth of India, the empire attained by Ala-ud-din was slipping from his grasp. He had already found that the client kingdoms set up by the Khiljis were no solution to the problem of a federate or united India, and his own systems—that of feudal governors, then of directly controlled ' new men '—were no better.

The feudal system had been tried before by earlier kings, and

for a time when the Muslims were surrounded by foes and unity was the only hope of survival it answered well enough, but the tendency even then had been for the great governors to try and set themselves up as independent rulers. Muhammad's great schemes and great expenditure, his attempts at economic systems of modern days in medieval conditions, demanded money on a huge scale, and now that most of the hoards of the south had been looted he had no other way to get it than by increased taxation. So he reverted to the system of farming out the great fiefs to the highest bidder in order to raise ready money—all he got were promises to pay on the bank of the future, and when the settling day drew near, as settlement was impossible, rebellion always offered a chance of escape

The earlier Sultans had the institution of the slave system to bind their servants and officials to them, and there was a feeling of unity among the Turki tribes. The Khiljis too had this feeling of identity of interests, but the Tughluks, though Turks of a sort, did not inspire any special loyalty, and there is little doubt that the character of Muhammad inspired no love. So deprived of loyalty the system broke down and the attempt to establish a Muslim empire ruled from a common centre over the whole of India was postponed for two centuries more.

Muhammad Tughluk was very different from the illiterate Ala-ud-din or the puritanical Balban. He was a scholar, a lover of literature, a dabbler in the science which the Arabs had preserved from the Greeks, a mathematician and philosopher, and a man of deep knowledge of the culture of his day, Persian poetry, and Arabic literature in all its branches. He was indeed ' a man of ideas,' but unfortunately the ideas were in advance of his times, and his autocratic temper made him impatient of all opposition, and, when thwarted, the tinge of instability of intellect almost amounting to insanity led him to actions of the greatest cruelty. Accordingly he spent his time introducing great designs insufficiently prepared, and his impatience led him to fits of savagery when the inefficient system on which the kingdom was run led to disaster. The lack of a proper organization of rule was the chief cause of the break up of the empire in the latter part of his reign, and he undoubtedly hastened this by reforms which, though excellent in theory, failed when put into practice in the circumstances of the age.

All these Turki and Mongol kingdoms which succeeded to the Arab and Byzantine empires suffered from the same weakness—

an inefficient organization. While in India the Muslim kings preserved and utilized the Hindu local government system as far as collection of revenue was concerned, they never succeeded in organizing a satisfactory system of devolution of authority. When the Sultan was strong and paid attention to the details of government the kingdom prospered, but a weak sultan meant the collapse of the governing authority. Muhammad bin Tughluk undoubtedly saw the weakness but he was not successful in dealing with it. At first, however, he had the idea of provincial governors directly controlled from Delhi instead of the client kingdoms which the Khiljis had tried and which had failed. But the very growth of the kingdom made this difficult as did the failure of the old tie, the unity of Islam, a failure which was unavoidable once the initial enthusiasm of conquest and danger had been succeeded by personal ambition and the loosening of the bonds of fellowship and brotherhood. The old Turki nobles had been succeeded by men of mixed race, by Afghans, Mongols, and adventurers, and there was no loyalty to the ruler left. The ease with which the kingdoms of the south had been conquered showed that any danger of a real Hindu revival was past, so another of the reasons for unity had gone. Undoubtedly the autocratic methods the Sultan used were another reason for the loosening of loyalty. The character of the ruler was a very marked cause of the failure of his rule.

We have two first-hand portraits of this king, both by contemporaries. One by Zia-ud-din Barani, who wrote in the next reign, was perhaps restrained by that fact, but even he draws a dark picture. The other is by the Moor Abu Abdulla Ibn Batuta, who came from Tangier in N. Africa and was received with the greatest generosity, which he hardly repays by his account. He came to Delhi in 1333 when Muhammad had been in power some time and pays full tribute to his generosity, but what has been remembered are passages like the following : ' His gateway is never free from a beggar whom he has relieved and a corpse which he has slain.' Much of this is due to the desire for literary graces, for that antithesis which is the mark of classical style ; but there are other tales of elephants with blades on their tusks tossing their victims into the air, trampling them to a bloody mass, and slicing the shrieking wretches. These are but a few of the stories he tells of this tyrant, whose death is recorded by another historian Al Badaoni : ' And so the king was freed of his people and the people of their king.' And yet as Ibn Batuta

says, ' With all this he is the humblest of men and the most eager to show justice and truth.' In very truth a ' mixture of opposites.' His cruelty was, it should always be remembered, not remarkable in the manners of his times. The Turks and the Mongols had introduced in India a refinement of punishments which were the result of the barbarism of their upbringing and of their original pagan faith ; but in kind they were not so different from Mauryas or the later Vijayanagar rulers, or indeed the Mughuls who blinded, sewed in skins and impaled, or trampled with their elephants those who resisted them. But Muhammad punished Muslims indiscriminately, and this undoubtedly brought upon him the censure of the orthodox Barani, while the more humane Ibn Batuta was shocked by such savagery. Muhammad himself in his private life was a pattern example in the regularity of his prayers and his morals, though his wide learning and study of philosophic systems made him open-minded above the standard of his age. This was anathema to the Ulama, and certainly accounts for much of Barani's criticism.

The difficulties which faced Muhammad were progressive. First he certainly intended a government by civil servants responsible directly to himself. War and peace administration was undivided, and each governor was responsible for revenues and public administration including defence. His provinces included practically all that Ala-ud-din Khilji had conquered, and he coined from mints as far apart as Delhi, Agra, Tughlukpur (Tirhut), Devagiri (Daulatabad), Warangal (Sultanpur), Lakhnauti, Satgaon and Sonargaon, these last three in Bengal. It will be seen that none of the north-west parts of the empire are included, but he held sway over the provinces of Siwistan (Sind), Ucch (also part of Sind), Multan, Gujarat, Sisuti, Kuhram, Samana, Lahore, Kalanor and Hansi the old frontier against the Mongols, Delhi itself, Budaun, Oudh, Kanauj, Kara, Bihar and Bengal, Malwa, Devagiri and Telingana, with Jajnagar to the east, and Dwarasamudra in the south, and Ma'bar on the later Coromandal coast of Madras. Rajputana is not included in this list, and there is a story of a defeat by Hamir Deo of Chitor early in his reign which appears to have led to a definite reluctance to interfere with the chiefs. The Deccan was held only to a certain extent, and Warangal had to be reconquered as well as lands farther south. The Hoysala ruler Ballala II never apparently acknowledged the supremacy of Delhi, and maintained a somewhat precarious independence, though he seems to have founded

the city which was afterwards to be the basis of the Hindu revival as Vijayanagar.

The beginning of the reign was promising, and there seems to have been no opposition, but Rajputana was, as a result of the defeat of the Sultan himself or his deputy, practically independent, and we hear of no effort to reconquer it. The first of the rebellions of governors was in the Deccan, where the Sultan's cousin Baha-al-din Gurshasp who held Sagar in the Deccan raised the standard of revolt apparently in an attempt to seize the throne. Ahmad Aiyaz, who had been given the title of Khwaja Jahan and made Wazir-ul-Mulk, was sent against him. This was the engineer who had built the pavilion which collapsed on Ghias-ud-din Tughluk, and it has been suggested that his promotion had been due to his services on that occasion. Gurshasp was defeated and took refuge with a Hindu prince of the Deccan, who was in his turn defeated and killed. Meanwhile Gurshasp had taken shelter with Vir Ballala II, but the latter was unwilling to risk an encounter with the Muslim army and handed him over. He was sent to Delhi where he was flayed alive, and it is said by Ibn Batuta that his flesh was cooked and sent to his family to eat.

Transfer from Delhi to Daulatabad

This rebellion happened in the second year of the reign, and seems to have drawn the Sultan's attention especially to the affairs of the Deccan, and in 1327 he ordered the famous transfer of capital from Delhi to Devagiri now called Daulatabad. At first the citizens of Delhi were encouraged, but not compelled, to move, and every effort was made to provide for their comfort on the long march. Daulatabad was adorned with beautiful buildings, but it was unpopular with the Delhi people. Conflicting accounts are given of the migration. To transfer a whole city must invariably lead to privations and loss and suffering, but Ibn Batuta's story of the lame man who did not go and was propelled in its direction by a catapult, or the blind man who was dragged by his leg the forty days' march hardly carry conviction, and are probably an exaggerated way of describing the completeness of the transfer ; for though at first it might have been voluntary, in the end it was compulsory in as far as the departure of the court meant the end of all luxury trades, the closing of shops, and the general departure of most officials. But the Sultan returned from time to time, so there must have been

some inhabitants left behind, and at no time could the city have been entirely deserted, though Barani to convey a sense of the urgency of the Sultan's orders says that not a cat or a dog was left in any of the buildings of the city.

The reasons for the transfer were of course the need of a central capital. Delhi to this day is not central, but Daulatabad was even less so. From the point of view of the Deccan—and the Deccan was the centre of trouble—it was very convenient. The result was the conquest of the south in a more complete degree. Krishna Nayak of Warangal's pretensions were dealt with, and the capital of Vira Ballala, Dwarasamudra, taken while he retired farther south. Ma'bar or the Coromondal coast was now firmly settled and Madura in Muslim hands. The move had paid, but soon events showed that it was too far south for control over the main currents of the kingdom's life. It was while he was at Daulatabad that another of his governors revolted. This was Bahram, known as Kishlu Khan, an old and valued officer, who held the north-west with the fiefs of Ucch (Sind) and Multan. It may have been due to Muhammad's order that he should send his family to court at the new capital, and the manner in which this order was conveyed, but the treatment of the corpse of Gurshasp, which was stuffed with straw and sent on a progress round the provinces as a warning to traitors, may have had something to do with it as related by Ibn Batuta. At any rate, the governor rebelled and the seriousness of the situation demanded Muhammad's presence. After a close fought battle two days' journey south of Multan the rebellious governor was defeated and the punishment followed shortly. His head was exposed on the gates of Multan. It was some time after this that the chief of the Chagatai Mongols, Ala-ud-din Tirmashirin, apparently encouraged by the desertion of Delhi, invaded the country and ravaged the Punjab and camped near Delhi, even pursuing his raids as far as Buduan. It is not clear what action Muhammad took. It is said he pursued him as far as Kalanor, but later Tirmashirin seems to have been on friendly terms with Muhammad and some accounts suggest that Muhammad bought him off. It may have been this invasion and the destruction that it wrought which was the beginning of the depopulation of the Doab. This is attributed by Barani to Muhammad's action in increasing the taxation of the Doab. What form this took is again disputed, and also when it took place, but the land revenue was certainly increased and the people of the Doab, always liable to revolt,

became hostile to the Sultan, so much so that he is reported to have organized regular man hunts and slaughtered them wholesale. No doubt this has been exaggerated, especially by Barani, whose home town of Baran suffered severely.

Financial Schemes

Much has been made of Muhammad's grandiose ideas, and included in them is his scheme for the invasion of Khorasan. The idea was certainly entertained by him, and it is strange that he should have thought he was strong enough for such a large design after his failure to deal with the Mongol invasion. It is possible, however, that the treaty with Tirmashirin and the state of Persia under the prevailing conditions were partly responsible for the idea. He is said to have gathered a large army for this purpose, but gave up the project owing to the great expense, and possibly too because Tirmashirin could give him no help All this—his wars in the Deccan, the transfer of the capital, and his reckless generosity—must have cost great sums and have accounted in part for another of the disputed events of his reign—namely, his issue of token currency.

Muhammad has been called the Prince of Moneyers ; his currency is extremely fine, and he obviously devoted great attention to it. He issued new coins including gold dinars and silver coins of much larger value than had hitherto appeared. There was at the time all over the world a scarcity of silver, and Muhammad's token currency was, it is quite likely, an attempt to remedy this. The idea of a token currency was not new in the East. In China Kublai Khan had introduced paper notes, which were carefully controlled. Ibn Batuta mentions them, but does not mention Tughluk's currency. A similar device had been tried but without success in Persia at the end of the thirteenth century. Muhammad's currency was of copper and brass, and examples of it are extant. They are well minted like all his coins, and were to be equivalent to the silver tanka. However, the scheme failed, for no precautions were taken against forgery. No milled edges prevented fraud as nowadays. The result may be best decribed in Barani's words. 'The . . . edict turned the house of every Hindu (and presumably every Muslim) into a mint . . . every goldsmith struck copper coins in his workshop . . . with these they paid their tribute, purchased horses, arms, and fine things of all kinds . . . and the treasury was filled with

those tokens.' The experiment continued for three years, and then, seeing that it had failed, the Sultan redeemed all the coins —forged though they might be. This has been regarded by some historians as a proof of his madness, but it was quite a sensible expedient in itself, nor does it seem to have caused any great sensation, as all the coins were redeemed. It was tried for three years, and so was no hurried act of wrong-headed genius. A very severe famine, the Mongol invasion, and the expenditure on the preparations for the expedition against Khorasan, together with the unwise measures taken against the Doab, when unable or unwilling to pay the enhanced land revenue, seems to have been responsible for the drain on the treasury, though this loss on currency must have added to it.

Rebellions

The so-called expedition to China, which was held up as one of the Sultan's mad acts, turns out on examination to have been a campaign against a kingdom in the Himalaya. First an expedition was sent to conquer Kangra, or Nagarkot, in 1337. The fort, on a lofty hill, was taken, and the raja submitted. It was another expedition which gave rise to the impression that it was directed against China. Some writers say it was directed against the mountainous country of Karajal or Karachil, while Firishta calls it Himalchal, which is the Himalaya. Ibn Batuta says it was ten stages from Delhi which indicates the modern Kumaon, where at this time the dynasty of the Chands was in control after the decay of the Katyurs. The accounts are all confused and none of the names given can be identified. After a preliminary success the army, which was a large one, was caught by the rainy season, and the hillmen did pretty much what they liked with the soldiers. There was no room for manœuvre in these deep and narrow valleys where a few men can hold up an army, and the result was disaster. Only a few made their way back to Delhi, and the loss of his troops seriously weakened the Sultan, though the raja seems to have agreed to pay tribute on condition that he was allowed access to the land at the foot of the hills, grazing country for cattle which has always been essential for the dwellers in the hill *pattis* of Kumaon.

Another rebellion in the south had claimed the Sultan's attention before this. Jalal-ud-din Ahsan, whose daughter Ibn Batuta had married, revolted in 1334–35 in Ma'bar. Preparations

were made to suppress him and the Sultan proceeded to Daulatabad to take command, but the famine in the north and other difficulties seem to have hindered him and the expedition never materialized. This was the first of the successful rebellions against the Sultan's authority, and showed the way to others. Ahsan Shah founded a short-lived dynasty at Madura, which after many successful wars with the Hoysalas was itself finally conquered by the new Hindu power of Vijayanagar in 1378. Plague had added to Muhammad's difficulties, and he now made his way back to Delhi and at last permitted the homesick inhabitants to return to their city, but not all took advantage of the permission. He left behind him Malik Makbul in charge of Telingana, and Nusrat Khan bought the fief of Bidar (for Muhammad now had introduced a new system of farming the provinces and letting them to the highest bidder). This was a sign of the low state to which the treasury had been brought owing to the Doab disturbances, the cost of the armies, and the famine which lasted for seven years.

While Muhammad was in the south preparing to reduce Ahsan Shah it was reported that he had died of the plague, a report which induced Malik Hushang to rebel in Daulatabad. But he submitted and was forgiven, contrary to Muhammad's usual custom of stern retribution. A Mongol chief called Hulagu, who had been granted a fief in Lahore, also rebelled and killed the governor of Lahore, Malik Tatar, and was joined by the chief of the Khokhars Kulchand. The Khwaja Jahan (Ahmad Ayaz) however dealt with this and defeated the rebels, and order was once more restored. Before this, about 1331, Ghias-ud-din Bahadur of Bengal had also rebelled, in the hope, apparently, of restoring his family's dynasty to independence, but he was not strong enough and had been defeated and killed, and his straw-stuffed corpse was paraded through the provinces as a warning to others.

Ibn Batuta, the Moor from Tangier, arrived in Delhi in 1333 and found the city half deserted, that is Jahanpanah, Muhammad's new city the ' Refuge of the World,' which excited his admiration as did the great mosque and the Kutb Minar. He was received by Muhammad with the greatest honours and generosity and made Kazi of the city, a post for which he himself protested he had no qualifications. But strangers always were treated with more generosity by Muhammad than his own people. There is the example of his treatment of a great-grandson of the last

Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad. The Caliph had been killed by Hulagu and the Abbasids came to an end as a dynasty, but later the Mamelukes, requiring some support for their usurpation of the Egyptian and Syrian lands, sought out a descendant and set him up as a puppet Caliph in Cairo. It was this descendant, Al Mustakfi, to whom Muhammad sent an embassy requesting recognition. In the meanwhile this other adventurer, Ghias-ud-din, turned up in Delhi. The Sultan treated him with the most remarkable humility, gave him ten lakhs of silver, the old palace at Siri, and the government of Kanauj, and apologized that he had sent an embassy to the Caliph in Cairo. The man was a nobody and Muhammad's behaviour verges on the ridiculous, but it appears that the frequent rebellions, his failure to reconcile his people, and all his difficulties now crowding upon him had made him clutch at any expedient to maintain himself. When the embassy from Cairo arrived with the Caliph's *farman* and robe of honour, he treated the envoy with extravagant protestations of respect. The name of the Caliph was now repeated in the khutba or official prayer in the mosques.

Return to Delhi

The Sultan on his return from Daulatabad started to repopulate Delhi, and is reported to have obtained new citizens from other parts of his kingdom, but the Doab was still in disorder and the famine pressed hard upon the people. He met the situation by a system of state rations for the inhabitants of Delhi, and made advances of *takavi* to cultivators for buying seed and oxen, digging wells, and for other agricultural improvements. Finding that this was not enough he transferred the starving inhabitants to a new encampment on the Ganges near Kara, where they had access to the fertile supplies of Oudh which had not suffered like the Doab. There they remained for some six years, and he gave to it the Sanskrit name of Swargadwara, ' The Gate of Paradise.'

His attempts to restore the prosperity of the Doab led to desperate expedients, the most remarkable of which was his theoretical division of the land into districts of equal size which had to be all cultivated, no allowance being made for forest land, jungle, or swamps. A hard and fast rotation of crops was decreed, with no allowance for local variations or indeed for the laws of agriculture. Men had to be bribed by large advances to supervise these impossible designs, and only the reckless would undertake

it—in the hopes, it is hinted, that something would happen either to the Sultan or the state before they were called upon to account. All sorts of foreigners had been taken into service in the army and the state, Mongols, Afghans and Persians, as well as natives of the soil, and these men had no hereditary stake in the land or loyalty to the throne. The system of farming the great fiefs or provinces also led to abuses and a feeling of insecurity and irresponsibility was rife, which boded ill for the peace and welfare of the land. Nusrat Khan who had promised a great sum for Bidar was unable to pay and rose in rebellion, but he was defeated by Kutlugh Khan the viceroy of the Deccan, sent to Delhi, and pardoned. Nizam Main of Kara who rebelled for the same reason was put down by Ain-ul-Mulk of Oudh, and suffered the usual fate of being flayed alive. Another rebel was Ali Shah, who was one of the Amiran-sadah, or amirs of a hundred, who have been described either as foreign officers or revenue officers appointed to collect the revenue from the new divisions. These 'centurions' afterwards became prominent in the dissolution of Muhammad's rule in the Deccan. Kutlugh Khan marched against this man after he had seized Bidar and killed the governor. He surrendered and was exiled to Ghazni, but returned without permission and was executed. In Bengal, after the revolt of Bahadur, royal governors had been appointed at Lakhnauti and Sonargaon, but sometime between 1336–37 on the death of the governor, Bahram Khan at Sonargaon, his armour-bearer Fakh-ud-din established himself as an independent ruler and defeated Kadir Khan the governor of Lakhnauti who had been sent to subdue him. Fakh-ud-din became independent in Bengal, and Muhammad was too occupied elsewhere to proceed against him.

But the most serious revolt was that of Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, the able and trusted governor of Oudh who had rescued the Sultan from his difficulties resulting from the famine in Delhi and the Doab. The cause of the revolt seems to have been Muhammad's tortuous policy in transferring Ain-ul-Mulk to Daulatabad without warning, after he had been filled with suspicions that the Sultan was losing confidence in him. Accordingly the receipt of the order to relieve Kutlugh Khan in 1341 confirmed his fears, and he left Swargadwara by night and joined his brothers who had seized the Sultan's baggage and so precipitated revolt. The situation in which the Sultan found himself was dangerous as he had few men with him at Swarga-



Plate 24 Kutb Minar, Delhi, begun by Kutb-ud-din, finished by Iltutmish

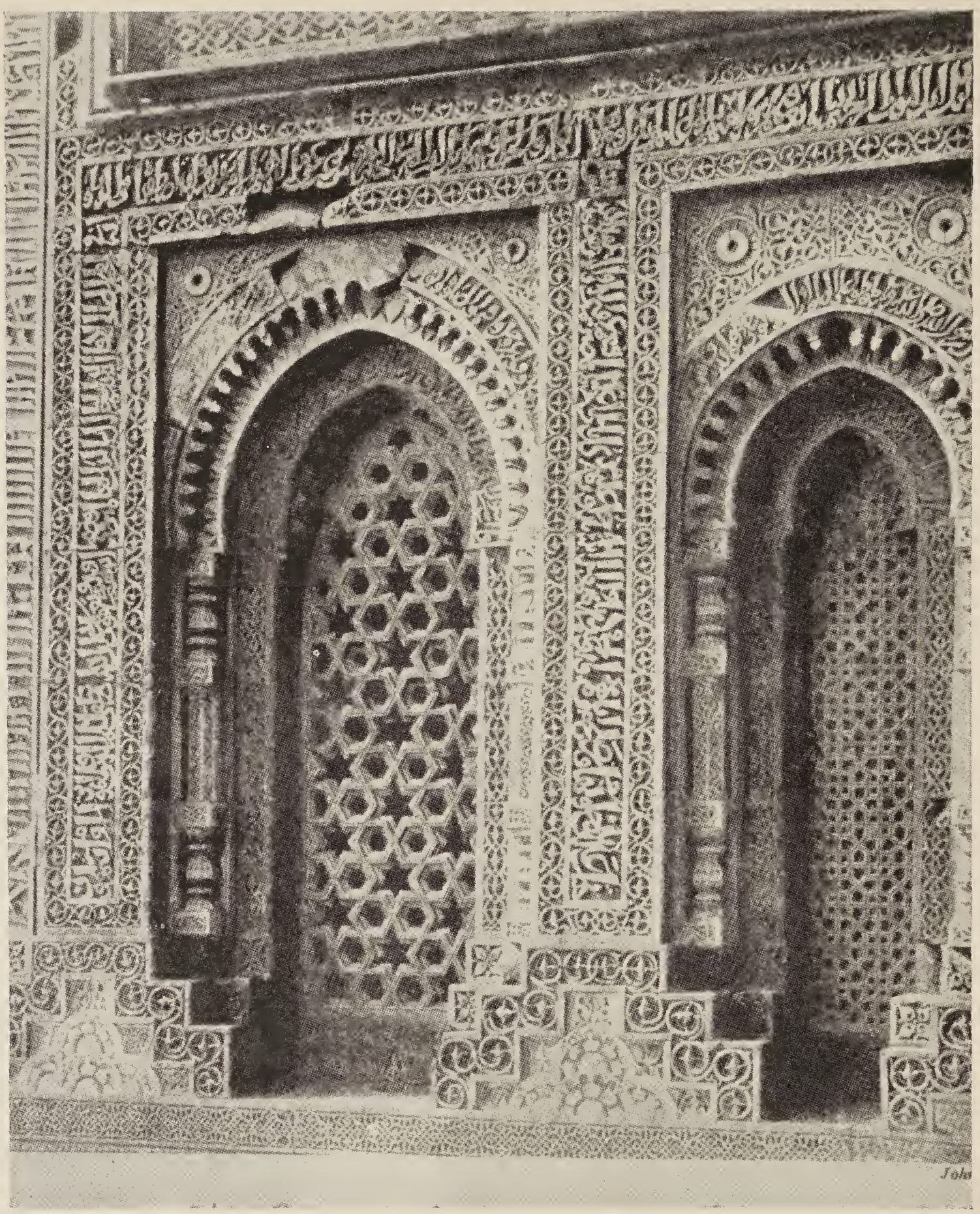


Plate 25 The Alai Darwaza addition to the Kuwwat-ul-Islam Mosque, Delhi

dwara, but he took instant action, collected troops from the fortresses of Amroha, Baran, Koil and Samana and marched on Kanauj. Khwaja Jahan now joined the Sultan, and Ain-ul-Mulk attacked his camp with fifty thousand men and was defeated. His brothers were killed, but after he had been treated with great indignity he was released in view of his great services.

Soon after this another rebellion in the north needed the Sultan's attention. Malik Shahu Lodi, an Afghan chief, killed the governor of Lahore and seized the city, but fled across the Indus on hearing that the Sultan himself was advancing against him. This was not the end of the trouble in the Punjab, as the Sultan had himself to proceed against the Rajput and Jat brigands in Samana and Sannam. Not only had these tribes refused to pay tribute, but they had gathered in strongholds and plundered the travellers on the highways. They were firmly dealt with, and many were brought to Delhi, compelled to accept Islam, and populate the still half-empty city. On his return to Delhi Muhammad found the famine still at its height, and the people were so starved that cases of cannibalism are said to have occurred.

He attempted to deal with this by relief measures in Delhi and the Doab, but in the latter the people had become so hopeless and sullen that his efforts evoked no response. He had by the end of 1342 put an end to rebellion in Hindustan, but had not succeeded in winning the confidence of the people. From now on his exasperated spirit could not brook any opposition. His schemes had been opposed, his trust had been repaid by disloyalty. Such seems to have been his comment on the situation. Ibn Batuta, admirer though he was, seems to have felt he could not bear the strain any more. He had also fallen from favour and begged to be allowed to return to his far-off home. He was entrusted with an embassy to China, though it is not certain that he ever went there. The disorder of the country was shown by his capture by Hindu rebels near Koil, in spite of his escort of a thousand horse, and he was robbed of the gifts the Sultan had entrusted him with for the Chinese court. He describes his journey but not in much detail. When he arrived in Pekin, however, he found the Mongol Khan had left on an expedition against his cousin who defeated him, and the object of the mission could not be accomplished, so he returned to South India and then home. On his way to China he stayed at Madura where his relative by marriage was sultan. The cruelties of this sultan however were greater than those of Muhammad and he could

not endure to witness them, and left leaving his wife and daughter behind. His description of this wife Hurnasab, daughter of Jalal-ud-din Ahsan Shah the former Sultan of Ma'bar, is typical : ' She was a pious woman, who kept awake the whole night and busied herself in reading prayers. She bore me a daughter, but I do not know what has become of both of them.' He returned to his home in Tangier about the end of 1349, having left in 1325 and having spent from 1333 to 1342 in India. He did not dare to report to Muhammad on the failure of his mission and the loss of the presents.

The Deccan

The revolt of Ahsan Shah in Ma'bar in 1334–35 was the first sign of trouble in the Deccan. Ahsan Shah and his successors reduced the power of Vir Ballala III, finally killing him about 1342. This was in the time of Ghias-ud-din Damghani, monster of cruelty as reported by Ibn Batuta. Somewhere about 1336 the foundations of Vijayanagar were laid. Bukka and Hari Hara, two brothers, were officers of the kingdom of Telingana, and escaped when the Muslims overran it in 1323. They apparently took refuge in the hills of Anagondi, were captured and taken to Delhi, but afterwards restored and recognized as tributories. It is even said that they accepted Islam. This was the beginning of the dynasty which afterwards became so powerful. However they were at first quite willing to recognize the superiority of Delhi, and it was only the troubles of Muhammad which later invited them to rebel.

Krishna Nayak, son of the old king of Telingana, Pratap Rudra Deva the Kakatiya, joined with Hari Hara and Vir Ballala IV Hoysala to recover the Hindu south from the Muslims. Warangal and Dwarasamudra was lost to the Muslims, though the Sultans of Madura held their own and finally defeated and killed Vir Ballala IV. This was the end of the Hoysalas, and Hari Hara of Vijananagar succeeded to what was left of his domains.

Muhammad now recalled Kutlugh Khan, who had allowed things to reach such a pass. Not only had he lost territory but he had failed to collect the revenue. A more rigid collection was insisted on, and various new officers appointed to see that this was done. Aziz Khammar, a low-caste adventurer, was appointed head of the collecting agency at Dhar for Malwa, and proceeded to take rigorous steps. He summoned eighty-nine of the amiran-

i-sadah or ' centurions,' officers responsible for revenue collection among other duties, to come before him and had them executed. This action against the amiran-i-sadah was partly a result of the rebellion of Malik Shahu Lodi, and the resultant precautions taken against Afghan and foreign officials. This led to universal dissatisfaction and unrest. The Sultan proceeded to the seat of the trouble, but on his way learnt that the officers and their supporters had taken the law into their own hands and had defeated and killed Aziz. All these officers now felt that the position was hopeless and determined to revolt. They were defeated near Baroda in 1345 and again on the Narbada. The fugitives made their way to Daulatabad, but Muhammad was determined to nip the revolt in the bud and to extirpate the men whose rise to power was entirely due to him. The captives on the Narbada were on his instructions put to death by Malik Makbul. Muhammad now ordered that the most important of these officers should be sent to him at Broach, and the more important of the amiran-i-sadah were collected from Raichur, Gulbarga, Mudgal and Bidar on the pretext that they were required to suppress disorders in Gujarat. Among them were Ismail Mukh and Hasan Kangu Zafar Khan.

They agreed to go but on the way doubts seized them, and they recalled the fate of those captured on the Narbada and Muhammad's approval of the execution of the eighty-nine at Dhar. They believed they were journeying to their death. Turning on the escort they scattered them and made their way back to Daulatabad, where they captured the governor, seized the royal treasure, and killed some of the royal officers. This was final rebellion, and Ismail Mukh the Afghan was proclaimed king with the title of Nasir-ud-din. Muhammad at once recognized the seriousness of the situation and marched at once. He defeated the rebels driving the new king into the fort, while Zafar Khan and the rest made off to Gulbarga.

It is unlikely that the rebels in the fort would have held out for long, but an outbreak elsewhere distracted the Sultan's attention. Malik Taghi, once a Turki slave, now raised the amirs of Gujarat, killed the deputy and imprisoned the governor. Cambay was plundered and the siege of Broach begun. Thinking that the situation in the Deccan was well in hand, Muhammad marched to the Narbada, and Malik Taghi withdrew to Broach. Pursued by the indefatigable Sultan he withdrew again, and finally crossed into Sind. Meanwhile in the Deccan the rebels

recovered strength. The royal general Imad-ul-Mulk Sartiz, who had advanced on Gulbarga to deal with Zafar Khan, was defeated and killed. Zafar Khan then advanced on Daulatabad and the besiegers fled at his approach. Nasir-ud-din resigned in his favour, and he was hailed as Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah in 1347. Thus was the Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan inaugurated.

Firishta the historian has a romantic story attributing the title Bahman to an apocryphal Brahman astrologer called Gangu, who had patronized Zafar Khan in Delhi, but the title is taken from the famous Persian king Bahman Shah, from whom Zafar Khan claimed descent.

Meanwhile the Sultan spent three years reorganizing Gujarat, which the rebellion had thrown into disorder. After subduing the chief of Girnar and reconquering the country, he made great preparations to follow Malik Taghi into Sind. Muhammad was worn out, but his determination was as strong as ever, and he pressed on, only to die on the march to Thatta in the early part of 1351 after twenty-six years of rule and sixty or more of life.

Culture and Condition of the People

There are only indirect references to the subjects of the state, and how the Hindus fared we do not know, but Sanskrit and even vernacular literature was still produced in Mithila and Bengal in the fourteenth century. Amir Khusru pays a great tribute to Hindi as a language. The Bakti cult gave a great impetus to vernacular literature which started with Jayadeva's Gita Govinda in the twelfth century. Ramananda employed the languages of the people in propagating the doctrines of Ramachandra. He is said to have been born in Prayag in 1299, and to have studied at Benares, which was obviously still a place of Brahmanic and religious education. This was during Muhammad's reign, and is an interesting commentary on the history of the times and the treatment of Hindus. Actually, provided they paid their taxes, Hindus were not persecuted. The jiziya was a tax in lieu of the military service which the Muslim subjects of the Sultan had to give. The taxation in the Doab was not apparently specially directed against Hindus, and Brahmans were exempt from the jiziya. The Sultan tried to abolish *sati* with what result is not clear. He established factories in Delhi, but these were for the luxuries of the court, silk weaving, gold brocade and embroidery for which Delhi is still famous. One of the most interesting of his

acts was the reorganization of the royal post, which apparently gave most efficient service all through his extensive domains.

The organization of the civil service of the state has already been touched upon in connection with the revenue, but it is clear that the different departments at headquarters were well organized. Where the system broke down was not in the organization but in the selection of personnel, especially for the higher posts.

There was a large slave population, mostly men and women captured in war. It is even said by one account that the Sultan had two hundred thousand slaves. They were used for all sorts of purposes, as domestic servants, guards, musicians and dancers. Manumission was common, and slaves could, and did, rise to high positions in the state. Though some were well treated, others were sold like cattle or given as gifts. Some formed a special corps in the army, probably the Sultan's own guards. The army was still largely cavalry, the mounted archers of the old Turki array, but elephants were used as the heavy arm, protected with sheets of armour and bearing howdahs full of armed men. Like the modern tank they advanced covered or followed by infantry, who were generally the slaves referred to before. They formed the centre against which enemy attacks broke in vain while the cavalry on the wings charged on the flanks and rear—that is, if everything went according to plan. Soldiers were paid five hundred tankas together with rations, uniforms, arms, and fodder for their horse. The horse was supplied by the man, though the state supplied some. There was a corps of siege artillery in the form of catapults, and rockets and fire balls were also used—the early form of the modern flame throwers.

We hear mostly, of course, of the amenities of the capital as well as its sufferings, but each provincial governor's court imitated the seat of kingship. The provincial governors were expected to maintain their services from the collections of revenue and taxes they made in their own circle, keep up their local armies and different services, while the balance was remitted to Delhi at fixed intervals together with the accounts. How close the supervision was it is difficult to say, but it does appear that Muhammad Tughluk maintained a very close watch on incomings and expenditure and demanded a strict account.

There does not seem to have been any greater coalescing of the Hindu and Muslim elements in the population than before, though a certain amount went on as is clear from the statements made by the various authorities. Some of the conversions to

Islam were clearly formal as in the reputed example of Hari Hara of Vijayanagar ; and the Ulama saw to it that any relaxation from the strict principles which governed toleration was not passed over unremarked. Though the peoples lived side by side as two communities which did not coalesce, yet the effect of Muslim thought and culture on Hindu ideas is to be seen in the language and literature which was now beginning to take form.

The building which Muhammad carried out in Delhi was on a large scale, as besides building at Adilabad near his father's fortress of Tughlukabad, he also built his own city of Jahanpanah joining the old city of the Kutb Minar and the Kuwwat ul Islam with the later Khilji settlement of Siri. Apparently the whole was to be surrounded by a wall, and the portion including old Delhi, Siri and Jahanpanah was so joined. Tughluk architecture is exemplified by the tomb of Ghias-ud-din Tughluk in the fortress of Tughlukabad. This has none of the eclectic features of the Slave or Khilji architecture, but is severe and solid. Solidity is its keyword, massive towers and arches of a noticeable thickness. In this tomb Muhammad himself is buried with his father and the queen mother Makhduma-i-Jahan. The mosque at Sambhal, which is locally attributed to Muhammad, also has the solid plain and massive lines of Tughluk architecture, and is almost certainly of the Tughluk period. The Shamsi mosque at Budaun, built in the time of Iltutmish by his son Rukhn-ud-din, was repaired, as was the Kutb Minar.

The Sultan himself, as has been said, was a man of great culture, and he patronized poets and learned men of all types, who were supported by his liberality. Badr-i-Chach was a leading poet of his court, and so was Mir Hasan Dilhavi. Zia-ud-din Barani and Ibn Batuta were the foremost historians.

Education was still a religious concern, and the thousand schools in Delhi were most probably theological academies of Islamic studies. What education was given was incidental, though much study of Persian and Arabic literature was pursued in some, at any rate, of these academies. But the main education of the young, outside religion, was carried out by tutors for the rich, and picked up as best it might by those not so favoured. The Hindu schools, centred round Benares and the main Hindu centres, were also religious in intention, though, as has already been said, the spread of the more popular doctrines of Ramanand were carried out by peripatetic preachers and disciples largely by

word of mouth. Still they had undoubtedly an educative effect, and resulted especially in the growth of vernacular languages.

Firuz Shah

Before Muhammad died at Thatta he is said to have nominated his cousin Firuz as his successor. Firuz, a man of forty-five at the time of his accession, was the son of Maki Rajab, the brother of Ghias-ud-din Tughluk. His mother was Hindu, the daughter of the Bhatti Rajput chief in the Punjab. Muhammad bin Tughluk seems to have had no son, though on the news of his death the wazir, Khwaja Jahan, in Delhi proclaimed a child whom he declared to be Muhammad's son. This was apparently to avoid the disorder which the demise of the crown might have caused.

Firuz was reluctant to accept the army's demand, and it was not until on its ragged retreat from Thatta it was attacked by the Mongol contingent hired from Khorasan that he acquiesced and drove off the Mongols.

The contemporary historians are as favourable to Firuz as they were critical of Muhammad. For one thing, he was very orthodox, as so many children of mixed marriages seem to have been. His Hindu descent does not seem to have predisposed him towards his mother's people, and he was entirely in the hands of the Ulama and punctiliously carried out all the forms of the Islamic religion. He even made the Brahmans, who had been exempt before, pay the jiziya, and the way he harried the Hindus of Katehr year after year does not show any kindly disposition towards Hindus. Yet his kindly nature and generally tolerant bearing towards others was due no doubt to his mother, while his wazir, Malik Makbul, was a converted Hindu and supported him in his mild measures. A typical action was the collection of receipts of forgiveness from those whom Muhammad had wronged which were buried in his tomb.

The kingdom Firuz succeeded to seemed on the brink of dissolution. Bengal and the south had revolted, and after two attempts to recover Bengal, Firuz recognized the limitations of his situation.

He refused an offer to support a pretender to the Deccan kingdom. He was undoubtedly wise in this, as the empire which Muhammad bin Tughluk had won—and lost—was too unwieldly to be controlled by the political system of the times.

Firuz contented himself with settling the problems which were capable of solution. Of these the most urgent was the economic problem—high prices and the reform of the revenue collection. A careful inquiry was made which was evidently a detailed affair, as it took six years to complete. The revenue demand was considerably reduced, and later no less than twenty-three other taxes imposed by Muhammad were abolished. He devoted special attention to agriculture, while the abolition of internal customs dues assisted trade.

He is stated to have constructed four large irrigation canals, and one—the old Jumna Canal—is still in use and brings water to Delhi. Reservoirs, dams and wells were other public works which aided agriculture, and the result was a revival of the prosperity of the Doab. Market gardens grew up round Delhi—it is said that there were as many as twelve hundred which brought in a large profit to the public revenues. Waste lands too were cultivated or restored to cultivation and their revenues applied to the support of religious foundations. A water tax was imposed on irrigated land—the forerunner of canal dues—and Firuz's agricultural improvements were a paying concern.

Communications were improved by the construction of a hundred bridges; this is the first reference to this type of improvement. He also instituted a form of unemployment and poor relief, and arranged for the marriage of poor Muslim girls. He set up hospitals for the sick poor, inns for travellers, and colleges for the study of Islamic theology. So kind-hearted was he that he did not make officials retire on account of age but let their sons act for them. It was here that the weakness of the administration was apparent. Muhammad's administrative arrangements had been partly responsible for the disorders of his later years. Firuz introduced the jagir system for state officials of all kinds, and these jagirs in some cases were large provinces. Gujarat was one, Kara another, Jaunpur a third, Oudh with Sandila and Koil yet another. Though steps were taken to reduce corruption in the collection of revenue and taxes this did not apply to the Sultan, and he originated the practice of an annual darbar when those summoned were expected to offer rich presents.

One notable reform was the abolition of the death penalty and the discouraging of torture. After the excesses of cruelty of the preceding reign this must have been a welcome relief. Much of the credit for the improvements is due to Firuz's minister

Malik Makbul, a Brahman from Telingana who had been captured and turned Muslim under Muhammad bin Tughluk, under whom he had reached high office.

The Campaigns of Firuz Shah

Much of the success of Firuz was due to the fact that he did not persist in attempts to recover the empire of Muhammad. For this he had neither the desire nor the military ability. The campaigns he conducted were characterized by indecision and lack of generalship.

Bengal had ceased to be part of the Delhi Sultanate during the lifetime of Muhammad bin Tughluk, and Fakhr-ud-din had become independent in Eastern Bengal. In Western Bengal Haji Ilyas Khan had established himself at Lakhnauti with the title of Shams-ud-din Ilyas Shah. Firuz did not interfere until Ilyas invaded Tirhut, when he tried to detach his supporters by means of proclamations. When this did not have the required effect, in 1353 Firuz collected a large army of 70,000 horse and drove him to his stronghold of Ikdala on the Brahmaputra. The climate and the country however was too much for Firuz and on the approach of the monsoon he withdrew, unwilling, it is said, to shed Muslim blood and subject Muslim women to ignominy.

But in 1359–60 the successor of Fakhr-ud-din, Zafar Khan, appealed to him for help against Sikandar Shah the son of Ilyas Shah, and Firuz set out once more. On his way he founded Jaunpur on the Gumti in memory of Muhammad bin Tughluk, where he halted to avoid the feverish swamps of Bengal during the monsoon. Again the enemy retreated to Ikdala, and finally peace was arranged with the restoration of Sonargaon and Eastern Bengal to Zafar Khan, and the payment of a tribute of forty elephants each year to Delhi. Zafar Khan however preferred Delhi to Bengal and the treaty was never implemented.

Returning to Jaunpur, Firuz the following year, 1360, led his army to attack the infidels of Jajnagar, the modern Orissa. The raja fled, and the images of the temple of Jagannath at Puri were thrown into the sea. On his return Firuz and his army wandered in the jungles of Chota Nagpur in an attempt to explore unknown territory, and for six months no word of their whereabouts reached Delhi. Finally after much hardship and loss from starvation and disease they made their way back to Delhi, where the wildest rumours had circulated and Malik Makbul had had difficulty

in maintaining order. The net result of all this effort was precisely nil, and Bengal maintained its independence.

Another expedition of uncertain date was to Nagarkot in Kangra, whose raja had made incursions into territory at the foot of the hills. After a siege of six months the raja submitted and was restored. The famous temple of Jwalamukhi was visited and its library of 1300 Sanskrit MSS. Some of these were translated into Persian at the Sultan's command.

The Deccan and Sind

In 1356 the Caliph Al Mu'tadid had recognized Firuz as Sultan, but at the same time also recognized Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah as king of the Deccan. In 1366 troubles over the succession on the Deccan led to overtures to Firuz to intervene, but his reluctance to shed Muslim blood, and possibly his recognition of the difficulties an expedition would involve, caused him to refuse. His experiences in Bengal had not enamoured him of fresh adventures.

The unfortunate sequel to the death of Muhammad bin Tughluk, and the indignities suffered by the royal army in the retreat from Thatta, determined him to proceed to chastise the Sindhis. In 1362 he collected a very strong force of 90,000 horse, 480 elephants and a fleet of boats and marched on Thatta. The Jam made a stout defence, and supplies were not available, with the result that the Sultan had to retreat to Gujarat, and with his genius for losing himself he got entangled in the creeks and swamps of the Rann of Cutch. For months again no news reached the capital, and Malik Makbul was compelled to concoct a dispatch to allay the rising excitement. At last after great sufferings and loss the army reached the comparative plenty of Gujarat, and the Sultan set about refitting and restoring its morale. The next year he set out again and invested Thatta once more. Finally after a prolonged siege and the arrival of reinforcements from Delhi, the Jam surrendered and was carried off to Delhi, though he was later restored on condition of paying a tribute of 400,000 tankas.

His losses and the sufferings of his troops made such an impression on Firuz that he swore like Asoka never again to wage a war of aggression.

The later years of Firuz were clouded by the death of his promising son Fath Khan who died in 1374. The great wazir,

Malik Makbul, had died two years earlier. He had been the power behind the throne who had kept the peace, even when the Sultan was absent for no less than two and a half years in Bengal, Orissa and Sind. The Sultan himself declared that the wazir was the real king of Delhi, and loaded him with honours and gifts. He used to confer an annual income on each son born to him, and presented marriage portions to all his daughters. As the wazir maintained a harem of two thousand women of all races from Greeks to Chinese, the Sultan's gifts must have amounted to a very considerable sum. On his death his son was made wazir and given his father's title of Khan Jahan.

A strange episode in the reign of the mild Sultan was his treatment of the Hindus of Katehr. In 1380 the chief, Kharag Singh, murdered the governor of Budaun and his brothers while they were visiting him. This roused the old Sultan from his retirement, and he proceeded himself to Katehr and ravaged with fire and sword, sparing none. The raja fled to Kumaon, leaving his people to the fury of Firuz. Thousands were sold as slaves and thousands more massacred. Year after year for five years the incursions were repeated, until cultivation and almost every vestige of settlement were wiped out. It is a strange example of the Tughluk savagery reviving even in this mild Sultan.

Firuz was now an old man, and left everything to the wazir who repaid his trust with deceit and treachery. At last he tried to sow suspicion of his son Muhammad in the Sultan's breast and almost succeeded, but Muhammad won his father over and the wazir fled to Mewat, where the Chief gave him up and he was beheaded. Muhammad was now proclaimed joint ruler under the title Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah. But power was too much for him and he plunged into a career of dissipation. Finally some of the old officers of the kingdom took arms against him, and possessing themselves of the person of the old Sultan won over his troops. Muhammad fled to Sirmur. The Sultan now delegated authority to his grandson Tughluk Shah, son of Fath Khan. In 1388, being now eighty-three years old, Firuz Shah died. He had reigned for thirty-seven years.

Firuz Shah's character was mild, and this mildness was a welcome respite after Muhammad bin Tughluk's erratic reign. Freed of the strain of an unwieldy empire, Firuz or his minister was able to consolidate what was left—no small kingdom. He conducted his actions in accordance with the orthodox principles of Islamic kingship. Possibly his mildness was carried too far,

and instances are quoted of his suggesting methods by which necessary regulations might be evaded. For instance he once advanced a horse soldier money to bribe the muster clerk to overlook the fact that he had no horse. This is typical of the easy-going lack of principle which was inherent in the Sultan's temperament.

Agriculture and irrigation engaged his attention ; but without a firmly based system of government the foundations on which prosperity rest cannot be kept firm : nor does a building programme conceal deficiences in administration. His dependence on a corps of slaves might succeed as long as the personal element survived, but loyalty was individual and did not extend to his family or dynasty. The way in which Hindu slaves made an easy declaration of Islam and then were gradually given increasingly powerful positions was not the way to create an efficient civil service. But the chief reason for the failure of the Sultanate of Delhi was its purely personal appeal. This is clearly shown in the years succeeding Firuz's death. Of all the disintegrating features of his reign, his reliance on the jagir system was perhaps the greatest, coupled with his relinquishment of the weapon of force on which in the last resource the power of the Sultanate was based.

Architecture

Attention has already been directed to Firuz's work as a great builder. He built the city which goes by his name on the banks of the Jumna. Here he set up the famous Asoka pillar removed from the Ambala district. Another Asoka pillar was brought from Meerut and set up in the capital, and is now on the Ridge. The Kotila Firuz Shahi was within the city of Firozabad, which at one time embraced a large part of the modern Delhi. The Jami Mosque, now in ruins, has no very interesting features, but the college and tombs in the Hariz-i-Khas are a fine example of his architecture. The Begumpuri mosque, built by the son of Malik Makbul, is a good example of Tughluk architecture of the time, plain and severe in mass, pure Muslim in style with affiliations to the architecture of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, and with no borrowing from local influences.

Decay of the Tughluk Power

Ghias-ud-din Tughluk II, Firuz's grandson, had been given the royal prerogatives before the Sultan died. He was pleasure-loving and weak, and a conspiracy of the palace amirs and slaves led to his assassination after only five months on the throne.

His cousin Abu Bekr, whom he had imprisoned, succeeded in 1389, and was immediately involved in hostilities with his uncle Muhammad who now returned from Sirmur to push his claims. After a confused campaign Muhammad seized the throne and succeeded under his old title of Nasir-ud-din Shah.

Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah

Beginning from 1390 he reigned for four troubled years. The provincial governors watched the struggle for power and bided their time. The Hindu chieftains of the Doab gradually revived. Though Katehr had been ravaged by Firuz Shah, there were strongholds like Aonla and the jungles of the modern Rampur where even he could not penetrate, and there is even some ground for thinking that some of his so-called inroads into Katehr were no more than excursions to his royal hunting park between Budaun and Aonla. It was the Mewatis, however, who held the scales. Abu Bekr was imprisoned and died at Meerut. Nara Singh, the Rajput chief of Etawah, revolted but was successfully dealt with. The Mewatis under Bahadur Nahir however were a more dangerous foe. They began to raid the suburbs of Delhi itself—always a sign of a dying dynasty in Delhi. Muhammad indeed repelled the raids and pursued the Mewatis to their strongholds, but further results were cut short by his death in 1394.

His son Humayun who took the title of Ala-ud-din Sikandar Shah died in a few weeks, and the wazir, a eunuch named Malik Sarvar, put his brother Mahmud on the throne.

Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Tughluk

The new Sultan, being feeble-minded, was a mere puppet in the hands of the strongest among the amirs. For a time power was wielded by Malik Sarvar Khwaja Jahan. The various amirs and the Hindu chiefs did much as they liked, and in the Punjab

the Khokhars revolted. Dilawar Khan, governor of Malwa, had since 1392 ceased to send the balance of the revenue collections to Delhi, and though he did not call himself king he was that in everything but name.

The Doab was in a state of permanent revolt, and Malik Sarvar was invested with the title of Malik or Sultan-us-Shark or Lord of the East, and entrusted with the task of restoring order in what is now modern Oudh. He left Delhi in May 1394, and had soon established himself as an independent ruler in Jaunpur.

Zafar Khan, governor of Gujarat, actually assumed the royal title as Muzaffar Shah in 1396. In the Punjab the governor of Dipalpur, Saranj Khan, had defeated the Khokhars and restored order in the Punjab, but not on behalf of the Sultan.

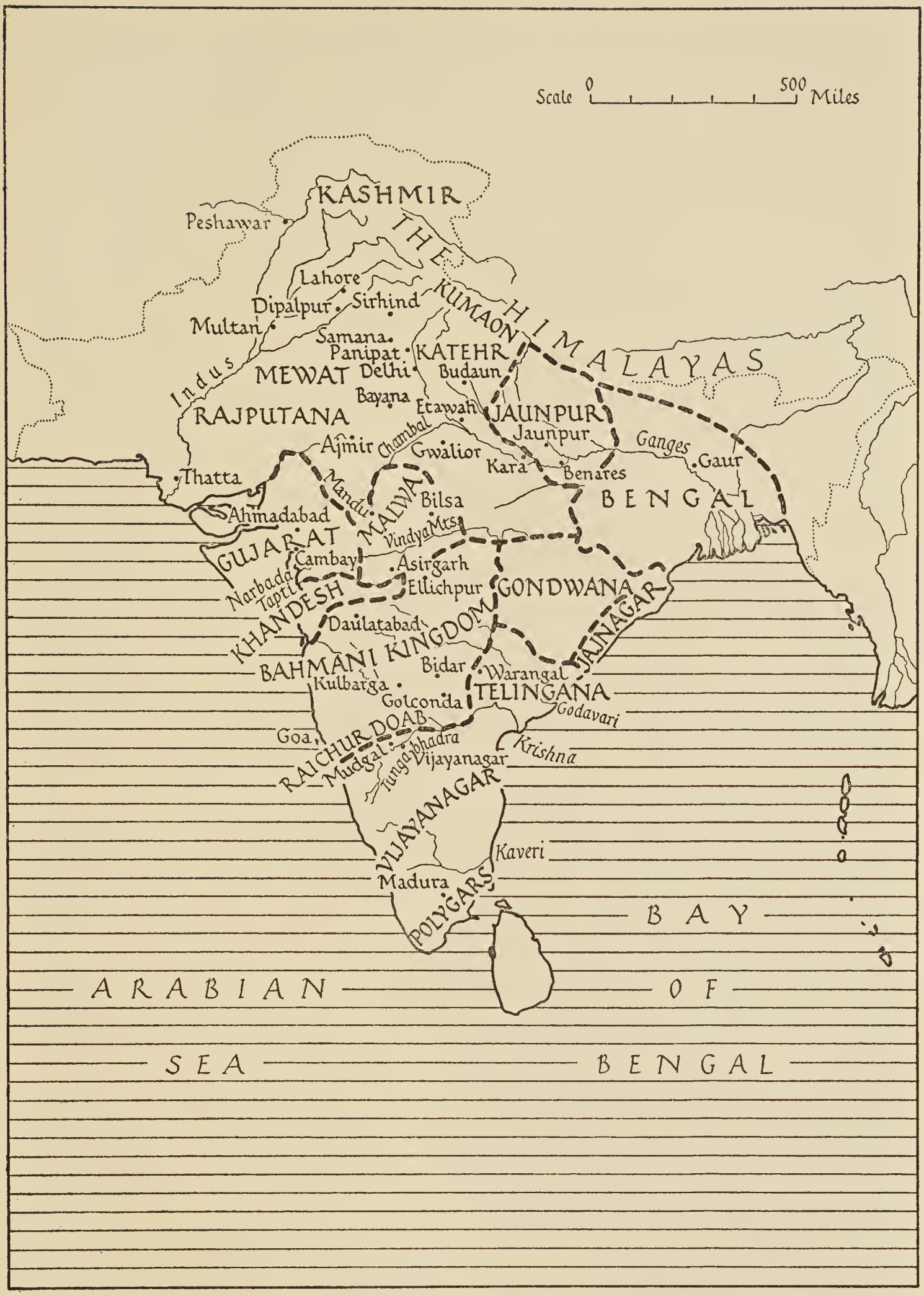
Thus the empire of the Tughluks had entirely crumbled, and there was nothing left to them but the immediate vicinity of Delhi. Here the squabbles for the symbols of power continued, with the feeble-minded Sultan under the control of a rapidly changing series of masters

At one period there were two sultans in the series of settlements known as Delhi. Mahmud in the capital and Nasrat Khan, son of Fath Khan, at Firuzabad the new city. The chief protagonists were Mallu called Ikbal Khan and Mukarrab Khan. Ikbal was at first a supporter of Nasrat Khan, or rather used him as a stalking-horse for his pretensions, but soon decided to gain possession of the feeble-minded Mahmud. This he did by murdering Mukarrab Khan. He then turned on Nasrat Khan and drove him out of Firuzabad.

Timur

Such were the local squabbles of the petty powers to which the Tughluk empire had declined. But now another danger threatened.

When the terrible Timur of Samarkand had conquered Persia and extended his power over the lands west of the Hindu Kush and Afghanistan, he determined to adventure into India as other ' world shakers ' had done before him. A Chagatai Turk, he had all the fanaticism of the race, and in his memoirs he records that his purpose was a jihad or holy war against the infidels whom the Muslim rulers of Hindustan had not sufficiently chastised. They were Sunnis and he was a Shia. Plunder of course was another incitement. His grandson, Pir Muhammad, seized Multan in the



Map 12 India at the end of the 14th century

early summer of 1398, and in September Timur joined him, defeated the Khokhars and massacred the Rajputs of Bhatnir. He then marched on Delhi, spreading death and desolation as he passed. In December he crossed the Jumna and stood in the plain of Panipat to await attack. Fearing that the 100,000 Hindu captives with his army might prove a danger he had them massacred in the best Nazi manner. Ikbal Khan and Mahmud marched out to meet him with 10,000 horse, 40,000 foot and 1,250 elephants. Timur relied on his cavalry of the steppes, ninety-two regiments of 1,000 horse each, all trained and veteran warriors. The Delhi force fought bravely, but had little chance against such a host of world conquerors. Finally Ikbal and the Sultan fled the field, the former to Baran (Bulandshahr), while the Sultan made his way, an unwelcome fugitive, to Muzzaffar Shah in Gujarat.

Timur promised to spare Delhi in consideration of a ransom, but his troops' methods of collection led to affrays and the city was given over to sack. ' All my army,' says Timur in his *Memoirs*, ' no longer under control rushed to the city and thought of nothing but killing, plundering and making prisoners.' Those who survived except the Ulama and Sayyids were enslaved, and all the masons and craftsmen were carried off to Samarkand and helped to embellish it for the conqueror. Thus the Golden City of Samarkand possibly owed some of its beauty to Indian artists and craftsmen.

Delhi did not recover from this catastrophe until Mughul times. The tottering power of the Sultanate had received its death blow. After this the kings of Delhi only ruled over a petty principality.

After a short stay Timur marched off again at the beginning of 1399. He went to Meerut and razed it to the ground. Then hearing of Hardwar and its reputation for sanctity he proceeded thither, spreading ruin and rapine along his route. The Doon valley was laid waste and thousands massacred. Finally by way of Nagarkot and Jammu he marched into the Punjab on his way back to Samarkand, leaving Sayyid Khisr Khan as governor of the Punjab, but making no arrangements for Delhi and the rest of Hindustan.

Ikbal Khan now returned to Delhi where famine and pestilence reigned and all was in disorder. Mahmud too finally made his way back, but found his position impossible with the power in Ikbal Khan's hands, and set up his court at Kanauj on the failure of Ikbal Khan's attempt to recover Jaunpur from Ibrahim Shah



Plate 26 The Tomb of Ghias-ud-din Tughluk, Delhi



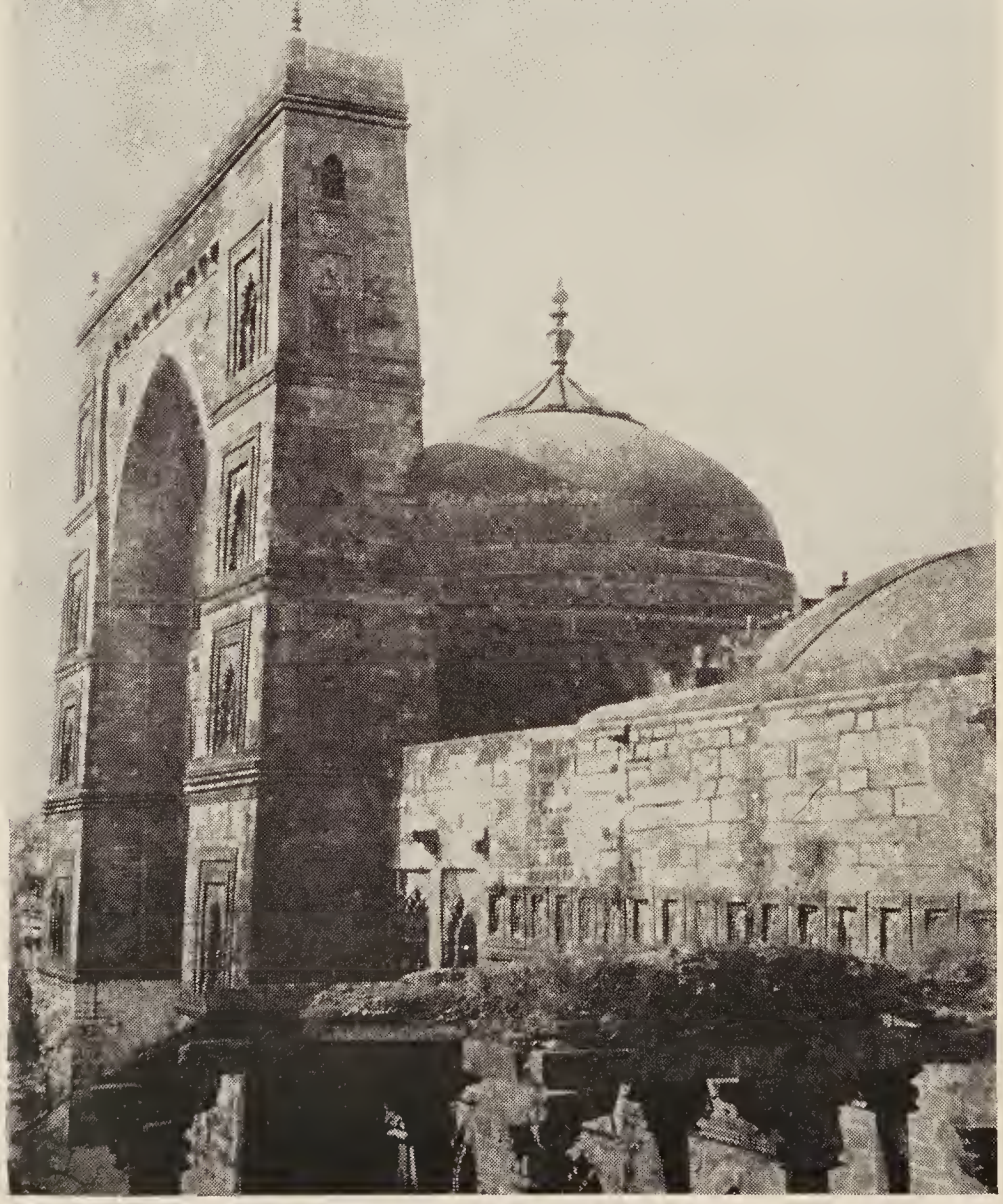


Plate 27 *above* Atala Devi Mosque, Jaunpur

below Jami Masjid Mosque, Jaunpur

in 1402. Gwalior and Etawah were held by Hindu chiefs and beat off every attempt to recover them. Finally in an attempt to reduce Khizr Khan at Dipalpur in 1405 Ikbal was defeated and killed. Daulat Khan Lodi took charge at Delhi, and the feeble Mahmud was invited once more to return. Intermittent hostilities went on with Khizr Khan and Jaunpur until in 1413 Sultan Mahmud the last of the Tughluks died. In the following year Khizr Khan captured Delhi.

Chapter XII

THE SAYYIDS AND LODIS

The dynasty of the Sayyids lasted for thirty-seven years, but their authority was but a shadow of that which the Sultans of Delhi had exercised in the past, and their territory had shrunk to what they could hold by intermittent raids from Delhi. In the Punjab, Jasrath chief of the Khokhars was independent, and in the Doab the local Muslim governors and the Hindu chiefs may have paid a nominal allegiance and acknowledged their suzerainty when backed up by force, but generally took little notice. Jaunpur under the Sharki Maliks was a much greater power. It included the present Oudh and extended as far west as Koil, and in the east included the present Bihar. The Rai of Etawah only submitted when compelled, and when the expedition had departed ruled as independently as before. In Gwalior the Tonwar rajas had revived. Koil itself was held by Hindu chiefs and the forest fastnesses of Katehr were still unsubdued. The southern Punjab was raided from time to time by Jasrath and was the scene of frequent revolts.

Farther afield Malwa was independent under Hoshang Shah and Gujarat was another separate kingdom. The little state of Khandesh had risen to prominence under the Faruki ruler Malik Nasir, who had captured the great fort of Azirgarh from its Hindu chieftain.

Khizr Khan

Khizr Khan who became master of Delhi in 1414 never called himself Sultan but ruled as the deputy of Timur and his son Shahrukh under the title of Rayat-i-a'la (the Sublime Banners).

His short reign of seven years was spent in endless campaigns against recalcitrant feudatories, Muslim governors and Hindu chiefs.

His wazir, Tajul Mulk, marched into the territories of Har Singh of Katehr in 1414. Katehr had in fact never been subdued, and the strongholds at Aonla in the Bareilly district and among the jungles of the present Rampur state were centres of resistance, while the forests of the Terai generally offered safe asylum in time

of need. Har Singh nevertheless was harried into a temporary submission. Other places to which expeditions were made were Kampila in Etah, Farrukhabad, Jalesar in the present Muttra district, and to Gwalior. Bayana in the Agra district was also a constant centre of trouble, and rebellions occurred in Sirhind in the Punjab. Khizr Khan had to take the field himself against Har Singh in 1419, and the rebellion of the governor of Budaun, Mahabat Khan, involved the investment of Budaun and Sambhal, which were taken. The Rai Sarwar of Etawah also revolted and had to be dealt with, and the Hindus of Koil and Baran subdued. A campaign against Bahadur Nahir of the Mewati clan resulted in the destruction of his stronghold of Kutila. Thus warfare was continuous and, on the whole, successful as territory was gradually won back to Delhi. The death of Tajul Mulk occurred in 1421, and Khizr Khan died the following year.

Mubarak Shah

His son was raised to the throne under the title of Muizz-ud-din Mubarak Shah, and thus became the first Sayyid Sultan. While not so competent a soldier as his father, he managed to hold his own in difficult conditions. Neither father nor son was a statesman, but the material with which they had to work and the conditions under which they lived precluded the exercise of statesmanship. It was a struggle for mere existence, and Mubarak may be said to have done well in the circumstances.

His first campaign was against Jasrath the Khokhar in the Punjab. With the aid of Raja Bhima of Kashmir, Jasrath was defeated and put to flight. The ruined town of Lahore was then restored and established as the frontier keep of the kingdom. Shaikh Ali, general of a son of Shahrukh, who was governor of Kabul, now raided the Punjab and exacted tribute from the governor of Lahore, and occupied Multan and aided the rebels in Bhatinda. He was driven out of Multan but seized Sherkot and defeated the governor of Sirhind, Islam Khan Lodi, who was killed. Finally in 1432 the wazir of Mubarak compelled Amir Muzzaffar, nephew of Shaikh Ali, to withdraw from the Punjab and give his daughter as a seal of friendship to Prince Muhammad, the Sultan's nephew. Thus the situation in the Punjab became more established.

In the Doab expeditions were made in 1433 against Katehr, where arrears of tribute were collected, and against the Rajputs

of Etawah. Mubarak also defeated an attempt by Hoshang Shah of Malwa on Gwalior. The Mewatis too were curbed now that Bahadur Nahir was dead.

Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur now began to claim Kalpi and advanced as far as Etawah, but after some indecisive manoeuvring retreated from before Mubarak.

Sarwar-ul-Mulk, the wazir who had won back part of the Punjab, was dissatisfied with his recall to Delhi, and a conspiracy was formed which resulted in the assassination of Mubarak in 1434.

Muhammad Shah

Sarwar-ul-Mulk then placed Muhammad, the Sultan's nephew and adopted son, on the throne and shared in the spoils of victory. But the governors were jealous of the conspirators' influence and advanced against them. Sarwar was besieged in Siri, and believing that Muhammad favoured the others determined to kill him. This was prevented by the resistance of the Sultan's attendants, and Sarwar was killed and his followers executed. These mutual dissensions weakened the kingdom, and Muhammad was not the man to restore order. During his reign of eleven years Delhi again shrank to the proportions of a petty principality. On the east Jaunpur gained ground and Gwalior ceased to acknowledge even nominal dependence. The Sultan after one progress to Multan on a pilgrimage never left the capital and gave way to dissipation. Gradually the Lodi clan under Bahlol Lodi, nephew of Islam Khan Lodi, to whose fief of Sirhind he had succeeded, rose to prominence. Bahlol extended his authority over the Punjab and ceased to remit the revenue to Delhi. The authority of Muhammad Shah ceased at Panipat. The Mewatis renewed their raids up to the walls of Delhi itself. Such was the position when some of the amirs invited Mahmud Khilji, who had seized the throne in Malwa in 1462, to replace the Sultan. Mahmud Khilji advanced on Delhi with an army, and Muhammad Shah was constrained to implore Bahlol to help. An indecisive battle was fought outside the walls of Delhi, and Muhammad, who had remained in his palace too frightened to lead his troops in the field, made overtures of peace. Mahmud welcomed the overtures as he had just heard of a rebellion in Malwa, and that the Sultan of Gujarat was advancing on Mandu his capital. So peace was concluded. This, however, did not prevent Bahlol from harassing

his retreat and cutting off his baggage train. This somewhat trivial and certainly treacherous action was rewarded by conferment of the title Khan-Jahan. He then returned to the Punjab to complete his plans for supplanting the feeble Sayyids. He entered into an agreement with Jasrath the Khokhar, and thus assured of the safety of the Punjab made an attempt on Delhi. But the amirs would not join him and it failed. Bahlol was bought off and retired once more to the Punjab to await events. It is significant that he now called himself Sultan Bahlol. Things went from bad to worse in Delhi, and when Muhammad died in 1444–45 his authority nowhere extended to more than forty miles from the capital.

Alam Shah

He was succeeded by his son Ala-ud-din, who took the unsuitable title of Alam Shah, which means World King. A Persian couplet of the time runs :

Badshahi Shah Alam
Az Delhi ta Palam.

The empire of Shah Alam
Extends from Delhi to Palam.*

After an uneasy reign of two or three years he discovered the attractions of Budaun, and, deaf to the advice and arguments of his ministers, determined to end his days there. Delhi became the scene of quarrels and faction fights, but Alam Shah refused to return. Finally the leading amirs determined to swallow their pride and invite the one man who was capable of restoring order, Bahlol Lodi. Bahlol wrote to Alam Shah explaining that he acted only to restore order and Alam Shah was only too glad to abdicate in his favour in 1451. He remained in enjoyment of his little court at Budaun undisturbed and undisturbing, and died peacefully some twenty years later—the last of the Sayyids. The ruins of his palace and the tombs of himself and his family still bear witness in the pleasant little town of Budaun not far from Rukhn-ud-din's great mosque that it was possible even in the disturbed fifteenth century for a retired monarch to end his days in peace. Perhaps after all he chose wisely.

* A village near by.

The Lodis

The possession of Delhi hardly added anything to Bahlol's power, as he already held the Punjab, and the authority of Delhi scarcely extended to forty miles beyond on the east. But possession gave him authority to reassert the claims which had lain dormant under the last feeble Sayyids.

Bahlol was a soldier and determined to restore the kingdom to something of its lost greatness. With the Afghan and other nobles who supported him he was careful not to lay stress on his kingly status and gave up much of the ceremonial of the court in order to conciliate them. Hamid Khan the wazir of Alam Shah, who had been instrumental in conspiring to bring Bahlol in as leader of the amirs, was imprisoned for his treachery to his master though Bahlol had gained by it. Thus at one stroke he removed a possible rival and strengthened the prestige of loyalty.

His first act was to march to Multan to recover it from the Baluchi chief who had established himself there, but before he could drive him out news of an invasion by Mahmud Shah of Jaunpur recalled him to Delhi, and the Baluchi clan retained Multan until conquered by Babur.

Mahmud Shah had been invited by discontented amirs and saw his opportunity in Bahlol's absence. He was joined on his march by Darya Khan Lodi, governor of Sambhal, either constrained by force or compelled by circumstances. This accession proved a source of weakness, as in the battle that ensued he deserted Mahmud and the Jaunpur king had to retire. Thus ended the first round in the struggle between Delhi and Jaunpur ; for Bahlol recognized that there was no room for two kingdoms in the Ganges valley.

He proceeded systematically on the reconquest of the Doab, having first dealt with the Mewatis. The governors of Sambhal, Koil, and Chandwar and the Rajputs of Etawah were brought to heel by a mixture of firmness and conciliation. In 1485 Mahmud of Jaunpur made another attack ; indeed, war was practically continuous ; but this effort was cut short by his sudden death. A disputed succession in Jaunpur between Muhammad and Husain gave Bahlol a respite for a while until the death of Muhammad and the accession of Husain presented him with a more inveterate enemy. Husain's wife was the daughter of the last Sayyid king, and she repeatedly urged her father and husband

to regain the throne of Delhi, but the father was firm in his determination and the latter was not ready. In the five years' period of peace which followed Bahlol was able to proceed with the reduction of contumacious chiefs and petty rajas, and Delhi regained something of its former power. In 1473 while Bahlol was absent in the Punjab Husain at last marched on Delhi. Bahlol's general was defeated at Chandwar (Firuzabad), and this was the signal for some of the nobles to join hands with Husain. Isa Khan governor of Bayana was one of these, and the Rajputs of Etawah and the Mewatis also gave him support. The position was serious, and Bahlol actually offered to submit. Indecisive fighting followed, and at one time Bahlol captured the harem of Husain, including his enemy the queen, but chivalrously restored them unharmed. This was followed by an uneasy truce for three years.

The death of Alam Shah at Budaun in 1478 was seized on by Husain as an occasion for renewing his attempts. He proceeded to Budaun ostensibly to join in the obsequies of his father-in-law, and in 1479 marched once more into Bahlol's territory. The campaign, however, resulted in no definite advantage for either side, and peace was once again concluded, Husain being left with all the territory east of the Ganges. But as he withdrew after the treaty Bahlol attacked him, as he had done in the case of Mahmud Khilji, and from then onward the advantage remained decisively with him. Husain was once more defeated and driven across the Jumna to Gwalior, losing in the flooded river his wife and children. Raja Kirat Singh joined him, and they advanced on Kalpi. Bahlol had subdued the Rajputs of Etawah, and now Husain suffered defeat after defeat. At last Bahlol marched on Jaunpur itself, captured it and placed a governor over it. Then he returned through Budaun, which Husain had occupied on the death of Alam Shah. Husain, however, was not finished, for gathering his forces he recaptured Jaunpur. This was his final effort for Bahlol returned and drove him out into Bihar, where he remained until his death. Bahlol put his own son Barbak on the throne as Barbak Shah, as he did not trust his governors.

He then proceeded to Dholpur and forced the raja Vinayak Deo to submit and pay a large ransom. He also imposed a large fine on Raja Kirat Singh of Gwalior. Other refractory chiefs were similarly dealt with. Now the star of Bahlol was definitely in the ascendant, but on his way back to Delhi he fell sick at Sakit, and worn out by his labours died in 1488.

Bahlol was a very different ruler from the feeble Sayyids as, he was undoubtedly a competent general. The indecisive nature of some of his campaigns was due partly to his position as an Afghan chief among other Afghans, whom he could persuade but seldom order, and partly to the deterioration of the material of which his army was composed. His troops no longer had the physique or the dash of the Turki and Mongol nomads who had done what they would with the enemy in the days of Ala-ud-din and Muhammad bin Tughluk. Nor did he himself enjoy the position and prestige of the Tughluks. His actions showed he was conscious of this. He was affable to all and tried his best to conciliate the nobles while he treated his Afghan amirs as equals. Persuasion not compulsion was his method. His character was unblemished, and he abhorred ostentation and ceremony, either from conviction or from his knowledge that his Afghans would not countenance it. He was an orthodox follower of his religion, and assiduous in deciding suits himself. His charity was ever open-handed, and he never kept more than the fifth of the spoils of war that the Islamic religion laid down as the royal share. He divided the balance among the troops, unlike Ala-ud-din and Muhammad bin Tughluk, who had reversed the ratios. Though he was not too scrupulous, as shown by his attacks on foes retreating under safe conduct ; but his treatment of his inveterate enemy Jalila, the queen of Jaunpur, showed that he could be humane. In short, Bahlol Lodi is a pleasant exception to the generally ruthless rulers of the age. That he won back so much of the kingdom of Delhi in such difficult conditions and with such uncertain support shows he was a sovereign above the average of the time when degeneration had set in so markedly. But he was purely a soldier and made no effort to deal with the fundamental diseases of the realm. He had no policy of government. In fact, he had no respite for reform. He spent his life in fighting, first to recover and then to retain his kingdom.

Jaunpur

It is necessary before proceeding with the records of the Lodi dynasty to refer to the history of the kingdom of Jaunpur.

Jaunpur might conceivably have taken the place of Delhi as under its kings it became a centre of a distinctive culture. It still contains some of the best examples of the architecture which developed from the Tughluk style, and led on to the Mughul

synthesis. But though a cultural centre it was too far to the east ever to have become a real political centre for Hindustan, and its kings had they been successful would undoubtedly have established themselves in Delhi and left Jaunpur to relapse into provincial status.

It was Timur's invasion which led to the rise of Jaunpur as it allowed it to develop without interference from Delhi, and it became a refuge for the scholars, philosophers, literary men, and artists of the Delhi court.

The town of Jaunpur on the Gumti, founded by Firuz Shah in 1359–60, was not the first Muslim settlement in the vicinity. This was Zafarabad on the site of the old Hindu fort of Manech. Jaunpur was granted to Sarwar the wazir of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Tughluk Shah, who had been given the title Khwaja Jahan. In 1394 Mahmud named him Malik-us-Shark, and put him in charge of the eastern portion of the kingdom stretching from Kanauj to Bihar, and first the new governor had to put down the turbulent barons of his fief. The Hindus of Etawah, Kanauj and Koil were subdued in succession and order was restored in Kara, Sandila, Dalamau and Bahraich in the modern Oudh, which was reduced under his authority. Then Bihar and Tirhut were settled. The raja of Jajnagar (Orissa) and the king of Lakhnauti in Bengal sent to him the elephant tribute due to Delhi. Timur's invasion gave him the opportunity to establish his independence, and also grace his court with many learned fugitives from Delhi, who made it a centre of Islamic scholarship and theology. He now ceased to call himself Malik-us-Shark, but took the title of Sultan-us-Shark, when the last Tughluk was wandering a fugitive to the courts of Malwa and Gujarat and there was no king in Delhi. When he died in 1399 he was succeeded by his adopted son, nephew of Sayyid Khizr Khan of Multan, the founder of the Sayyid dynasty. Malik Karanful (the clove), as he was called affectionately by his adopted father, took the title of Sultan Shams-ud-din Mubarak Shah.

Mubarak Shah

The new sultan immediately minted coins, the usual sign of independence. He was not left unmolested, as two attempts were made from Delhi by the wazir Ikbal Khan. The first was in 1401, and showed that Timur's inroad had not been so devastating as it is often represented; otherwise it would not have been

possible to marshall troops so soon for such a major expedition. It was met by Mubarak Shah on his frontier west of Kanauj. The second expedition was led by Mahmud Tugluk, now returned from his wanderings, in person, though his command was nominal. During this campaign Mubarak Shah died, and was succeeded by his younger brother Ibrahim in 1402.

Ibrahim Shah (Jaunpur)

Mahmud Tughluk was anxious to escape from the galling tutelage of Ikbal Khan, and made overtures to Ibrahim to join him against Ikbal, but Ibrahim received them coldly. He was anxious to return to Jaunpur, and a peace was negotiated which left Kanauj in the hands of Delhi. Later when Ikbal Khan was killed in a battle with Khizr Khan, Ibrahim made an attempt to recover Kanauj. He had married Khizr Khan's daughter, and may have been in league with him. After a siege lasting four months he recovered Kanauj. In 1407 he advanced towards Delhi, capturing the fortresses of Sambhal and Baran on the way, but when he reached the Jumna he heard that Muzzaffar Shah of Gujarat, who had defeated Hoshang Shah of Malwa, was advancing on Jaunpur, and was compelled to retire. His attempt to recover Kalpi failed, but an expedition into Bengal to aid his co-religionists who were reported to be ill-treated by Raja Ganesh, who had usurped control, was more successful and the raja promised amends. In 1414 his father-in-law Sayyid Khizr Khan assumed power in Delhi. The result was fifteen years of peace. This respite gave time for Jaunpur to develop as a centre of culture. Many learned men and doctors of theology flocked there and were welcomed by Ibrahim. Rhetoric, logic, theology and Islamic law together with Arabic grammar were studied in the schools set up in the kingdom, which now won a great reputation. Many of the most famous Sufis taught in Jaunpur, and the schools drew scholars from all over India. Ibrahim too was responsible for much of the beautiful architecture of Jaunpur. The Atala Mosque was completed by him, and is a fine example of the local development of the massive Tughluk style with its lofty gateway hiding the dome so characteristic of Jaunpur architecture. He also began the Jami Masjid.

On the death of Khizr Khan, fighting between Delhi and Jaunpur was resumed. In 1427 Ibrahim made war on Mubarak Shah, and captured Etawah, but peace was made and cemented

by the marriage of Mubarak's daughter to Ibrahim's son Mahmud. But it was not lasting, and in 1435 Kalpi became the bone of contention. Hoshang Shah of Malwa also had designs on Kalpi, which was claimed by Mubarak. He now marched on Jaunpur, and Ibrahim had to leave Hoshang Shah in possession of the disputed territory. Mubarak's assassination put an end to the attempt on Jaunpur, and in 1440 Ibrahim died. He was a man of energy and character, and a Muslim historian (Firishta) has called Jaunpur in his time the Shiraz of India.

Mahmud

His son Mahmud was soon involved over Kalpi with Mahmud Khilji of Malwa. The dispute was settled by its return to Nasir Khan, whose ill-treatment of Muslim women had caused Mahmud to intervene in the first instance. He also led an expedition to Orissa, and returned loaded with plunder. In 1451 he renewed the war with Delhi, now under Bahlol, and in Bahlol's absence penetrated as far as the capital itself. The war has already been described. Mahmud died suddenly during the campaign in 1460.

He followed his father's example both in the encouragement of learning and in adorning Jaunpur architecturally. The Lal Darwaza Mosque which still stands is said to have been built by his queen, Raji Bibi, daughter of Mubarak Shah of Delhi. It had screened accommodation near the mihrab for the queen and her ladies. It was the chief academy for scholars, and there was a palace for the queen. These, however, were all destroyed in the iconoclastic vengeance of the Lodis when they captured Jaunpur.

Muhammad, who succeeded his brother, hurried back to Jaunpur to ensure that his other brothers should not displace him. He showed a cruelty and tyrannous disposition which soon dissipated all loyalty. There were disputes and one brother was executed, while the others were taken into custody on the renewed war with Bahlol. Husain escaped and made for Kanauj, where he was joined by the queen mother, Raji Bibi, and most of the troops. Muhammad fled to Dalamau and was pursued and died fighting with the greatest bravery.

Husain Shah

Husain became king in 1468, the last of the Sharki kings. He had married Jalila Bibi, or Khanza Bibi as she was called, the daughter of Alam Shah, and there is little doubt that it was her

influence which embittered the relations between Jaunpur and Delhi, as she regarded the Lodis as interlopers. For four years there was peace, during which Husain raided into Orissa and Tirhut. Gwalior was his next objective and the raja Man Singh submitted, though the fort was not taken, and became a feudatory of Jaunpur and a faithful supporter of Husain, as was his son Kirat Singh, when he succeeded. Husain's wars with Bahlol Lodi have already been described. When he was driven out of Jaunpur he fled to Bengal, whence he instigated several revolts in Jaunpur, after one of which Sikandar, the successor of Bahlol, determined to extirpate the very memory of the Sharki Maliks by destroying their monuments. Many beautiful buildings in the old fort of Jaunpur were razed to the ground, as well as the college and other buildings round the Lal Darwaza Mosque. The Jhanjhri and Jami Masjid also suffered, and the grand Atala Mosque was only saved by the intervention of the Ulamas.

Husain lived on until 1500, a fugitive. He had appeared to have had an initial superiority to Bahlol in men and resources—indeed on two occasions Bahlol offered to hold Delhi as his feudatory. But in the long run Bahlol succeeded and Husain failed. Bahlol had more persistence and strength of character.

Sikandar Shah

To return to the main current of the history of Northern India. Bahlol's death presented succession problems, as the eldest son, Barbak Shah of Jaunpur, had shown little promise, and the second son, Nizam Khan, was not much favoured as his mother was the daughter of a Hindu goldsmith. However his superiority could not be denied, and he succeeded in 1489 under the title of Sikandar Shah.

He had to deal with the aftermath of the fall of the Jaunpur kingdom and the many rebellions it gave rise to. First of all, however, he had to deal with the amirs who showed a tendency to look down on him. Among them must be included Barbak in Jaunpur, who showed a disposition to regard himself as king and had to be reduced, though he was later restored with proper safeguards.

Bahlol had been very easy going with the amirs. Sikandar ventured on stronger measures, conciliating some but taking away the fiefs of others. In Jaunpur the Hindu zemindars were troublesome, and Barbak could not, or would not, keep them in order.

Finally Sikandar had to reduce them by force and replace his brother.

Bayana had been a centre of resistance for some years and was an important fortress on his western frontier. It was now secured. Kalpi, which had been fought for by Malwa, Jaunpur and Delhi and had maintained an uneasy independence, was now annexed. Kirat Singh, son of the Tonwar raja of Gwalior, Man Singh, was also compelled to submit. Campaigns were undertaken into Bihar and Tirhut, where Husain the fugitive Sharki Malik had joined the insurgents. They were defeated and Husain fled to Bengal. Ala-ud-din Husain Shah showed some disposition to take the side of the fugitive, but finally came to terms with Sikandar recognizing his possession of Bihar.

After a stay of some length at Jaunpur where he dealt with the rebellions and their aftermath, Sikandar moved his headquarters to Agra, hitherto a place of little importance. Bayana had been the chief fortress in that area; Dholpur also gave trouble. Vinayak Rai was driven out and his territory annexed, but later, when a preliminary advance on Gwalior had been given up owing to a serious epidemic in the army, he was restored once more. About 1504 Sikandar took up his headquarters at Agra, and began from there a systematic reduction of the fort and strongholds subject to Gwalior. Wherever he went Hindu temples were destroyed and mosques erected on their site. It seems as if these Muslim sons of Hindu mothers always had to satisfy the father in them by the denial of their mother's faith. Vinayak Rai was once more removed and a Muslim governor appointed to Dholpur. Chanderi and Bilsa, belonging to Malwa, had revolted from Mahmud II of Malwa, and in 1514 they were occupied by Sikandar, and he even entered into correspondence with the governor of Ranthambhor for its surrender, but this came to nothing. In 1517 he died. His chief task had been to curb the Afghan amirs, and he was fairly successful by the usual autocratic device of a secret service system or gestapo and by placing his own men in the great fiefs. He kept a close eye on the administration. He was a bigot, and his zeal is shown in his treatment of Hindus and Hindu shrines. His personal character, however, was above suspicion. He was no mean poet in Persian, and his interest in scholarship is shown by the compendium of medicine he had compiled from Arabic and Sanskrit sources.

Ibrahim Shah Lodi

His brother Ibrahim who succeeded him had not the ability of Sikandar in controlling the Afghan amirs, either because of his haughty temper or because these nobles were now much more conscious of their power. The Afghan clans of the Farmulis, Lodis and Lohanis had always been a turbulent element in the state, and Ibrahim was not successful in dealing with them. His uncle or brother Jalal was made the figurehead of the dissatisfaction towards him, and was proclaimed king at Jaunpur. Rival intrigues to win support were at first entered into, and Jalal won over Azam Humayun, his brother, who joined him with his forces. When Ibrahim advanced on Jaunpur, Jalal retreated to Kalpi, and Azam Humayun deserted his cause and joined Ibrahim, and Kalpi was occupied. Jalal made his way to Agra, where the governor promised to intercede for him. Ibrahim did not agree, and Jalal fled to Gwalior where the raja, Vikramajit, received him. Azam Humayun was dispatched to besiege the citadel and finally succeeded in taking it. The raja made submission in 1517, and the fortress was incorporated in the Delhi kingdom. Jalal fled to Malwa, but was coldly received and passed on to Gondwana. The Gonds however gave him up to Ibrahim, and he died on his way to prison at Hansi, probably by Ibrahim's orders.

When Sikandar died the Delhi kingdom extended on the east to the borders of Bengal ; on the south and south-west to Bundelkhand and Chanderi ; while the Punjab, except Multan, still apparently acknowledged the overlordship of the Sultan of Delhi. But the suspicious and overbearing temper of Ibrahim alienated his amirs already waiting for an excuse to assert themselves. Azam Humayun fell into disfavour and was imprisoned. The result was another revolt, but Ibrahim was still sufficiently strong to put it down. There were wars with Rana Sanga, the great Rajput warrior prince of Mewar, and both sides seem to have won victories and suffered defeat, but it is difficult to discover any trustworthy details.

Ibrahim now was determined to crush the Afghan amirs once for all. Azam Humayun was put to death in prison, and the head of the Farmuli clan, Husain Khan, was assassinated at Chanderi. Darya Khan Lohani revolted in Bihar and was not interfered with. His son Bahadur Khan took the title of Muhammad Shah and set up an independent kingdom in Bihar,

where he minted coins and assumed all the insignia of royalty. Later he invaded Oudh.

In the meantime Daulat Khan Lodi the governor of the Punjab, which had for some time been only nominally subject to Delhi, sent his son Ghazi Khan to report on the condition of affairs in Delhi. The report confirmed his father in his fears that he was destined soon to suffer the fate of other governors, and he began his intrigues with Babur. These will be described later. It is enough to say here that Babur at length marched into India and defeated and killed Sultan Ibrahim at Panipat on 18 April 1526. Thus ended the Lodi Sultanate of Delhi, defeated as much by the circumstances of the times as by the defects of its ruler.

Breakdown of the Delhi Sultanate

The organization by which the Sultanate of Delhi had held together was at last broken. It had been a Muslim autocracy, ruling over subject peoples of different faiths and different habits of thought and customs. Once the pervading idea of unity among the ruling caste had perished and separate kingdoms had sprung up, there was little chance of survival; the clock had run down. The wonder is that it lasted so long—four hundred years. That it did so was due to a succession of remarkable rulers. Iltutmish, Balban, Ala-ud-din Khilji, Muhammad bin Tughluk, Firuz Tughluk, and, to a lesser degree, Bahlol and Sikandar Lodi.

As we have seen there had been little unity or co-operation between the ruling Muslims and the Hindu population. There were undoubtedly many more semi-independent Hindu principalities than the Muslim historians, who are our main authorities, are willing to admit. Apart from the Rajputs who were never subdued, and the independent kingdoms like Kashmir, the hill kingdoms of which Kumaon was the largest under the Katyur and later Chand dynasties, Nepal, Assam, Jajnagar, Gondwana, the Vijayanagar empire, and the Hindu kingdoms of the south, there were also many Rajput clans in the present United Provinces who maintained a continuous opposition; though compelled to pay tribute under strong rulers, they were practically independent under weak ones. The forests of Katehr and the hill forts of Bundelkhand are examples of this.

The original Muslim tribes who had come down from

Transoxiana, later strengthened by Mongols and Afghans, were comparatively few in numbers, and they certainly added to their strength by recruitment from the Hindu population. Large numbers of Hindus became nominal adherents to the Islamic faith as a condition of holding office. Their children, however, were orthodox Muslims with all the convert's zeal. In this way many more than the original Muslim invaders swelled the ranks of the dominant class, as happened in every place where Islam had penetrated.

In spite of occasional desecration and destruction of temples and iconoclastic decrees, on the whole there was little interference with the practice of the Hindu religion. The ease and rapidity with which the Bakhti doctrine spread is proof of this. There seems to have been little interference with the preaching of men like Ramanand and Chaitanya, and later with Kabir and Guru Nanak.

It is now necessary to complete the picture of the state of Hindustan on the arrival of the Mughuls by a description of other kingdoms which had arisen on the ruins of the Tughluk empire.

Chapter XIII

THE BAHMANI AND OTHER KINGDOMS

It has already been seen how Hasan Kangu Zafar Khan became in 1347 the first ruler of the Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan, under the title of Ala-ud-din Hasan Bahman Shah. This kingdom continued as a united power ruling the Deccan until 1490, when it split up into five separate Muslim kingdoms.

Daulatabad had been the capital of the Muslim governors of the Deccan, but Hasan chose Gulbarga. Firuz Tughluk made no attempt to reconquer the Deccan and Hasan set about consolidating his power. He divided the territory into four provinces, Daulatabad, Gulbarga, Berar and Bidar. This last had been taken from the Hindu chiefs to whom it had belonged. The extent of the kingdom stretched from Ellichpur in the north to the river Krishna in the south, and from the sea on the west to the frontier of the Hindu kingdom of Warangal on the east. Hasan was contemplating the conquest of Gujarat when he fell sick and died in 1358, after a reign of eleven years. He imitated the administrative methods of the Tughluks and called his chief officers by similar titles. His organization of the kingdom was on feudal lines, and the governors of the four provinces (tarafs), called tarafdars, had large powers, raising and commanding armies and having absolute jurisdiction, a system which contained the seeds of future trouble.

Muhammad Shah I, his son, began the wars with the Hindu kingdom or empire of Vijayanagar, which form the chief feature of the history of the dynasty. Vijayanagar, founded on the ruins of the Hoysala kingdom by the brothers Bukka and Hari Hara, included modern Mysore and stretched from the Krishna to the Cauvery. Warangal, or Telingana, the other Hindu kingdom was ruled over by Kanhayya who was apparently a descendant of the Kakatiya dynasty. Bukka I was ruling Vijayanagar when war broke out over the question of coinage, and both Bukka and Kanhayya appear to have considered that their independence was threatened. They addressed a strong protest to Muhammad, who replied with a demand for an enormous tribute. Kanhayya attacked the Bahmani frontier fortresses but his son's army was defeated, and the victors marched on Warangal and exacted a

large ransom. Vinayak the crown prince insulted Muhammad a year later, with the result that Muhammad marched into his territory, defeated and captured him, and then launched the wretched prince from a catapult into a lighted funeral pyre. His return was harassed by the raja, and in revenge Muhammad laid Telingana waste for two years. Finally Kanhayya purchased peace by paying a large indemnity and ceding the fortress of Golkunda. Telingana now lapsed into the position of a vassal state.

While this was happening Bahram, a cousin of Muhammad, had rebelled in Daulatabad and sought the aid of Firuz Tughluk, but it was refused. One of the ambassadors to Delhi, Ahmad Faruki, was given by Firuz the small district of Khandesh on the river Tapti and founded a dynasty there.

When free from his preoccupation with Telingana Muhammad had time to deal with Bahram who was driven out.

The next objective was Vijayanagar. When celebrating his victory over Kanhayya in 1365 Muhammad, in a moment of drunken generosity, had given a draft on the Vijayanagar treasury to some dancers who had won his favour. This might have been excused as a result of the exuberance of victory but not the insult of sending a messenger to collect it. Bukka was naturally enraged, and at once invaded the Raichur doab, the debatable land between the Tungabhadra and Krishna rivers, captured the fortress of Mudgal and massacred the garrison. His army numbered 30,000 horse, 300 elephant sand 100,000 foot. Muhammad took the field with half these numbers, and after a hotly contested battle defeated Bukka with great slaughter at Kauthal on the Tungabhadra. He then advanced in 1367 into Vijayanagar, beat the raja again, and chased him back to his capital, defeating him once more on the way but failing to take the citadel. During the course of hostilities enormous numbers of Hindus were said to have been slaughtered, neither age nor sex being spared. The slaughter even horrified Muhammad, and one of the terms of peace was a mutual pact to spare non-combatants in future. This pact was faithfully observed except on two occasions. But it must not be thought that the Muslims had a monopoly of savagery in these wars. The Hindus were equally relentless. Indeed, the distinguishing feature of all the fighting was the cruelty which was displayed by both sides, no less than the slight excuses on which war was waged. The real cause was the recognition on both sides that they were wars of extermination. It may be added here

that Muhammad's draft on the Vijayanagar treasury was now honoured.

Muhammad was a builder. One of his chief claims to fame is the Great Mosque at Gulbarga, finished in 1367, which has the novelty of a roofed-in courtyard.

He died in 1373 and was succeeded by his son, Mujahid Shah. It was this king who introduced the practice of employing foreigners in the state service, a practice which was to have unfortunate results.

He renewed the war with Bukka over the question of the Raichur Doab and invaded Vijayanagar and drove Bukka before him, but failed to capture Vijayanagar the capital. When he returned to Gulbarga in 1377 he was assassinated by his uncle, Daud, whom he had offended by a public rebuke. The following year Daud was assassinated in his turn while at prayers in the Great Mosque. Muhammad II, son of Mahmud and grandson of Bahman Shah, succeeded and the war with Vijayanagar was brought to an end and the Hindus retired from the Doab where they had taken advantage of the confusion to besiege Raichur.

Muhammad II left Vijayanagar alone. He was a great patron of literature and learning, and poets and scholars flocked to his court. The great Persian poet Hafiz accepted an invitation to visit him, but after experiencing a storm at sea returned and sent an ode instead. When he died in 1397 his two sons succeeded, one after the other. The first, Ghias-ud-din, was seized and blinded by Tughchin, the leader of the foreign mercenaries, who placed his brother Shams-ud-din on the throne and made himself minister. This gave great offence to the nobles, and they invited Firuz Khan, another grandson of Bahman Shah, from exile to take his place. Firuz accepted the invitation and arrived in Gulbarga the same year, and was able to depose and imprison Shams-ud-din while the blinded Ghias-ud-din was brought from prison, a sword put in his hand and his arm guided to execute vengeance on Tughchin.

Firuz Shah

Hari Hara II of Vijayanagar had taken advantage of the dissension to invade the Raichur doab, and it was now necessary to drive him out. Owing to an invasion of the northern part of his territory by the Gond raja, Narasingha, Firuz could only spare 12,000 cavalry, but the raja retreated before his advance and took up a position behind the Krishna. He had a huge army,

but the Vijayanagar armies were at this time vast unwieldly hosts, badly trained and no match for the Muslims man for man. It is said that the king's kazi and some companions introduced themselves to the dancing girls of the Hindu crown prince as accomplished musicians, and were introduced into an entertainment in the royal camp, where their performance won much applause. Finally they took advantage of a Deccan sword dance to kill the prince. Knocking over the lights they escaped in the dark. This started a panic and there was wild confusion, with the guards attacking each other in the darkness. While the turmoil was at its height Firuz crossed the river, and when dawn broke his army was drawn up ready for battle. The Hindu army fled, and was pursued to the walls of Vijayanagar, suffering great loss on the way. The raja asked for peace and had to pay a large indemnity.

In 1401 Firuz sent messages of submission to Timur, and received the grant not only of his own kingdom from the conqueror but of Malwa and Gujarat as well. This gave offence to Dilawar Khan of Malwa and Muzzaffar I of Gujarat. Dilawar Khan had instigated the invasion of Narasingha, and both he and Muzaffar Shah entered into treaty relations with Vijayanagar against Firuz.

The War of the Goldsmith's Daughter of Mudgal was the next episode in the struggle between Vijayanagar and the Bahmani kingdom. In 1406 Bukka II, who was now raja, heard from the tutor who had educated her, of the beauty and accomplishments of a poor jeweller's daughter in Mudgal. The honour of inclusion in his harem being refused by the girl, the raja sent a body of horse to seize her. When they reached the town they found the girl and her parents had fled, and so turned to plundering the town. The raja in his eagerness to see this paragon had joined the raiders, but was driven off by the local governor. Angered by this invasion, Firuz invaded Vijayanagar in reprisal, He was himself repulsed from Vijayanagar and wounded, but his forces elsewhere carried all before them and took no less than 60,000 captives. The raja was forced to ask for terms, and they were heavy, including the bestowal of a daughter in marriage to Firuz, paying a large sum, and ceding the district of Bankapura west of the Doab to Firuz. The cause of it all, the goldsmith's daughter, was married to his son Hasan, who after an expedition against Gondwana in 1412 seems to have retired from active participation in affairs and devoted himself to a life of pleasure. The war with Vijayanagar was renewed in 1413, and this time Firuz suffered defeat at the hands of Vira Vijaya. This was followed up by the

invasion of his kingdom and the devastation by the Hindus of the southern and eastern districts. Neither age nor sex was spared, and the mosques now suffered the same fate as the Hindu temples had before. It is not clear what happened subsequently, whether Firuz was killed in a palace revolution by his brother Ahmad, who had won over the Abyssinian bodyguard, or whether he died a natural death after a reconciliation with his brother. At any rate Ahmad succeeded in 1422, Hasan, Firuz's son, being content with his life of indolent pleasure.

Ahmad Shah took a terrible vengeance on Vijayanagar for their breach of the pact regarding war against non-combatants. He invaded Vijayanagar and slaughtered every male and enslaved the women and children. Arrived before Vijayanagar he was bought off by an enormous indemnity, and the captives were carried away as slaves.

Ahmad Shah

Warangal had been quiet since its subjugation in the early days of the Bahmani kingdom. But in the recent invasion of Vira Vijaya the army of Warangal had seen its opportunity and joined in, though they afterwards deserted the Vijayanagar cause. In 1424 the Khan-i-Azam led an army of revenge to Warangal. The raja was killed and the larger portion of the territory incorporated with the Bahmani domains. Hoshang of Malwa had established his suzerainty over Gondwana, and now threatened the northern frontier. In 1428 he attacked Ahmad Shah, but was severely defeated and driven back into his own territory. It was perhaps this threat which caused Ahmad to start the building of the city of Bidar on the site of the ancient Vidarbha in 1429. An attack on Ahmad Shah of Gujarat was not so successful, and the Bahmani forces were several times defeated and a full-scale battle at Bhaula on the Girnar river was indecisive. Ahmad retreated to Bidar and peace was made.

Encouraged by this failure Hoshang Shah marched into Gondwana and put the raja, Narasingha, to death. Ahmad Bahmani could not suffer this, and marched to the rescue, but Nazir Shah of Khandesh brought about a composition by which Ahmad agreed that Malwa should have the overlordship of Gondwana. Ahmad felt himself too weak to continue the contest. He died in 1435. He had become a Shia, and this accentuated the strife which was now becoming noticeable between the native Deccanis,

who were all Sunnis, and the foreign mercenaries, many of whom were Shias, who were being more and more employed.

Ala-ud-din

Zafar Khan, his eldest son, succeeded under the title of Ala-ud-din II. He had to deal with the rebellion of his brother, Muhammad, who occupied the Raichur doab supported by Vijayanagar. Defeated, he begged for mercy, and was actually reinstated in possession of Raichur itself. Ala-ud-din invaded the Konkan, where he defeated a Hindu raja and took one of his daughters to wife. This infuriated Nazir Shah of Khandesh, whose daughter had been married to Ala-ud-din. It was the Khandesh princess who appealed to her father to avenge this humiliation. The campaign was conducted by Khalaf Hasan, a merchant of Basra, who had taken service with Ahmad Shah and was given high command, becoming chief of the foreign amirs. Such was his contempt for the Deccanis that he stipulated that he should not be hampered by Deccani troops, remembering an occasion in the Konkan when they had involved him in disaster. This naturally did not improve the already embittered relations between the two factions. Khalaf Hasan was successful in the campaign and Nazir Shah was driven off.

Meanwhile in Vijayanagar Devaraya II had determined to reorganize his armies. He enlisted Muslim mercenaries as instructors and as troops and employed as many as 10,000 archers mounted after the Turki and Mongol fashion. He had also 60,000 Hindu cavalry trained as archers, and his infantry numbered 300,000. Jagirs were conferred on the leaders of the Muslim troops and a mosque built for them in the city of Vijayanagar itself. In 1443 with his new modelled army he marched into the Raichur Doab, captured Mudgal and laid waste the countryside. Ala-ud-din was not slow to take up the challenge. In the fighting which ensued Devaraya's son was killed and the army driven back on Vijayanagar, which was besieged. Peace was finally made, and the raja agreed to pay an annual tribute. His new model army had been a failure.

The remainder of the chronicles of the Bahmani kingdom is a record of the quarrels between the Deccanis and the foreigners. The latter consisted of Arabs, Abyssinians (called Habshis), Turks, Mongols and Persians. Arabs and Abyssinians had long had relations with the south and west coast of India. The conversion

of Ahmad Shah to the Shia doctrine had strengthened the position of the many Shias among the mercenaries, many of whom received jagirs and titles for their services. The Habshis were Sunnis, and thus were inclined to side with the Deccanis, who followed the orthodox faith. As a result of this difference of opinion there was much jealousy between the two factions. In 1454 Khalaf Hasan led a force into the Konkan. His troops were mostly mercenaries and the climate took a heavy toll of their numbers. They were led into an ambush by treachery and heavily defeated, Khalaf Hasan himself being killed. The remnant retreated to Chakan near Poona. The Deccani amirs now persuaded the Sultan that the Foreigners were conspiring against him, and obtained his consent to proceed against them. The result was a massacre of the refugees at Chakan. Three officers escaped and reported the truth to the Sultan, who was startled out of his lethargy and put the leaders of the Deccani party to death.

Ala-ud-din was addicted to pleasure, and it is said retired to the seclusion of his harem and only transacted business occasionally. He enforced the practice of Islam and forbade the use of strong drink, though he did not set an example himself. Drunkards had molten lead poured down their throats. He devoted some attention to education and built mosques and a hospital at Bidar, which was now the permanent capital. Dying in 1458 he was succeeded by his eldest son Humayun, who appears to have been a mental degenerate. The historian of the reign declares that the amirs when they went to darbar bade farewell to their families and made their wills. A poet describes the relief when he died :

> ' On the date of his death the world was full of delight.
> So " delight of the world " gives the date of his death,'

referring to the chronogram which the value of the Persian words ' Zauq-i-Jahan ' gives.

One of his brothers who had revolted was thrown to a tiger, and he imprisoned the Kotwal in a cage with nothing to eat but his own flesh. Others were thrown into boiling oil or suffered the extremities of torture. No woman was safe from his lust and no noble from his jealousy. This monster is said to have been stabbed to death by an African slave girl when lying ill in 1461.

Mahmud Gawan

A regency consisting of the queen mother and Mahmud Gawan and another noble was formed for the young heir Nizam

Shah, who was only eight years old. The famous Mahmud Gawan Gilani had come from Iran at the age of forty-five as a merchant, and stayed to reach the highest position in the state.

The reign of a child and a woman roused all the enemies of the kingdom. The rajas of Telingana and Orissa raided the Bahmani territories and almost reached Bidar without opposition. Then Mahmud Khilji of Malwa advanced and defeated the Bahmani army and captured Bidar itself, though the citadel held out. Mahmud Bigarah of Gujarat was appealed to for aid and responded, being joined by Mahmud Gawan and his troops. Before this confederation Mahmud Khilji had to retire, and the danger from Malwa gradually passed away. Nizam Shah died in 1463, and his young brother aged nine succeeded as Muhammad III. Mahmud Gawan the wazir served the young king with undeviating fidelity for eighteen years. The queen mother and Mahmud Gawan administered the state until the young king attained the age of fifteen and married. The queen mother then retired from the administration and the king took control, with Mahmud Gawan as his adviser.

The Konkan was now reduced to submission by Mahmud himself, while Malik Hasan, a Brahman by birth who had been captured in one of the invasions of Vijayanagar and brought up as a Muslim, reduced the remaining portion of Telingana to submission and was established as its governor. There was peace between the two factions of Deccanis and Foreigners, and Mahmud Gawan, though a foreigner, divided the offices of state with complete impartiality between them. He himself was governor of Gulbarga and Bijapur, while Daulatabad was given to Yusuf Adil Khan, a Shia Turk, the leader of the Foreigners. Fathullah Imad-ul-Mulk, another Brahman convert, was given Berar.

A great famine occurred in 1474 and caused great suffering and loss. The organization of the state was not sufficiently advanced for any real relief measures to be taken. Indeed the needs of the common people did not obtain much attention, and only the nobles profited from the firm government of Mahmud Gawan. A Russian merchant, Athanasius Nikitin, who visited Bidar at this time has recorded that the common people were very miserable, while the nobles were rich and lived in luxury.

A rebellion in Telingana led to the dividing of the province into two, the eastern with its capital at Rajamundry and the western with its capital at Warangal. The other provinces also were divided, Berar being subdivided into a northern half, Gawil,

and a southern, Mahur. Daulatabad became the eastern portion of that province, and the western was Junnar. Gulbarga remained the capital of the eastern part of that province and Belgaum of the western. These changes aimed at reducing the power of the great amirs. Military power was concentrated in the royal hands and the finances were reorganized. The administration of justice was improved and attention was given to education. Mahmud Gawan's own college at Bidar was especially famous for its library. A survey of the land for revenue purposes was taken in hand and the machinery of government strengthened in every way.

In 1481 trouble arose with Vijayanagar and the Sultan proceeded against Narasimha, the raja of a new dynasty. In the course of the campaign he reached Kanchi, and is said to have levelled the city and its famous temples to the ground, but as they still exist this is proved to be the routine expression employed by most Muslim historians.

Mahmud Gawan's reforms aiming at curbing the power of the great amirs were naturally unpopular. Malik Hasan especially resented the loss of half his province of Telingana. A false letter was concocted purporting to be treasonable correspondence with the enemy, and the minister's seal affixed to it. Confronted with this by the Sultan Mahmud denied its authenticity, but the Sultan, who was under the influence of drink, ordered his head to be struck off then and there. Thus was fidelity repaid and the loyal old minister slaughtered at the age of seventy-eight in the year 1481. The Foreigners under Yusuf Adil Khan from now on would have nothing to do with the king, who was compelled to rely on the treacherous Hasan whom he made Malik Naib, and to whose son he gave Daulatabad. The other amirs boycotted the king, who took to heavy drinking to drown the remorse he felt for his cruel act. The following year his excesses led to his death, a sad end to a career which had begun so well.

Break-up of the Bahmani Kingdom

This was really the end of the Bahmani kingdom, for though Hasan put his son Mahmud a boy of twelve on the throne, he was only a puppet, and when he grew up gave himself up to dissipation, an example which was followed by his court. The Deccanis and Foreigners meanwhile fought out their quarrel in the streets of the capital. In 1486 Hasan was strangled by one of his followers and his head sent to the king in defiance. He

thereupon decreed a general massacre of the Deccanis and Habshis, which went on for three days unchecked, until a Georgian slave called Kasim Barid made himself guardian of the kingdom and the crown. This was the signal for other governors to set up as independent rulers.

Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk, the son of Hasan, took the lead, and in 1490 suggested to Yusuf Adil Khan of Bijapur and Fathullah Imad-ul-Mulk of Berar that they should break away from the Bahmanid dynasty.

In 1504 Kasim Barid died and his son Amir Barid succeeded to the control of Mahmud. In 1512 Sultan Kuli Kutb-ul-Mulk assumed independence at Golkunda, and nothing but the province of Bidar remained to the Bahmani dynasty. Mahmud Shah died in 1518 and three puppet kings succeeded, but Amir Barid was the real king. In 1524 the last of these, Kalim Ullah Shah, wrote to Babur for help, but the letter was intercepted by Amir Barid and Kalim Ullah fled, first to Bijapur and then to Burhan Nizam Shah, the son of Ahmad, at his new capital of Ahmadnagar. Here he was at first well received, but in 1527 died, possibly by poison. Thus ended the line of the Bahmani sultans of the Deccan. The history of the kingdoms into which it split will be told in the succeeding chapters. They were known as

The Adil Shahi kingdom of Bijapur,
The Nizam Shahi kingdom of Ahmadnagar,
The Imad Shahi kingdom of Berar, with its capital Burhanpur, all founded the same year 1490.
The Kutb Shahi kingdom of Golkunda, founded 1512.
The Barid Shahi kingdom of Bidar, founded 1527, where Amir Barid had finally established himself in 1527 on the death of Kalim Ullah.

In 1504 Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur made the state a Shia kingdom, though he affected toleration. This was the first Shia kingdom in India, and in course of time the doctrine spread to the other four states. At first, however, it led to a combination of the other states against him, and he had to flee to Khandesh but ultimately returned.

A review of the Bahmani kingdom shows little that was worthy of survival. The kings were tyrants, but so were all kings of that time in the East. Their cruelty however seems on the whole to have exceeded the norm of medieval practice, and they contributed little to the culture or civilization of the Indian

peninsula. The ordinary man's interests were little regarded and his condition was miserable, but this was not peculiar to the Deccan. The Hindus of Vijayanagar were in no better case. The subjects of the Bahmanis were mostly Hindus, but the Hindus of Vijayanagar received no better treatment from their Hindu rulers.

The strife between the Bahmani kingdom and Vijayanagar was left as a legacy to the states into which the kingdom had broken up. Finally in 1565 a combination of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golkunda and Bidar put an end to the empire of Vijayanagar on the field of Talikota. The great city of Vijayanagar with its seven great walls, its temples and palaces was levelled to the ground, and to-day only a few ruins witness to the magnificence of this once famous city. A short account of its history may now be given.

Vijayanagar

The wars between the Bahmanids and Vijayanagar have been dealt with in the preceding pages. The records which have been handed down by Muslim historians chiefly record the wars, and we know little about its real history.

It rose on the ruins of the Hoysala Empire. Its founders, Hari Hara and Bukka, were apparently scions of the Yadava dynasty who once ruled Devagiri. They were in the service of Pratap Rudra Deva of Warangal, and on the capture of Warangal by Muhammad Tughluk in 1323 they took service with the raja of Anagondi in the Raichur Doab on the banks of the Tungabhadra. When he was defeated by Muhammad the two brothers were taken to Delhi. It is stated that they embraced Islam and were given the territories of their former master. It is also stated that they founded Vijayanagar in 1336 with the assistance of the famous Brahman sage Madhava Vidyaranya, the great scholar of Sringeri. This is the traditional account, but Hari Hara and Bukka and their brothers appear in fact to have been officers of Vira Ballaba III, the last of the Hoysalas, and it was he who founded the city of Vijayanagar before his defeat and death at the hands of the Muslims of Ma'bar in 1342. Hari Hara was the first ruler, and by 1340 had spread his power over the valley of the Tungabhadra, parts of the Konkan, and even reached the coast of Malabar.

Bukka succeeded about 1353, though neither he nor his

brother made any pretensions to kingship. He extended his power farther south and extinguished the small Muslim state of Ma'bar in 1378. He claimed that the Bahmani king had no right to coin gold, and this led to the latter's suppression of the Hindu bankers of the Deccan, because they melted down the Bahmani gold pieces and used the metal for the Vijayanagar currency. Bukka denied the right of the Bahmani kings to coin gold, because it implied their supremacy. Indeed the insolence of both Hindu and Muslim kings towards each other shows that diplomacy was entirely wanting in the south, and in its place arrogance and cruelty ruled. The Muslims despised the Hindus as idolators, and the Hindu looked down on the Muslims as barbarian and unclean. The bigotry of their faith and the exclusive claims of Brahmanism were to blame, and they partly explain the cruelty and lack of humanity displayed on both sides during the long wars. Bukka and Vinyak Rai of Warangal both objected to the Bahmanis' coining of gold, and this is some explanation of the otherwise inexplicable action of Muhammad I in issuing the draft on the Vijayanagar treasury which led to war in 1365. In 1367 the battle of Kauthal was won by Muhammad largely because he was in possession of artillery manned by European and Turkish gunners, which is the first recorded instance of the use of gunpowder and cannon in India.

Hari Hara II came to the throne in 1379. He was the first ruler to take the title of king. He continued the conquest of the south and took Kanchi. His war with Firuz Shah has been described already. Bukka II was defeated in the War of the Goldsmith's Daughter and had to make a shameful peace, giving his daughter in marriage to Firuz. He was followed by Devaraya I and he in turn by Vira Vijaya in 1413. He took advantage of the lethargy into which Firuz had lapsed and invaded his kingdom, committing the greatest atrocities. These were avenged by Ahmad Shah in his turn who slaughtered thousands. Devaraya II, who reigned from 1419 to 1449, is a king of Vijayanagar about whom more than usual is known owing to the visit of the Italian Nicola Conti who visited Vijayanagar in 1422, and Abdur Razzak an envoy from Persia who was there in 1442. Conti reports that Bizengalia, as he rendered Vijayanagar, was a rich and magnificent city, with walls sixty miles in length. Abdul Razzak gives details of these walls which were constructed in seven concentric rings. He was impressed by its wealth and the shops of the merchants.

Devaraya, as we have seen, reorganized the army and also reformed the administration. He was a king with ideas, and for a time his new model army had more success than the unwieldy hosts of his predecessors. Later, however, Ala-ud-din defeated him in spite of the new tactics.

On his death Mallikarjuna succeeded and reigned until 1468, when his brother Virupaksha followed. Neither showed much competence, and affairs drifted into disorder, culminating in the usurpation of Saluva Narasimha, a noble of the kingdom, about 1489–90. He ruled for six years and brought order to the distracted state. This dynasty, however, was not lasting, and another noble, Vira Narasimha, son of Saluva's general, gained the supreme power. He died in 1509, and was succeeded by Krishnadevaraya, his brother, who proved to be the greatest king who ever ruled over Vijayanagar. His reign lasted until 1530, and he profited from the break-up of the Bahmani kingdom, for the five states into which it had split could never combine effectively against him. He extended his territories by conquests south of the Krishna, and on the east from the raja of Orissa. He also at last achieved the Vijayanagar ambition of winning back the Raichur Doab. He was a patron of Sanskrit and Telegu literature and also a great builder. The rest of the history of this interesting Hindu kingdom will be referred to later.

The South

The history of the extreme south of India is difficult to follow. The Pandyas at the extreme southern and south-eastern coast of the peninsula had their capital at Madura. They were continually at war with the Kerala or Chera kingdom as well as with the Cholas. From about 920 to the end of the twelfth century the Cholas were in the ascendant. In 1216 there had been a Pandya revival on the defeat of the Cholas. Their greatest period was in the time of Jatavarman, who succeeded to the throne in 1251 and ruled over the Chola and Chera territories and also the island of Ceylon. He defeated the Hoysalas and also the Kakatiyas of Warangal, and took the high title of Maharajadiraja. He is famous for his architectural efforts and the temples he erected. He died about 1275.

South India now came within the orbit of the Muslim powers of North India. The first raid under Malik Kafur to which

reference has already been made reached and sacked Madura. Again Khusru in 1318 led another expedition to Madura. These expeditions, for they were more than raids, disorganized the kingdom and led to the disintegration of the Pandyas. The establishment of the Muslim kingdom of Ma'bar was another element in their decay, and the Cheras profited from the Pandya ruin. The foundation of Vijayanagar was the final blow, for it expanded at the expense of the southern powers. There were, however, Pandya rulers in Tinnivelli until the eighteenth century.

The Cholas held the Coromandal coast north-east of the Pandyas. We have already heard of their king, Karikala, who built a great capital city, Kaveripattam, later overwhelmed by the sea. The Pallavas and later the Pandyas reduced the kingdom to impotence, and it was not until about 850 that the revival of the Chola power took place, This centred round a new capital, Tanjore. In the ninth and tenth centuries they shook off Pallava supremacy and overcame the Pandyas. Then followed war with the Rashtrakutas. Rajaraja, the greatest of the Chola kings, succeeded in 985 and conquered the Pandya kingdom and the Cheras in the west, and finally conquered Ceylon. To him are due the great temples at Tanjore.

His son Rajendra was a great conqueror, who defeated the Chalukyas and advanced to the banks of the Ganges, defeating Govindachandra the Gahawar and Mahipala of Bengal. This was the age of naval expeditions to the east, to Burma and the Malay peninsula. His expedition to the north is signalized by the title he took of Gangaikonda.

There was continuous warfare between the Cholas and the Chalukyas, but finally they became united by marriage, and the eastern Chalukya prince, Rajendra, succeeded to the Chola throne as Kulottunga Chola in 1074, and united it with his own territory of Vengi. He lived until 1112. The Hoysala conquest of the Western Chalukyas had a natural effect on the united Chola Vengi kingdom, and with the revival of the Pandyas and the increasing Hoysala and Kakatiya inroads the Chola kingdom came to an end in 1267. The Hoysalas had gradually established their power in what is now Mysore. First the western Chalukyas fell before their expanding power under Vishnuvardhana, and then the eastern territory of Vengi about 1133. Under this pressure from the Hoysalas and later the Kakatiyas together with attacks from the reviving Pandyas the Chola kingdom finally came to an end in 1267.

The Cheras or Keralas covered part of the country now occupied by the state of Travancore and the west coast of Malabar. It had from early times been connected with foreign trade, first with the Romans later the Arabs. They were a maritime and trading people, and were continually engaged in wars with both Cholas and Pandyas. For some time in the eleventh century Chera was subordinate to the Cholas until their decline early in the twelfth century. After that they appear to have been subordinate to the Pandyas. In 1315 a Chera king seems to have defeated both rivals and conquered the Chola and Pandya kingdoms. This was Ravirarman Kulasekhara, but he lost the Chola territory to Rudra II the Kakatiya, and his successors were confined to a steadily lessening territory. The Cheras were in any case the least important of the three southern Hindu powers.

Bengal

Bengal was always outside the main stream of medieval history, though not to the extent that the far south was. Firuz Tughluk had failed to restore it to the dominion of Delhi, and Sikandar Shah, son of Ilyas Shah, was left undisturbed after Firuz' last expedition. He had a large family, and succession troubles led to a family feud and his own defeat and death in 1389. He was responsible for much interesting building in his capital of Pandua, and the mosque he built is impressive even in ruins. His son, Ghias-ud-din Azam, finally triumphed over his other numerous half-brothers, and with the heartless cruelty of the times sent their eyes to their mother, who had instigated the revolt, as a sign of his success.

There were large Hindu principalities in Bengal which maintained a fair degree of independence, and during the reigns of his son Hamza and his successor Bayazid, the raja of Dinajpur, Ganesh, known generally as Raja Kans, exercised the chief power, and is said to have used it in persecuting Muslims. He was attacked by Ibrahim of Jaunpur instigated by the Muslim saint, Kutb-ul-Alam, and in order to obtain peace agreed to have his son brought up in the Islamic faith. But when Ibrahim retired the son was restored to the Hindu fold by a series of elaborate purificationary ceremonies. When Raja Kans died in 1414 his son, who had apparently been a genuine convert, took the title of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad and forcibly converted many of his subjects to Islam.

His son Shams-ud-din Ahmad was a bloodthirsty tyrant, and was assassinated in 1442 by Nasir Khan, a descendent of Ilyas Shah, who took the title of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud. This ruler adorned his capital of Lakhnauti, which was now changed to Gaur, with many beautiful buildings. His son Rukhn-ud-din Barbak, who succeeded in 1459, enlisted large numbers of Abyssinian slaves in his bodyguard, who later proved a menace to the state. Finally a successor, Jalal-ud-din Fath Shah, attempted to curb their power and insolence but failed. Their leader, an eunuch, Sultan Shahzada, in 1486 assassinated the king and proclaimed himself as Barbak Shah. The dynasty was later restored only to be once more upset by a bloodthirsty ruffian called Sidi Badr, who put the then king to death and succeeded himself under the title of Shams-ud-din Muzaffar Shah. His three years' reign of terror led to a revolt of the army against the Habshi domination. The minister Ala-ud-din Husain, a Sayyid, was made king in 1493.

Husain Shah

Husain was perhaps the greatest of the Bengal kings. He disbanded the Abyssinian corps, who mostly took service in the Deccan, there to cause similar trouble as we have seen. He also got rid of the *paiks*, or Hindu palace guards, who had become very powerful. When Husain of Jaunpur was driven out of his kingdom by the Lodis he received asylum in Bengal. Husain had moved from Gaur to Ikdala owing to the disorders in the capital, where the mob were continually troublesome. Indeed Husain had destroyed twelve thousand robbers and rioters in his efforts to restore order. He consolidated his territories, which had shrunk in extent during the anarchy of the preceeding reigns, and even attempted the conquest of Kamarupa or Assam. When he died in 1518 his son, Nasrat Khan, succeeded to a compact kingdom which he extended by the conquest of Tirhut. His kingdom became the asylum of the Afghans after Babur's defeat of Ibrahim Lodi, and he himself married one of Ibrahim's daughters.

He was a builder and a patron of literature. Among his buildings are the Golden Mosque and the Kadam Rasul, not only beautiful in themselves but interesting in their use of brick in construction.

Husain Shah had founded a new religion, that of the Satyapir, which attempted to unite Hindi and Islamic ideas. Indeed

Bengal had engaged on a synthesis of Hindu and Muslim culture. He had been a patron of Bengali literature and language, and had had the *Mahabharata* translated into Bengali, and his son Nasrat Shah had another version made. The *Ramayana* had been rendered into Bengali in 1346 by Krittivasa. These Muslim kings proved themselves greater patrons of vernacular literature than the Hindu rulers themselves, who kept to Sanskrit and despised the vernaculars. As a religious centre Bengal was prominent, and Ibn Batuta mentions in his time no less than 150 Muslim schools of religious teaching in Bengal. The influence of the earlier Buddhist and later of Islamic ideas in Bengal led to a revolt from the orthodox Brahmanical faith. This developed into Vaishnavism, of which Chaitanya is the chief apostle. Born in 1485 he preached the worship of the Lord Krishna. The doctrine of *bakhti*—personal devotion—which had first emerged centuries before, received a new impetus under his teaching, and in the works of his disciples. He was himself purely a missionary and left no writings, but his influence was all prevading.

The successors of Nasrat Shah were degenerate and fell before the Afghans under Sher Khan of Sasaram, who ultimately established his own governor over the conquered Bengal in 1558.

Gujarat

We have already seen how Zafar Khan the governor of Gujarat assumed the title of Muzzaffar Shah when the kingdom of Delhi appeared to be dissolving into ruin in 1396. His father was a Rajput convert, and his son began that conflict with the Rajputs which continued all through Gujarat's existence as a separate kingdom. After some dynastic troubles, in which his son Tatar Khan was involved, and his own deposition and restoration, he proceeded to take a hand in the politics of Malwa. Here Dilawar Khan Ghori had been poisoned by his son, who took the title of Hoshang Shah in 1406. Muzaffar Shah invaded Malwa and took Hoshang Shah prisoner, appointing his own brother Nasrat Khan as governor of Dhar. The Malwa nobles set up a cousin of Hoshang Shah's at Mandu, and as a counterblast to this Ahmad Shah of Gujarat, who succeeded on Muzaffar's death in 1411, set up Hoshang once again in Dhar.

Ahmad Shah who had succeeded his grandfather not without suspicion of poisoning him was the real founder of the Gujarat

kingdom. He left the old capital of Anhilwar and built Ahmadabad on the banks of the Sabarmati, adorning it with many beautiful buildings. The architecture of Gujarat is a fine example of the synthesis of Hindu and Islamic art forms. The Jain art of Mount Abu served as a model on which to superimpose the beauty of the Saracenic style, and the Jami Mosque at Ahmadabad built by Ahmad Shah typifies this style.

His main campaigns were directed against the Rajputs and Malwa. He attacked the raja of Girnar in 1414, and captured the important fortress of Junagarh. Later he proceeded against Idar, which had helped Hoshang of Malwa against him, beheaded the raja, and made his son his vassal.

Wars with Malwa occurred in 1416 and 1421, with results generally favourable to Gujarat. In 1437 he made another expedition, this time to help Hoshang's grandson against Mahmud Khilji. An epidemic in his army, however, forced him to retreat. He was also involved in war with Ahmad Shah Bahmani, who had designs on both Gujarat and Malwa. This resulted in the final defeat and retreat of Ahmad Shah Bahmani in 1441. Ahmad Shah of Gujarat died the same year.

Mahmud Shah of Gujarat

His successors continued the warfare against the Rajputs, notably against Champanir and Chitor under the Rana Kumbha, but without much success. In 1458 his grandson Fath Khan was elevated to the throne under the title of Mahmud Shah. His nickname, Bigarah, was given him as a result of his capture of the two forts of Girnar and Champanir. Mahmud Shah Bigarah was the greatest of the kings of Gujarat. He was a mere youth when he succeeded, but soon showed his quality by putting down conspiracy and rebellion. He was a man of large and commanding stature, and had an appetite proportionate to his size, and was accustomed to say, ' If God had not raised Mahmud to the throne of Gujarat, who would have satisfied his hunger ? '

His namesake, Mahmud I of Malwa, took advantage of the troubles in the Deccan on the death of Humayun to attack Bidar. Mahmud Bigarah, appealed to for help, threatened his line of retreat and forced him to a disastrous retirement. A second invasion was similarly threatened and rendered ineffective. Having asserted his superiority to Malwa, Mahmud now proceeded to reduce the state of Girnar in Kathiawar. He led three

expeditions into the country, pillaging and sacking indiscriminately. The raja submitted, but this did not satisfy Mahmud who set out in 1468 to add it to his kingdom. In 1470 the raja submitted and accepted Islam, while his dominions were added to Gujarat. Mahmud then proceeded to Sind to assist the Jam Nizam-ud-din, his father-in-law. The Sumras and Sodas were Muslims of a sort who had apparently lapsed from the faith. They were given instructors, and some were taken into Mahmud's service and settled in Kathiawar.

Another expedition in 1473 was against Dwarka, a pirates' nest on the coast. Here he destroyed the great temple and built a mosque on the site after defeating the Raja Bhim in a naval engagement. The raja was sent prisoner to Ahmadabad and executed by impalement as a pirate. The reason for this treatment was his behaviour to the mulla of Samarkand, whose wives and property had been seized by the pirates. His next campaign was against Champanir. The Rawal appealed to Mahmud of Malwa, who was warned that it would be an impious act to assist an infidel and did not march to his aid. The Rajputs retreated to the citadel above Champanir and, after a siege which is stated to have lasted a year and nine months, devoted their women to the funeral pyre and themselves to the swords of their adversaries in a last furious sally. Seven thousand are said to have donned the yellow garments for this final act and most were killed. The Rawal was captured, and on his refusal to accept Islam was executed. His son was less obstinate and accepted conversion, later becoming governor of Idar. Champanir was now turned into the Muslim town of Muhammadabad, and Mahmud used it as a second capital.

It was now that the first meeting with Europeans occurred. The Portuguese who had a trading post at Cochin and at Cannanore occupied the island of Socotra in 1507. From this station they cut off trade through the Red Sea, and interrupted the pilgrim route between India and Jeddah the port of Mecca. The Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, finding his customs declining, joined with Mahmud Bigarah and the Hindu Zamorin of Calicut, whose trade was likewise affected, to deal with this new danger. The Egyptian fleet effected a junction with the Indian allies, and fell upon a small squadron of Portuguese ships under Lourenzo, the son of the Portuguese Viceroy Francisco di Almeida, early in 1508 at Chaul, near Bombay. Lourenco was killed and his squadron vanquished. The Portuguese gathered a strong fleet

and in 1509, under the command of Almeida, destroyed the Egyptian fleet off Diu. Mahmud realized their strength and later offered them a factory at Diu.

He now intervened in the domestic affairs of Khandesh and placed his grandson Alam Khan on the throne. He died in 1511 after a reign of fifty-two years.

Bahadur

Muzaffar Shah II, his son, went to the aid of Mahmud II of Malwa, who fled to him for refuge from the ambitions of his Rajput minister Medni Rai. In 1518 Muzaffar laid siege to Mandu, and its Rajput garrison finally performed *jauhar*, 19,000 being stated to have been killed. He then marched to meet Medni Rai, who had enlisted the aid of Rana Sangrama Singh of Chitor and had advanced to Ujjain. In face of Muzaffar's advance the Rajputs retired on Chitor. Muzaffar left a force with Mahmud to assist him against the Rajputs should they attack. Mahmud, at the head of the combined armies, had again to meet an invasion by Sangrama and was totally defeated and taken prisoner. This is the victory probably commemorated by the famous Tower of Victory at Chitor. Mahmud was treated courteously by the Rajput prince. The war between Chitor and Gujarat continued with varying fortune. Muzaffar died in 1526, and after some confusion his son Bahadur succeeded. He was only second to Mahmud Bigarah as a monarch. He defeated the Nizam Shahi king of Ahmadnagar, and received the nominal suzerainty of both Berar and Ahmadnagar. He then proceeded to deal with Malwa, where Mahmud II supported a pretender to the Gujarat throne. In 1531 he annexed Malwa to Gujarat and Mahmud was sent as a prisoner to Muhammadabad (Champanir), but the escort being attacked by Rajputs on the way the king was killed to prevent him escaping.

Sangrama Singh was now dead, and Bahadur in 1533 besieged Chitor. He had captured the great fortress of Ranthambhor, largely owing to the cannon of his master gunner Rumi Khan. The siege of Chitor followed the defeat of the Rana Vikramaditya in battle, and the Rani was compelled to submit. Chitor itself had not fallen, but seven months later Bahadur appeared before it again. Udai Singh, the young prince, was smuggled out to safety after the siege had gone on some time and a breach had been made in the walls. The Rani Jawahir Bai ordered *jauhar*



Plate 28 Siva Nataraja bronze from South India (*c.* 1100), by courtesy of the Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras



Plate 29 Chola bronze from South India (13th century),
by courtesy of Gantam Sarabhai Esq., Ahmedabad

to be performed, and while 13,000 women burnt themselves to death she led a sortie against the besiegers and was slain with most of her Rajputs. Thus fell Chitor in 1535. A Muslim governor was placed in charge, and Bahadur now turned to meet the Emperor Humayun who had stood aside while the feud with the infidels was brought to a conclusion. Bahadur had neglected Humayun's request for the surrender of the rebellious Mirzas who had taken refuge with him, and had sent an insulting answer to Humayun's reasonable request. Humayun now advanced and surrounded Bahadur's army at Mandasor, and Bahadur somewhat inexplicably deserted his army and fled to Mandu, and then, pursued by Humayun, to Champanir, and finally took refuge at Diu while Humayun took over the country.

His recall to meet Sher Khan prevented him from completing the settlement of Gujarat, and when he went Bahadur was not long in recovering his power. As a reward for Portuguese asylum at Diu, Bahadur had promised that they should build a fort at Diu. Later he repented of his promise. In 1537 the Viceroy Nunha da Cunho sailed to Diu to discuss the situation. He doubted the good faith of Bahadur and refused to land, and Bahadur was finally persuaded to come on board his flagship to inspect the presents promised him. The Portuguese seemed inclined to hold him and Bahadur drew his sword, killed a priest in the scuffle, and leapt into his barge. The Portuguese lowered their boats and pursued and surrounded the barge. Bahadur then leapt into the sea and was drowned trying to reach the shore. This is one version of the episode. Another states that he was wounded with a spear-thrust and fell into the water.

Thus died at the early age of thirty-one a most energetic and interesting prince. It is idle to speculate what might have happened had he lived. However strong these kingdoms appear when compared with each other, they had in reality no chance when pitted against the virile warriors of the Mughuls and their new battle tactics. The concluding episodes of Gujarat history will be treated of in their place along with Mughul history.

Malwa

The territory later known as Malwa had from early times been the centre of strong powers based on Ujjain. The Rajputs held it until Ala-ud-din conquered it in 1310; and it became a

part of the Delhi kingdom until, in 1392, the governor Dilawar Khan Ghori began to act as an independent ruler. He did not however, like his contemporary in Gujarat, assume the title of king. Dhar was his capital, and here he gave asylum to Mahmud Shah of Delhi when he fled before Timur in 1399. His son Alp Khan disagreed with this and set himself up in Mandu. In 1406 he got rid of his father by poison and assumed the title of Hoshang Shah. This, as we have already seen, aroused the wrath of Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat, who invaded Malwa and carried Hoshang Shah as prisoner to Gujarat. Owing to disorder in Malwa he was soon restored. Hoshang intervened in the domestic affairs of the small state of Khandesh and quarrelled with Gujarat on the question of suzerainty. This was finally settled in favour of Malwa. Ahmad Shah of Gujarat invaded Malwa again in 1419 and defeated Hoshang, and laid waste his territories to such an extent that Hoshang was compelled to sue for peace.

Hoshang's most spectacular performance was his raid right across India, through Gondwana, into the territory of the raja of Jajnagar, the modern Orissa, with only a thousand horsemen. He seized the person of the raja and ransomed him for seventy-five elephants, those essential weapons of medieval warfare, which were the object of his raid. On his way back he took Khirla, the chief town of Gondwana, and carried away the raja Narsingha to Mandu as a prisoner. He found Ahmad Shah of Gujarat besieging Mandu, but eluded him and entered the fortress. Ahmad Shah retired and was followed up by Hoshang to the borders of Gujarat. In this exchange Hoshang certainly had the best of it. He then marched on Gwalior, but hearing that Mubarak Shah of Delhi was marching to its relief thought it well to retire. His next step was to intervene in the affairs of the Deccan. He was defeated, however, by Ahmad Shah Bahmani in 1428 and driven back, but later Ahmad Shah had to recognize Malwa's predominance in Gondwana. This did not end his activities, for in 1433 he seized Kalpi from the Delhi kingdom. Before he died in 1435 he founded Hoshangabad on the Narbada in the present Central Provinces.

Hoshang Shah made the power of Malwa felt throughout Central India, and extended and consolidated the kingdom. His son was a drunkard, and Mahmud Khilji, a cousin whose father was the minister, seized the throne and poisoned the king. He claimed descent from the Khiljis of the Delhi dynasty. Four kings of the Khilji dynasty reigned over Malwa. In 1440 Mahmud

Khilji was invited by a faction among the nobles of Delhi to take over the throne in place of the Sayyid ruler Muhammad. He marched towards Delhi but did not get the support he had counted on, and was glad of the excuse an insurrection in Malwa furnished to retreat.

His chief foe however was Rana Kumbha, the famous prince of Mewar who had given asylum to the son of the last king of Malwa. Both Malwa and Gujarat engaged in constant hostilities with the Rajputs, but mutual jealousies kept them from combining and thus the Rajputs were able to play them off one against the other. It is difficult to follow what actually happened, for both Muslim historians and the Rajput traditions claim for themselves the superiority. Thus the Tower of Victory at Chitor is claimed to have been erected as the result of a victory in which Kumbha defeated and captured Mahmud Khilji, but it is undoubtedly later. Mahmud erected another himself in Mandu. The two Muslim states were both engaged in war against the Rajputs but they did not combine. In 1453 the Gujarat army was almost destroyed near Nagaur, while two years later Mahmud Khilji captured Ajmir from the Rajputs, and also Bundi another Rajput stronghold. The dispute with Mahmud of Jaunpur over Kalpi ended in the confirmation of a local chief as ruler under the influence of Malwa. An attempt to invade Gujarat in 1451 was defeated near Ahmadabad, and Mahmud had to leave his baggage train and elephants behind in his hurried retreat.

His next exploit was an attack on Bidar in the Deccan. In 1461 he marched to restore the victims of Humayun Shah's cruelty, but the other party appealed to Mahmud I of Gujarat, and as a result of this combination his direct retreat was cut off and he lost most of his army in an attempt to penetrate through jungle and forest country. In 1465 he was recognized by the Caliph, the puppet set up by the Mamelukes in Cairo. It meant little or nothing, but recognition appears to have afforded these provincial potentates much satisfaction. However Mahmud's fame had spread, and a few years later Abu Said, ruler of what was left of Timur's empire, Transoxiana, Khorasan and Balkh, sent him an envoy.

Khirla in Gondwana, which had been recaptured by the Bahmani kings since Hoshang's annexation of it, was restored to Malwa by a treaty in 1466, and finally became a part of the Malwa kingdom. Chanderi also was captured and added to his dominions.

On his return to Mandu in 1469 this energetic king and warrior died, worn out by thirty-three years of almost incessant warfare.

The next two kings need not detain us. The second, Nasir-ud-din, poisoned his father and succeeded in 1500. This act so outraged the feelings of Jahangir a hundred years later that he had his dust consigned to the flames. He was a ferocious tyrant, and is said to have kept a harem of 15,000 women. His son rebelled against him, and he died, probably from poison, on the march to suppress him. The son succeeded as Mahmud II.

His reign was troubled and party faction dominant. At one time there were three kings in Malwa, Mahmud who had retired to Ujjain, his nephew Hoshang II at Sihor, and his brother Sahib Khan, who took the title of Muhammad II at Mandu. The last was supported by the minister Muhafiz Khan, who was unpopular with the nobles. They now went over to Mahmud, and he also enlisted a Rajput chief, Medni Rai, on his side. Sahib Khan had to seek safety in flight and Medni Rai and his Rajputs were used by Mahmud to keep the nobles in check. Muslim accounts say that the Rajputs used Mahmud as a mere figurehead and harassed those who professed Islam. Medni Rai certainly was distrusted by Mahmud, though he appears to have been faithful to his patron. Whatever the real truth about their relations was, Mahmud when on a hunting trip rode off into Gujarat and appealed to Muzaffar II to help him get rid of the Rajputs. Medni Rai had gone to Chitor to appeal to Sangrama Singh, which hardly suggests loyalty to his master. Meanwhile Muzaffar and Mahmud besieged the Rajput garrison of Mandu, and finally effected an entrance, whereupon the Rajputs performed the rite of jauhar and thousands died.

Medni Rai had reached Ujjain with reinforcements, but on receipt of the news retreated to Chitor. Muzaffar was recalled to Gujarat by news of a rebellion among the Rajputs of Idar in this same year 1518. He left behind a force of 10,000 men to support Mahmud. His withdrawal was the signal for Rana Sangrama Singh to march into Malwa, and Mahmud with the combined forces hastened to meet him. The result was a complete defeat of the Muslims, and Mahmud himself was captured. Sangrama Singh treated him with courtesy and restored him to his throne, but took the jewelled crown of Malwa and other precious objects. This was the victory which the Tower of Victory at Chitor celebrated as a victory over Malwa and Gujarat as well, though only a contingent of the Gujarat army had been

present. This annoyed Muzaffar, who exposed the pretensions of the Rajputs by sending an army in 1521 into Mewar, which ravaged the countryside without the Rana daring to meet it. Babur at Khanua had defeated the Rajput confederacy under Rana Sangrama, and later captured Chanderi the headquarters of Medni Rai, and the Rajput danger had passed away.

Mahmud II in Malwa now held a much reduced territory and foolishly supported Chand Khan, a claimant to the Gujarat throne. This challenge brought Bahadur Shah, the new king of Gujarat, and Muhammad I of Khandesh upon him. In 1531 they invaded Malwa and occupied Mandu after little opposition. This marked the end of Malwa as a separate kingdom, and it now became a province of Gujarat. Mahmud and his family were sent prisoner to Champanir, and the escort being attacked by a hill tribe on the way Mahmud was killed to prevent his escape. Thus ended the Khilji dynasty of Malwa and Malwa's separate existence except for the temporary revival under Baz Bahadur, which will be referred to later.

Khandesh

Khandesh, the country of the khans, was founded by Ahmad Farukhi, who, we have seen, obtained it from Firuz Tughluk when on a mission to Delhi from the Deccan. He became independent in 1382 and spread his power over the valley of the Tapti until his dominions reached the Satpura range in the north and the frontier of the Bahmani kingdom in the south. Gujarat bordered it on the west and always overshadowed Khandesh. In 1399 his son Nasir Khan succeeded in establishing his claim against his brother Hasan, and strengthened his position by the capture of Asirgarh from an Ahir chieftain. He acted as an intermediary in composing the differences of Ahmad Shah Bahmani and Hoshang Shah of Malwa over Gondwana after the battle of Bhaula. His support of Malwa brought on him the enmity of Gujarat and he had to submit. In 1400 he built Burhanpur.

When Nasir Khan attacked Berar to avenge the insult to his daughter by Ala-ud-din Bahmani he was repulsed and Khandesh itself invaded, and Nasir suffered defeat while his country was plundered. He died in 1437, and was succeeded by his son, Adil Khan I, who reigned for four years and was followed by Mubarak Khan, who added to his territory by conquering parts of Gond-

wana and penetrating the jungles now known as Chota Nagpur. His son, Adil Khan II, was inclined to withhold the tribute due to Gujarat, but when threatened by Mahmud Bigarah thought better of it. In 1501 he was succeeded by his brother Daud Khan.

Mahmud Bigarah had arranged with Adil Khan that Alam Khan, a descendent of Nasir Khan's brother Hasan, who had taken refuge in Gujarat and whose family had lived there ever since, should be recognized as heir. Alam Khan was Mahmud Bigarah's grandson, and was married to his granddaughter. But this agreement was not carried out, and Daud Khan succeeded. He was a feeble ruler and died in 1508. His son Ghazi Khan followed, but died of poison within a few days. Now Ahmad Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar invaded Khandesh to place his candidate, another Alam Khan, on the throne, but Mahmud Bigarah drove him out and enthroned his grandson, Alam Khan, under the title of Adil Khan III. Muhammad I succeeded him in 1520. He went to the assistance of Ala-ud-din Imad Shah of Berar against Burhan I of Ahmadnagar but was defeated. Bahadur Shah of Gujarat intervened in 1527 and peace was made. Muhammad joined Bahadur Shah in his final attack on Malwa in 1531. He was involved in Bahadur's quarrels with Humayun the Mughul emperor, and Khandesh was overrun by the Mughuls, but he was saved by the recall of Humayun to meet Sher Khan the Afghan in 1536.

When Bahadur was killed by the Portuguese in 1537 he left no son, and Muhammad of Khandesh, who now assumed the title of Shah, was called on to succeed him as he was closely allied to the Gujarat dynasty on the female side. He set off to take up the crown of Gujarat, but died before he reached Ahmadabad. Here we must take leave of the annals of Khandesh. It retained its independence until Akbar captured Asirgarh in 1601.

Other Kingdoms

Kashmir

Kashmir appears to have been first invaded by the Muslims in the twelfth century. The following hundred years was a period of civil war and disturbances. There was a large scale Muslim invasion in 1301–2 which caused much loss and distress, and many of the hapless inhabitants were carried off as slaves. This was followed by the intrusion of a Tibetan adventurer who seized the

throne. The chief authority, however, from 1323 was in the hands of a Muslim, Shah Mir, and in 1339 he seized the throne, taking the title of Shams-ud-din. In 1399 the then ruler, Sikandar Shah, offered submission to Timur.

Nepal

Nepal had little contact with India during this period. It was independent being ruled over by Hindu kings. The Malla dynasty came to the throne in the thirteenth century, and in 1470 the valley was divided among several small principalities.

Kumaon

Kumaon was ruled over by the dynasty of the Katyurs, so called from the Katyur valley, which was the centre of their power and where their capital Kartikeyapura, the present Baijnath, was situated. It was possibly against them that Muhammad bin Tughluk sent his so-called China expedition. A new power, the Chands, were gradually supplanting them. Both Katyurs and Chands were Rajput dynasties who had originally conquered the aboriginal peoples of the hills, though their precise chronology is a matter for speculation.

Kamarupa

Kamarupa, or Assam, first came into contact with the Muslim power of Delhi when Muhammad ibn Bakhtiyar in 1205 set off on his vainglorious expedition to Tibet. It is unlikely that the Muslims ever penetrated into Tibet. The Assamese attacked them on their retreat and destroyed the bridge over what was presumably the Brahmaputra and slaughtered the dispirited and exhausted troops. Another invasion in 1258 was also unsuccessful. In the thirteenth century the Ahoms, a Shan people from Central Burma, conquered Assam and set up a strong kingdom, which was unaffected by any of the medieval Muslim powers.

Effects of the Muslim Invasion

We have so far seen the progress of the Muslim invasion of India and the resultant strong empires set up by Ala-ud-din Khilji and Muhammad bin Tughluk. They had expanded their

influence over practically the whole of the peninsula. Little more than three hundred years had passed from the first inroads until the mighty kingdoms had degenerated into a number of what were in effect small weak kingdoms squabbling with each other and an easy prey to any strong invader.

It is interesting to ask why the Sultanate of Delhi failed to unite India into one strong empire for long enough to ensure continuity. The answer is perhaps to be found in the character of the kingdoms of the times, dictatorships dependent on the strength and genius of the monarch alone. But undoubtedly the difference in religion and culture had much to do with it. Hitherto Hinduism had succeeded in assimilating foreigners and foreign ideas—Greeks, Sakas, Kushans, Huns, and all the other tribes which had flocked through the north-west passes. Islam would not be assimilated. It demanded entire acceptance or nothing, and Hinduism would not abdicate in its favour. To the Brahman especially the Muslims were barbarians and unclean. To the Muslim the Hindus were infidel indolaters. There was no middle way though a certain amount of toleration on both sides had been achieved in the course of time. The Sufi doctrines of the more broadminded Muslims had exerted much definite influence on some part at any rate of Hindu thought, and vice versa. The religious ideas embodied in the teaching of Kabir and of Nanak owed much to Islam, and certain developments in Islamic philosophy were due to Hindu teachings. The attempt in Bengal to set up a faith which might be a meeting-ground for both is a symptom of possibilities, while the development of vernacular languages is a sign that assimilation was going on.

There was a general standard culture in North India and also in the Deccan, which is seen in the development of an Indian style of architecture noticeable in Gujarat, Bengal, and Malwa, and the kingdoms of the Deccan, and which reached its culmination in the architecture of the Mughuls, reinforced as it was by fresh ideas from beyond the passes. What would have happened had not the Mughuls brought reinforcements of fresh blood and fresh ideas to revivify their flagging Muslim brothers is a matter of conjecture.

Certainly the warring states of India gave promise of nothing but progressive deterioration and decay. That the Hindu spirit was bankrupt in itself and incapable of revival cannot be said however.

During all this time philosophers and religious reformers had



Plate 30 Gateway of the little Golden Mosque, Gaur, Bengal (see page 208)

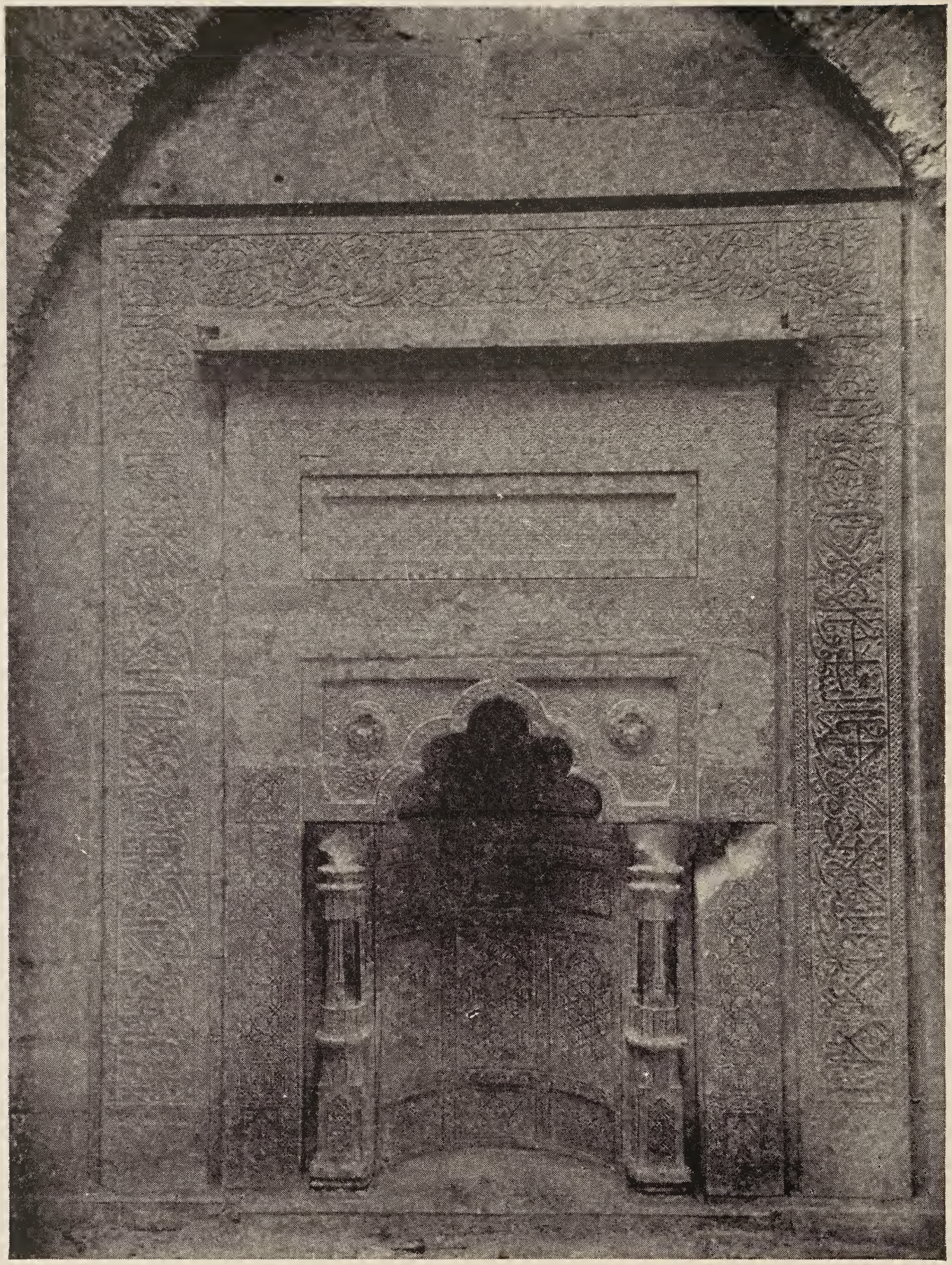


Plate 31 The Adina Mosque, Pandua, Bengal

been at work. The revival in the south associated with the name of Ramanuja which spread to the north in the teaching of Ramananda, the growth of the doctrine of bakhti, and the worship of Krishna shows that the Hindu spirit was not dead.

In the material sphere the Rajput revival of power was due more to mutual quarrels among the Muslim states than to any renewal of military prowess and when faced by a power like the Mughuls it could not make any way.

Religious Thought

Something must be said here about the various schools of religious thought which are so important in their influence towards the end of this period.

Ramananda was the connecting link between the new ideals of the south and the revival in the north. Dates are uncertain, but it is likely that Ramanuja died in 1137. Ramananda is thought by some to have been born in 1290, but if the date for Ramanuja's death is correct, Ramananda is at least a century later than this, and lived from the last quarter of the fourteenth to the first half of the fifteenth century. He was a Brahman born at Prayag and educated in the schools of Prayag and Benares. He preached the personal devotion to Rama in place of Vishnu, and gave rise to two schools of thought, the first orthodox, represented by Tulsidas, and the second, freer, represented by Kabir.

Kabir

Kabir was a disciple of Ramananda, which would put his birth about 1425. He lived until 1492 or perhaps 1518, but all these dates are conjectural. He was the son of a Brahman widow and was adopted by a Muslim weaver, which vocation he himself followed. After attending the lectures of Ramananda he is said to have wandered widely to various religious teachers, and attended the discourses of Muslim divines such as Shaikh Taki of Manikpur, and also attended the schools of Jaunpur and elsewhere. His teaching was oral, and he apparently was ignorant of Sanskrit and Persian alike. He settled down as a teacher at Benares, and was persecuted both by Muslims and Hindus for his unorthodoxy. He lived a normal life, married, and pursued his vocation of a weaver, finally dying at Maghar in the district of Basti, where his tomb is shown and is a centre of pilgrimage for both Muslim and Hindu.

Kabir did not acknowledge caste, or the Hindu schools of theology or the Brahman teaching. Bakhti was pre-eminent in his teaching and worship (bhajan) essential. In his eyes asceticism was of no value for the development of the soul. He set out to unite all creeds, and his teaching was a middle way between Hinduism and Islam.

'The Hindu resorts to the temple and the Musulman to the mosque, but Kabir goes to the place where both are known.'

Again, 'Mecca has verily become Kasi and Rama has become Rahim.'

Although he left no written records he must have taught in Hindi, since his poems which were handed down orally are in that language which he was the first to popularize. The phraseology he used was that of the Sufi poets, and he speaks of wine and the cup of love, the beloved, the rose and the garden, the wayfarer and his road—all the symbolism made use of by the Sufis. His Hindi was Brajbhasa, and the first collection of his poems by Bhago Dasa was the *Bijak*. He refers to Hindi, which he consciously used in the following words: 'Sanskrit indeed is the water of the well but (bhasa) Hindi is like the running river.' The God he worshipped was not a localized deity 'dwelling in temples made with hands' but, as he says,

> I am not in the temple nor in the mosque,
> neither in Ka'ba nor Kailas.

Ceremonial he would have none of, nor pilgrimages, mantras, fasts. He did not believe in the gods and goddesses of the Hindu theogony, and decried caste and untouchability. Karma was of no interest to him, neither was incarnation. In the same way he considered the Islamic fraternity and the belief in one prophet, their routine prayers, and the pilgrimage to Mecca too exclusive. Hindu and Muslim were children of the same father, made of the same blood.

'The Hindu and Turk have one faith which the True Teacher has pointed out.'

His influence was, and still is, great. He tried to make a synthesis of two seemingly conflicting cultures, creating a literature and a language in the process.

Chapter XIV

THE MUGHULS

Once again a prince who had lost a kingdom in Transoxiana determined to seek compensation against easier foes.

The successors of Timur had not retained his empire for long, and the sons of Abu Said, his grandson, held sway over portions only of the territory he had ruled. Umar Shaikh Mirza held the small kingdom of Farghana, and spent his life in attempts to seize his brother's kingdom of Samarkand. He died in 1494 when his son Zahir-ud-din Muhammad was only eleven years and four months old. His surname Babur is Turki and means Tiger, and his language and ancestry were Turk. His mother was a Mongol, the daughter of Yunus Khan, the Great Khan of the Mongols descended from Chingiz Khan through his son Chagatai. Yunus Khan was a cultured and kindly man, unlike the wild Mongols of the steppes whom Babur always distrusted and disliked. That the dynasty he founded should be known as Mughul or Mongol is an example of the irony of history.

Babur was a youthful prodigy, for he had little time after he was twelve for study, yet he assimilated all that was best of the culture of the time, both Turki and Persian. He was a poet, a lover of literature, and a great general. He has left behind in his biography, written in Turki, a piece of literature which will live for all time. The collection of his poems found in the Rampur library bears witness to his great skill as a poet. He was chivalrous, and though descended from both Timur and Chingiz Khan he had little trace of the cruelty which disgraced both these world conquerors and seems to have been inherent in Mongol and Turk alike. There are few characters in history as attractive as Babur.

That portion of his career which is taken up with his attempts to win back the Timurid dominions in Transoxiana has little to do with the history of India. Suffice it to say that he won and lost Samarkand twice before finally being driven out by the Usbegs under Shaibani Khan. The first time he was only fourteen, and in his memoirs he betrays his youthful chagrin. 'I couldn't help crying a good deal.' Forced out by the expansion of the Usbeg power he retreated to the last portion of the Timurid territories left, Kabul, in 1504. Here he drove out the Arghuns

of Kandahar and extended his power over Ghazni and Kandahar, still regarding his little hill kingdom as a springboard for another attempt on Samarkand the city of his dreams. But Shaibani now threatened his last retreat, and he contemplated escape into India in 1507. Dauntless as ever he assumed the title of Padishah or emperor, strange when the Usbegs had overrun all the Timurid domains except this last. But it was a gesture in keeping with his aspiring spirit. He was saved by the emergence of another power, the Safavi dynasty, which under Ismail Shah Safavi conquered Persia and threatened Shaibani, who was defeated and killed at Merv in 1510. Ismail Shah's chivalrous return of Babur's sister Khanzada, who had been Shaibani's neglected wife, led to a treaty and an opportunity to win back Samarkand. But this time he went as the ally and subordinate of the Shia ruler, and the Sunnis of Samarkand resented it. He was not well received when he came with the Kizilbashis of Persia wearing the Kizilbashi headdress, and pledged to favour, or at least not to oppose, the Shia cause.

He entered Samarkand for the third time in 1511 but as the subordinate ally of the Persians, pledged to put the Shah's name on the coins and to acquiesce in Shia propaganda. This was obnoxious to the people who were Sunnis, and when the Usbegs attacked they did not support him, and by 1513 he was back again in Kabul. In the following year occurred an event which had the greatest influence on his future career, the battle of Chaldiran in which Sultan Selim the Grim, the Ottoman, defeated Shah Ismail and his Kizilbashis by his use of the new arm, artillery and matchlocks. Against the Turkish tactics the wheeling charge of the Kizilbashis was useless. Babur was quick to put this lesson to use. He imported the Ottoman Ustad Ali as his ordnance expert, and to train his troops in the use of the new arm. We have seen that the Bahmani kings had used cannon before, but they had not become the kernel of tactics as Babur was to make them.

Now at last Babur realized the hopelessness of all attempts to recover the Timurid domains. He turned his eyes to India. He regarded the Punjab as the conquest of Timur, and his by inheritance. From 1519 he began to make good the approaches by subduing the hill tribes, who have always been the chief obstacle to any invader and defender of India alike. He made various expeditions to Bajaur and as far as the Jhelum and back through the Khyber. The same year he marched down the Khyber to

occupy Peshawar and dealt with the Yusufzais, great border fighters then as now. In 1520 he crossed the Indus and forced Sialkot to surrender. He was then recalled by news that the Arghuns of Kandahar were threatening his kingdom. He now determined to protect his flank by seizing Kandahar. Here there was danger of his being anticipated by Shah Ismail Safavi, but Shah Beg Arghun resolved the difficulty by retiring to Sind where he established himself in the territory of the Sammas, and Babur occupied Kandahar without opposition from the Persians in 1522.

Meanwhile Daulat Khan Lodi, viceroy of the Punjab, had decided to call in Babur to destroy Shah Ibrahim of Delhi, whose morose and haughty temper had completely estranged his Afghan officers. The plan was to place his uncle Alam Khan on the throne, and Daulat Khan hoped that Babur and Ibrahim would destroy each other, leaving him supreme in the Punjab and arbiter of Hindustan. But Daulat Khan was driven out of Lahore by Ibrahim's forces, and Babur in 1524 had to come to the rescue, and after defeating Ibrahim's army occupied Lahore. Dipalpur was then attacked and taken and its garrison slaughtered. Daulat Khan now joined Babur, but was discovered to be intriguing against him and arrested. He was released later and fled to the hills, thus dissolving the alliance. Babur was again recalled to Kabul owing to an Usbeg attack on Balkh. In his absence Daulat Khan reappeared and offered to help Alam Khan against Delhi. Alam Khan had been to Kabul and a division of Hindustan had been agreed upon, but now he accepted Daulat Khan's offer and they made an attack on Delhi. This attack was decisively defeated by Ibrahim, and Alam Khan fled. Thus, when his hands were free from settling Balkh and Badakhshan, Babur was ready to invade India on his own account, unhampered by any entangling alliances. In November 1525 he set out on his march to India, and first to relieve Lahore which Daulat Khan was threatening.

His total force including camp followers has been variously estimated at from twenty-five to twelve thousand only. But it was enough. Daulat Khan's army melted away at the news of Babur's approach, and finally Daulat Khan was brought a prisoner before him. He was treated with kindness, but died on the way to the fortress selected to keep him safe from further possibilities of trouble.

Now the stage was set for the final settlement with Ibrahim.

Some of the latter's officers entered into correspondence with Babur, and the great Rajput warrior Rana Sangrama Singh (Rana Sanga as he is known to fame) proposed an alliance. Babur set his army in motion for Delhi, and the two armies met near Panipat. Babur was heavily outnumbered. He had only 8,000 men as against Ibrahim's 100,000.

Now he put into execution the lessons of his years of warfare. He had to protect his artillery and matchlock men, and at the same time have his flanks free to carry out the *tulghma* or wheeling charge of his cavalry on the flanks and rear of the enemy. The rate of fire of his artillery and matchlocks was slow, and they needed protection. At the same time he had to extend his line to face the large numbers of the enemy who otherwise would outflank him. An undue deployment would stretch his small numbers to an impossible extent, while the enemy had a thousand elephants which might be used in the role of the modern tank. He determined therefore to rest his right on the town of Panipat which would guard him against a flank attack from that side. Protection for his left he made by digging trenches and putting up obstacles of felled trees. But still he had a large extent of front to cover, and for this he applied the lessons of the battle of Chaldiran, the so-called laager. But it was not an all-round defence in the sense of the laager of the Boer War ; it was rather a barricade to shield his artillery and matchlock men, and to extend his front. He collected seven hundred wagons from the country round and used them as a rampart to fill in his thinly held centre. They were stationed not in a continuous line, but in groups, with wide gaps in between to allow of the passage of his cavalry when the time came. Between each wagon were built small breastworks for the matchlock men and cannon, and this entrenched line was continued along his whole front. This detail has been given to explain how Babur with his small force was able to destroy the huge forces of the enemy, and to make clear the new tactics which were to mean so much for Mughul success. It was a new tactic for India, the result of the use of firearms indeed, but allied with the use of cavalry and handled by a consummate general.

The two armies remained facing each other for a whole week, until early on 21 April 1526 the Afghan army moved to the attack of Babur's prepared position. The plan worked like clockwork. The flank attack pressed the Afghan army into the centre, and Babur advanced with his artillery which poured a

deadly fire on the confused mass. The elephants apparently would not face the guns and were useless. It was now a matter of mere slaughter and by noon the battle was over. About fifteen thousand of the Afghan host were killed, including Ibrahim himself fighting bravely to the end. Vikramajit Singh of Gwalior also fell. The Mughul loss was slight. Humayun was sent forward to capture Agra and another force to occupy Delhi. Babur then followed to Agra with the rest of his army. Humayun welcomed him by presenting him with the famous diamond, the Koh-i-nur which had been given him in gratitude for his kind treatment by the family of Vikramajit Singh whom he had found at Agra.

But Babur had only defeated Ibrahim the head of the Afghans. He had not conquered Hindustan. Besides the Afghan feudatories there was the other great confederation, the Rajputs under Rana Sanga. He was very different from the chivalrous Prithiviraj, who had met Muhammad Ghori at the head of an army of Rajput contingents all jealous of each other. Now the Rajputs were welded into one under a mighty warrior, who nursed the intention of becoming ruler of the whole of Hindustan. That was one danger to be met. The other was the Afghans, from the small chiefs in their various strongholds to the larger concentrations in the modern Oudh and Jaunpur under Nasir Khan Lohani and Maaruf Farmuli. It was hard to collect provisions and the heat was increasing. The army sighed for their hills and their cool breezes, and began to magnify the dangers before them. They were not impressed with what they had seen of India. Babur himself records in his memoirs that India had few charms. ' The inhabitants are devoid of grace . . . they have no genius, no comprehension, no politeness, no generosity, no robustness of feeling. In their ideas as in their methods of production they lack method, art, rules, and theory. There are no baths, candles, torches, schools, or even candlesticks.' But he goes on to qualify this sweeping generalization. ' During the rains the climate is very pleasant. Another advantage of Hindustan is the infinite number of craftsmen of all professions and industries which abound in it.' The great advantage, he says, is the amount of gold to be found there, and he spent it prodigally in presents to everyone and a silver coin for every single person in Kabul, but little for himself. He had given the Koh-i-nur back to Humayun.

And now he had to stiffen the courage of his followers. He did it by exhortations and by giving them something to do—

namely, the conquering of the rest of the country. To awaken their self-interest he gave them whole districts, if they could take them from the Afghans who held them. This attitude confirmed the waverers, and many of the Afghan chiefs came in to join him. He sent out expeditions to reduce the contumacious. Humayun captured Sambhal, and then pressed on to Jaunpur, penetrating as far as Kalpi on his way back to Agra. Other bodies of adventurers, fighting for their own hand, cleared towns and strongholds which had been promised them. The army of Nasir Khan Lohani and the Farmulis had melted away from Humayun's advance and Kanauj had been ocupied.

But now a greater danger threatened. Rana Sangrama Singh, that battle-scarred veteran of a hundred battles and eighty wounds, one-eyed and one-armed, was still to be faced, and until that trial had been gone through the Mughuls had only an uncertain hold of Hindustan. Rana Sanga had hoped that Babur would retire as other raiders from over the passes had done before him. Babur's determination to stay dashed all his hopes, and he decided to drive the Mughuls out. The Rajputs rallied round him, not only his own levies from Mewar but contingents from Marwar, from Amber, Kotah, Ajmir, Chanderi and Gwalior as well. Mahmud, the brother of Ismail, and his Afghans also joined him. The numbers reported are enormous, but include as always camp followers as well. Rana Sanga himself had a hundred thousand men, and the contingents were in addition. Babur had perhaps ten thousand but they were inferior to the force he had at Panipat, as many Afghan troops had filled the gaps of those on other expeditions.

Rana Sanga advanced and threatened Bayana, and Babur advanced to Sikri. After a pause he advanced to Khanua and spent a fortnight constructing an elaborate position. He found his men disheartened and halted some time more constructing portable wooden breastworks for his guns. News now came of Afghan successes, and an astrologer caused further alarm and despondency. A gesture was demanded, and Babur provided it by a solemn oath to forswear strong drink, confirmed by pouring out all his stores of wine before the army and breaking his drinking vessels, while he now declared a *jihad* or holy war against the infidels. Now a further position was prepared nearer Khanua, and on 16 March he advanced to line it. This was the signal for the Rajput army to get in motion. Rana Sanga directed his attack on Babur's right, meaning to roll it up on the centre.

The battle was hotly contested, and the flank attack of the Rajputs prevented the operation of the *tulghma*. But the genius of Babur was seen in his adaptation of his plans. The heavy artillery of Ustad Ali blasted a way through the Rajput centre. Mustapha's matchlock men and the infantry pushed their way through the gap. A terrible charge by the Rajput horse nearly restored the day, but the guns and firearms had by now taken a terrible toll, and when the Mughul wings gathered themselves together and made a concerted advance the Rajputs broke and fled. Rana Sanga wounded once again, escaped, but was soon to die. The Rajput confederacy had made their effort and failed.

This great danger over, Babur proceeded to deal with Hasan Khan Mewati before returning to Agra. Humayun was dispatched to Kabul to watch events there and in Badakhshan. Meanwhile expeditions were sent out to recover the districts the Afghans had taken. Husain Khan Lohani was drowned in the Jumna, and Chandwar and Etawah were occupied. Lucknow, which now comes into the picture, was recaptured and the country round cleared. At the end of the year Babur himself advanced into Malwa and laid siege to Chanderi, the stronghold of Medni Rai. While the siege was in progress news came that the Afghans had once more occupied Lucknow. Medni Rai rejected the terms offered him, and Babur pressed on the siege, which culminated in the performance of *jauhar* by the garrison at the beginning of 1528. Babur was now at liberty to deal with the Afghans, and marched to relieve Kanauj which was threatened by them. He forced them to retreat, and then returned to Agra, where he occupied himself in building gardens to remind him of his beloved homeland.

He had not entirely renounced all hopes of Samarkand, for, receiving news that the Usbegs had been defeated by the Persian Shah Tahmasp, he ordered Humayun in Badakhshan to undertake an expedition against the Usbegs with the support of his brother Kamran who held Kabul. But the Afghans were far from settled. Askari, his son, had driven them from Bihar into Bengal, but now Mahmud, who had escaped from the field of Khanua, appeared in Bihar and was threatening Oudh. He proceeded in 1529 to lay siege to Chunar, and this brought Babur on the scene. On his approach Mahmud retired and Babur advanced to Buxar, driving Mahmud before him until he ultimately took refuge in Bengal. He succeeded in persuading Nasrat Shah of Bengal to take his side. Nasrat Shah mobilized his forces,



Map 13 Babur's Empire, 1530

and was joined by several Afghan chiefs. Nasrat crossed the Gandak, and returned no answer to Babur's demand that he should withdraw. The result was the battle of the Gogra in May 1529. Babur crossed the river under heavy fire, and when Askari, who had advanced from Jaunpur with reinforcements, crossed the river higher up and fell upon the enemy's rear the issue was not long in doubt. Nasrat Shah was heavily defeated and made peace. Muhammad Maaruf Farmuli now joined Babur, and the Afghans in Oudh retired and their army broke up.

This marked the end of Babur's campaigns. He considered proceeding to Kabul and undertaking the mission he had entrusted to Humayun against the Usbegs, but actually he only went as far as Lahore.

There are indications that he was doubtful of Humayun, though he clearly never thought of anyone else as his successor. Humayun however heard of a conspiracy against him on the part of Khwaja Nizam-ud-din Khalifa, the companion of Babur and his chief adviser who was stated to contemplate putting forward his uncle by marriage, Mir Muhammad Madhi Khwaja, as heir. In great disquiet he left his charge of Badakhshan without orders and arrived unexpectedly in Agra. The plot fell through, and Humayun was sent to Sambhal as governor while his cousin Sulaiman Mirza took charge of Badakhshan.

Humayun now fell seriously ill in Sambhal at the beginning of 1530, and was taken to Agra where his life was despaired of. Babur was counselled that only by sacrificing his most valuable possession could Humayun recover, and considered that he, his father, not the Koh-i-nur was the most precious. Accordingly he performed the ceremony of walking round his sick son's bed to transfer to him his illness. Humayun recovered, and it does not appear that Babur fell ill immediately. He had, it would seem, already been in failing health and seemed no worse ; indeed, Humayun went off on a campaign to Kalinjar, but by August Babur was seriously ill and Humayun was recalled. The physicians put down the illness to the poison which had been put into his food by the accomplices of Ibrahim Shah's mother before the battle of Khanua. But this was four years before.

The emperor lingered on. He summoned his nobles and declared Humayun his successor. To Humayun he gave the final request, ' Do naught against your brothers even though they may deserve it.' This promise Humayun kept to his own great disadvantage. Then on 26 December 1530 this great-hearted

emperor died. It was said of him that he possessed eight fundamental qualities—' lofty judgment, noble ambition, the art of victory, the art of government, the art of conferring prosperity upon his people, the talent of ruling mildly the people of God, ability to win the hearts of his soldiers, love of justice.' He was buried in the Char Bagh at Agra, now the Ram Bagh, but in the time of Sher Shah his body was removed to Kabul, where his tomb is still to be seen.

Of all the great characters in India none wins our affection so much as Babur. Few were so important. His greatness as a general has not had the attention he deserves. He made the Mughul army which finally won India and held it. His successors only carried on his teaching in military matters. His early death gave him no chance to prove his talent as an administrator. He was only forty-eight, though thirty-six years a king. His generosity to the vanquished is noteworthy in those days of cruelty. Only once do we hear of criminals flayed alive or trampled by elephants, and those were the servants who put poison in his food. It has been said that he shortened his life by drink, but the hardships he endured when young and his life of continuous exertion was a greater cause. He never spared himself. Finally he introduced a new conception of kingship—he was the Emperor—not like the Delhi Sultans ' primus inter pares ' holding down his great nobles by fear, but deserving their loyalty by his acts and setting up an ideal of kingship—the institution of the divinely appointed ruler, the successor of Timur, above and beyond the ordinary king. This was an inheritance from his forefathers, and also the same idea which was in being among the other great potentates of the time, the Ottoman and Persian empires, and one soon to appear in England with Elizabeth and the Stuarts—the divine right of kings.

Humayun

Humayun had recorded his title on a rock at Kalinjar even before his father's death in March 1530, Muhammad Humayun Padishah-i-Ghazi. Whatever may be the truth about the story that the minister Nizam-ud-din Ali Khalifa wished to pass him over for Babur's brother-in-law another Shia, Muhammad Madhi Khwaja—and the slight delay in proclaiming Humayun seems to suggest there is some foundation for it—Humayun had no apparent difficulty in asserting his claims. He was twenty-three

and had held an important command at both Panipat and Khanua, and showed himself competent, while he had been governor of Badakhshan, where he had not apparently been so successful. There was undoubtedly a strain of hesitancy and indolence in his character, accentuated by his reputed indulgence in opium, and Babur had been constrained to rebuke him more than once.

Babur left him a large empire. On the north-west was Balkh and Badakhshan, where Sulaiman Mirza his cousin was governor. Kamran held Kabul, Ghazni and Kandahar, and later the Punjab including Multan. Sind was ruled over by the Arghuns, formerly of Kandahar. Alwar, Dholpur and Gwalior were his boundaries on the south-west, and south-east the line ran through Kalpi, Kalinjar and Benares. Allahabad and Chunar were positions commanding the Ganges. The Gandak was the frontier on the east and Jaunpur was the governor's residence. To the east Bihar was held by Afghans under the young Sultan Jalal-ud-din Shah, whose minister was Sher Khan. The latter had not joined with the other Afghans in Nasrat Shah of Bengal's campaign against Babur, and had been confirmed in the sovereignty over part of Bihar. But Jalal-ud-din was anxious to join with Nasrat Shah of Bengal, and Sher Khan fell from favour, and retired to his father's fief of Sasaram and also Chunar which he had now obtained by marriage.

Mahmud Lodi, the brother of Ibrahim, now became the hope of the Afghans who would not accept the rule of the Mughuls. Humayun, after some indecision as to whether he should deal with Bahadur Shah who had added Malwa to his dominions, or whether he should continue the siege of Kalinjar which Babur's death had cut short, ignored the danger from the Afghans and chose Kalinjar, and in the middle of 1531 renewed the siege. The raja purchased safety by the offer of a large sum, and Humayun began to realize what a task the reduction of the great fortress would be. He accepted the tribute and left the raja in possession. The reason for this was the altered situation caused by Mahmud Lodi's activities in Bihar. The Afghans invaded Oudh and had to be met. The battle was fought near Jaunpur and the Afghans defeated with the loss of several leaders. Sher Khan was among the Afghans but did not play any prominent part, but Humayun sent a force to the siege of Chunar and Sher Khan retreated to Bihar, leaving his son in charge. After a siege of four months Sher Khan proposed to hold the fort from him, and Humayun, who was now anxious to proceed against Bahadur Shah of

Gujarat, accepted and returned to Agra early in 1533. He then seems to have granted the Punjab to Kamran whose occupation of Lahore had been premature, but there does not seem to have been any ill-feeling between them at this stage. Nevertheless Humayun delayed, as always, and broke into a series of festivities, which were interrupted by the death of the queen mother, Maham Begam, who had exerted much influence both over him and over Babur, being a lady of the Timurid family and also a wise and intelligent councillor.

Then he proceeded to Delhi and began the building of the new city, the Din Panah, on the site of the present Purana Kila. Many literary refugees from the Shia persecutions of the Safavi court of Persia now flocked to his court, which was always a centre of culture and learning. Indeed one of the great gifts of the Mughul dynasty was their patronage of learning. They were not only patrons but themselves practisers of poetry, architecture and art, and did much to civilize their conquest by opening to it the culture of Persia and the west. The walls of the city of Din Panah were completed in nine months, and Humayun returned to Agra and plunged into more festivities and amusements, including the marriage of his brother Hindal to his cousin, the daughter of Khanzada Begam and the one-time candidate to the throne Malik Khwaja.

The following year the two cousins, Muhammad Zaman and Muhammad Sultan Mirza, whom he had pardoned for a former rebellion and restored to their fiefs, rebelled again. This time he dealt with them more sternly, for they were defeated and imprisoned and Muhammad Sultan Mirza was blinded, but Muhammad Zaman escaped and made his way to Bahadur Shah. Meanwhile Sher Khan had made himself supreme in Bihar. Ghias-ud-din Mahmud Shah of Bengal espoused the cause of Jalal-ud-din and attacked Sher Khan, who defeated his armies twice in 1554 and extended his territories.

Campaigns

But it was not the growing danger from the Afghans that Humayun dealt with first, for he was compelled by the attitude of Bahadur Shah to go to war with him. Bahadur Shah had received his enemies, and among others Alam Khan Lodi and his son Tatar Khan. Bahadur Shah assisted, or at any rate did not prevent, a sally of Tatar Khan against Agra itself. He raised

an army and captured Bayana but was defeated by Hindal and killed. Humayun took no action and seemed reluctant to attack Gujarat. Rani Karnavati of Chitor had appealed to him for aid against Bahadur Shah when he first laid siege to Chitor, but Humayun took no action as he felt he could not aid an infidel against one of the Faith. Now he engaged in a correspondence with Bahadur on his actions in sheltering his enemies—a correspondence which is interesting for the numerous verses interspersed and the generous tone of Humayun. But Bahadur Shah was illiterate, and finally allowed a letter to pass couched in such terms that Humayun had no course but to take action.

There was obviously no desire to add to his territories, and it was entirely Bahadur Shah's fault that war ensued. He had ended his last letter with the words, ' By the grace of God so long as I am ruler of this land no king dare challenge my army. Why do you, who have so far only faced a few Afghans, give yourself trouble ? ' This made war inevitable. Bahadur was still engaged in the second siege of Chitor, which did not fall until March 1535. Humayun marched to Ujjain in February and waited the conclusion of the siege. He would not help the Rajputs, though an attack on the besieging army would possibly have been successful. When Chitor fell, Bahadur marched to Mandasor to prevent him advancing on Ahmadabad. He entrenched himself there with his guns under Rumi Khan, who had been disappointed at not receiving the governorship of Chitor and was in correspondence with Humayun. He copied the laager defence of the Mughuls and Humayun's first attack was a failure, but lack of supplies caused great distress and finally Bahadur deserted his army and fled to Mandu, where he was followed by Humayun and compelled to flee again. Humayun chased him to Champanir and then to Cambay, and finally to Diu where he made a treaty with the Portuguese. The whole of Gujarat and Malwa was in the Mughuls' hands after a short campaign of less than three months. Champanir fell in August 1535, taken by escalade, and all the treasure of Gujarat fell into his hands, some of which was squandered by lavish distribution to his followers. Now he gave an example of that strange lack of energy which in his case so often followed strenuous action. He had shown great bravery in scaling the height on which the fort of Champanir stood, but now wasted time in feasts and revels. This gave an opportunity for Imad-ul-Mulk, Bahadur's minister, to gather a force of Gujaratis to oppose his march on Ahmadabad. When he did

move, however, he soon scattered all opposition and occupied the capital. Askari was placed in charge of Gujarat and the ports of Broach, Cambay and Surat were held, but no effort was made to occupy Kathiawar or deal with the Portuguese at Diu, where Bahadur and his family had taken refuge. Nunho da Cunha, the Portuguese viceroy, in return for permission to build a fort and occupy the port of Bassein, had promised to assist Bahadur against the Mughuls.

Leaving Askari as governor of Gujarat, Humayun returned to Mandu to restore order in Malwa where trouble had broken out. Chitor was allowed to be reoccupied by the Rajputs without Humayun making a move.

Askari in Gujarat spent his time in feasting and revelry and Bahadur was soon able to recover the country, even Champanir and its treasure which Askari had for some strange reason omitted to remove.

While Askari remained at ease at Ahmadabad, the Mirzas had attempted to establish a claim to it themselves. Muhammad Zaman Khan first intrigued with local chiefs but failed to win success, and finally returned to Agra where Humayun, with his easy-going generosity, forgave him.

The other cousin, Muhammad Sultan Mirza, whose blinding had apparently been only temporary, proceeded to Bilgram and had soon conquered or won over a strip of country including Kara, Manikpur, and Jaunpur. Hindal was sent against him and defeated him in two battles, and he fled to join Sher Khan. That astute Afghan had been the power behind the throne in Bihar for many years, first as the minister of Jalal-ud-din and then, after the failure of Mahmud Lodi and the flight of Jalal-ud-din to Bengal, as *de facto* ruler of the country. In 1536 he had defeated the Bengal armies, and won large territories for himself in Bengal itself. It was these successes that brought Humayun to a tardy realization that his chief foe was Sher Khan, and compelled him to withdraw from Malwa and recall Askari from Gujarat, though in fact the latter had to flee before Bahadur and had not even time to withdraw the treasure from Champanir. The vacillating behaviour of Humayun over Gujarat and Malwa is hard to explain. Askari, it is true, had proved a broken reed, but there was more to it than that. Humayun's own character was at fault, as is shown by all his actions. He had become a confirmed opium eater and the drug could have destroyed his initiative. His subsequent actions makes this seem more than

possible. He returned from Mandu to Agra in August 1536, but did not take any action against Sher Khan for a whole year. This of course may have been due to a fear that Bahadur would attack, though his easy initial successes against him should have taught him how unlikely this was.

In February 1537 Bahadur Shah was drowned and the danger from Gujarat ceased, if it had ever existed. Sher Khan now threatened Gaur. Nasrat Shah of Bengal had been assassinated in 1533, and was succeeded by his brother Ghias-ud-din Mahmud who had murdered the young son of Nasrat Shah. He was an inefficient ruler, and is said to have had ten thousand women in his harem. Humayun at last in October 1537 laid siege to Chunar, Sher Khan's stronghold on the Ganges below Allahabad. The siege lasted six months until at last Rumi Khan, the gunner who had deserted from Bahadur, constructed a floating platform for his guns and breached the fortress on the river side. His professional jealousy of the Afghan gunners of the fort led him to mutilate three hundred of them by cutting off their right arms. Later he himself disappears from the scene. He was too cruel and too ambitious. Humayun then captured Benares which, with Chunar, was in Sher Khan's hands. Now there appeared a chance of a treaty, and indeed correspondence was entered into, and Sher Khan appeared willing to give up Bihar and be satisfied with his conquests in Bengal, which by 1538 included Gaur the capital.

Sultan Mahmud now appealed to Humayun for aid and came wounded to his camp. Humayun gave no answer, but allowed the correspondence about terms to lapse when Sher Khan refused to give up Rohtas whither he had transferred all the treasure from Gaur. Humayun therefore determined to take up Mahmud's cause against the Afghans who had slaughtered his children at Gaur. He advanced along the Ganges into Bengal. Jalal Khan, Sher Khan's son, held the Gate of Bengal as it was called, Teliyagarhi, where the Ganges flows up against the Rajamahal Hills. This was not much of an obstacle to a determined enemy, but Jalal Khan held Humayun up long enough to give his father time to complete his arrangements. Then he retired and Humayun moved forward and occupied Gaur. He stayed there for no less than six months deciding what to do with it, for Sultan Mahmud had died. The problem was difficult, but Humayun hardly showed the decision necessary and wasted time changing the name Gaur to Jannatabad, among

other things of little importance such as deciding the precedence of foreign potentates at his court.

This was from August 1538, while Sher Khan slipped past him and started to raise the country in his rear, laid siege to Chunar and Jaunpur, and soon had reduced most of Bihar and much of the eastern portion of what is now the United Provinces. All this time Humayun remained in Gaur seemingly unconscious of his danger, and even of how his troops were suffering from the malarious climate. Meanwhile his brother Hindal, who was supposed to hold the line of communications with Agra, left his post and proclaimed himself king at Agra and killed his brother's envoy. Sher Khan was thus enabled to reoccupy Benares and spread over most of Oudh. Kamran now came to take his share in the troubles of the empire, and Hindal submitted to him, but neither of them did anything to help Humayun and the successes of the Afghans continued. Early in 1539 they had captured Jaunpur, and soon Kanauj, Kara and Sambhal fell into their possession. The princes did nothing to help Humayun, and at last in the spring of 1539 he marched out of Gaur to cut his way back to Agra. The badly conducted march was carried out with a complete neglect of all the principles of warfare, until at last he came to Chausa, near Buxar, where he crossed the Ganges but crossed back when Sher Khan came up. The battle of Chausa was not much of an affair. In the first place it did not take place for two months, while the armies lay facing each other until the end of June 1539. Part of the time was spent in negotiations which came to nothing. Humayun could not see that there was no room for him in any India that Sher Khan contemplated. Having lulled the Mughuls, whose intelligence system had broken down or did not exist, into a sense of security by pretending to go off and attack a local chief, Sher Khan attacked the camp and entrenchments at night. Muhammad Zaman Mirza once again proved how fatal he was to Humayun by failing to be in his appointed place on guard, and soon the Afghans were among the unsuspecting Mughul army hacking and killing in the darkness and confusion. Zaman Mirza fled and was drowned crossing the river. Humayun, after a vain effort to rally his men, also had to fly, leaving his women in the enemy's hands after two of his wives and a daughter had been drowned in trying to cross. Sher Khan treated them with consideration and later restored them to Humayun. The flight was not followed up, but the force left behind in Gaur was slaughtered to a man. It was now at the

request of the Afghan amirs that Sher Khan took the title of Shah, for which he had worked so patiently and determinedly all these years.

Exile of Humayun

The brothers did nothing to help Humayun when he arrived at Agra. Kamran seems now to have regarded himself as an independent ruler. He soon went back to Lahore, taking all his forces with him except a small contingent. His fear of an attack from Persia was ever present. The Persians had already attacked Kandahar twice in 1535 and again in 1539, so perhaps he had some excuse. Hindal returned and was forgiven, and Humayun once more set to work to raise an army. With this he set out once more in 1540 to meet Sher Shah, who was in the neighbourhood of Kanauj. The battle that resulted was the final test. Humayun was manœuvred into an unfavourable position and the Mughul tactics were used against him. He was completely defeated, and once again escaped by crossing a river and riding for Agra. This time there was no respite, for the Afghan forces were close on his heels, and he made for Delhi, then Sirhind, and finally for Lahore. But Kamran would not, or could not, help and the next three years were spent in wandering about Sind in vain efforts to win territory or assistance. Meanwhile Humayun had married Hamida, the daughter of Hindal's religious adviser, much against the wish apparently of both Hindal and the bride. Hindal, irritated by the marriage and his procrastination, had left him in 1541 and gone to Kandahar where his brother Askari was governor for Kamran. After his son Akbar was born at Umarkot in November 1542, Humayun, finally driven out of Sind, himself went to Kandahar, but was coldly received by Askari, who declined to make way for him, and though he gave asylum to the young Akbar he would give no help to his brother. Thus Humayun was forced to move on, and took refuge with Shah Tahmasp of Persia. Here he spent his exile plotting a return to Kabul and then to India. It was not till 1545 that he was able to achieve his purpose, and then he had to promise Shah Tahmasp that he would become a Shia before he obtained the necessary assistance. He captured Kandahar and later took Kabul from Kamran. Hindal, who had been a prisoner, rejoined him and remained faithful till his death in 1551 fighting against Kamran. Askari was sent off to Mecca, a useful form of banishment, and finally Kamran was

captured and at last punished by blinding. This was the end of the long-suffering attitude of Humayun towards his brothers, faithful to his word to his dying father. It had cost him dear.

Sher Shah

Something has already been said about the early career of Sher Khan. He was born about 1472, or later, the son of a small jagirdar of Sasaram near the border of the present United Provinces. His name was Farid, and he went to Jaunpur, still a centre of learning, in 1494 and became an accomplished scholar. This is a point to remember as it explains the success of his administrative system. From 1497 for about twenty years he learnt the details of revenue administration in the jagir which his father handed over to him. It was here that he developed a system of land assessment, which was to be the basis of all Indian revenue policy in future. In 1518 he was deprived of his jagir and joined Sultan Muhammad Lohani in Bihar. It was now that he obtained the name of Sher Khan by saving his master from a tiger. He became tutor to Muhammad's son, Jalal-ud-din, but fell out of favour, and at one time went to Agra to take service with Babur. He was not impressed by the Mughul administrative system, and was apparently too outspoken in his criticism for he did not stay. When Muhammad Lohani died Sher Khan became the chief minister of the Afghan kingdom of Bihar in 1528. He defeated the attempts of Nasrat Shah of Bengal on Bihar.

He had to deal tactfully with the Afghan nobles, who despised him for his humble origin. The story of his descent from the Ghoris was a later invention, for he was a member of the Sur tribe with no pretensions to nobility. The Lohanis, however, preferred subservience to Nasrat Shah to independence under a low-born leader, and Jalal-ud-din was persuaded to go over to Nasrat Shah. Sher Khan had no intention of handing over Bihar to the king. He developed the state, improved the revenue collection and administration and formed a civil service. His marriage to the widow of the governor of Chunar, Gohar Gosain, had brought him great riches, and these he applied to the service of the state.

The sudden appearance of Mahmud Lodi from exile, however, revived the pretensions of the amirs, and he was compelled to join them in 1532 against the Mughuls ; and when this failed he retired once more to Sasaram. After the defeat of the Afghans

and the disappearance of Mahmud he resumed his old position in Bihar. Humayun's siege of Chunar in 1533 was only a momentary interruption, and he was soon fully occupied in Malwa and Gujarat.

Sher Khan was a believer in hard work, and devoted all his energies to the organization of a sound administration. He also seems to have been able to inject discipline into the turbulent Afghans, for he was able to establish and train an efficient army.

From 1533 to 1536 he was busy with Bengal. Nasrat Shah had died in 1533, and Sher Khan gradually pushed his conquests farther into the country. He was threatening the capital Gaur before Humayun thought of taking action. There is no doubt that Humayun contributed to his own defeat. He allowed himself to be isolated in Bengal, and let Sher Shah cut his communications and shut off all supplies. The emperor was badly served by his brothers and his subordinate commanders, who gave way without making a fight of it. The manoeuvres of Sher Shah do not show the marks of a great tactician ; it was as a strategist that he shone, but he was good enough to beat Humayun.

When he had driven Humayun out of Hindustan he set to work to consolidate his power. First he had followed up Humayun into the Punjab and forced Kamran to retreat to Kabul. He then turned his attention to the Khokhars, but had to return to Bengal before he had completed their subjugation, leaving Khavas Khan to shepherd Humayun out of Sind.

He next turned to Malwa, where Kadir Shah had assumed the royal title. By 1542 he had subdued Malwa and placed an Afghan governor with the title of Shujaat Khan in charge. His next move was against the Rajputs of Raisen, who had become prominent first under Medni Rai, and under Silahdi had assisted Rana Sanga at Khanua. Silahdi is stated to have turned Muslim at one time, and then reverted. The Rajputs had given great offence by their treatment of Muslim women captives who had been forced to become dancing girls and concubines of their captors. Puran Mal, the son of Silahdi, was now in command of Raisen, and was offered terms by Sher Shah after the siege had proceeded some time. The terms were accepted, and the Rajputs surrendered, and then Sher Shah broke his word and massacred them, apparently owing to the pressure of the Ulama. In any case it was a disgraceful episode in his generally honourable career.

The death of the old warrior Rana Sanga had led to the break-up of the Rajput confederacy, but it was now showing signs of revival under the leadership of Maldeva Singh of Marwar. Sher

Shah determined to break the confederacy and marched to Ajmir. After some diplomatic manœuvring and the usual false letters to sow dissension (which are the stock in trade of all these Rajput Muslim clashes and are generally the inventions of romantic historians) a desperate battle was fought in 1544 in which Sher Shah was indeed successful, but at such a price that he decided it was not worth the risk. He had nearly lost the empire 'for a handful of bajra' (millet). He captured Mount Abu and penetrated to Jodhpur, and before he left Rajputana captured Chitor and put in a governor of his own.

Meanwhile in the Punjab Haibat Khan, his governor, had subdued the Lungahs of Multan and the Punjab was at last at peace.

He next marched to Kalinjar, that mighty fortress on a rock in the wilds of Bundelkhand, and laid siege to it. It was a difficult affair, and before it ended the great king had died from burns due to an explosion of gunpowder. But before he died he had heard that the fortress was taken.

Administrative Achievements of Sher Shah

It was Sher Shah who laid the foundations of a stable administration to which the genius of Akbar was to give permanence.

His motto was 'It behoves the great to be always active,' and he carried out this principle with a steady persistence. The civil service he set up for the collection of the land revenue was trained on a definite system depending on an accurate record of land and dues. The pargannah was the unit of his revenue and administrative system, and there were pargannah officials each with definite duties. The pargannahs were grouped into sarkars, large administrative divisions with similar but more responsible officials. His accurate survey arrangements were the basis of the system. The revenue calculated at one-third of the produce was collected by officials called mukaddams, who were paid a share of the collections. This share was fixed, in theory at any rate. No arrears were to be allowed but advances, takavi, were given in times of distress.

The king had an army under his direct control, in addition to the forces of the great Afghan nobles. Discipline was maintained by Sher Shah's own careful supervision of every detail. For the first time damage to crops by armies on the march led to punishment, at any rate when it happened under his own eyes. The Afghans at last became amenable to orders largely owing to

the ascendancy Sher Shah had obtained over them and owing to their admiration of his qualities. This loyalty and obedience, however, was largely personal to him and was not transferred to his successors.

He was humane in his administration, but the law was still harsh and punishments severe. The unruly Afghans would not have understood leniency. The criminal law was administered by Muslim officials, but the Hindus appear to have settled their own cases of succession to property and the like in accordance with Hindu law. The treatment of his Hindu subjects was governed by justice.

The responsibility for law and order was laid on the local officials, and they were held responsible for any outbreak of dacoity or serious crime, and punished if they failed to bring offenders to book. Life and property were safer than they had ever been before during Muslim rule, and this, coupled with the regulation of the revenue demand, was the basis of his popularity.

In order to aid in this, communications were greatly improved and regular royal roads were laid out, and kept up—a no less important service. The Grand Trunk Road from Bengal to the Indus was the chief of these. These were now properly defined with trees to border them and government *sarais* for the comfort of travellers and accommodation for both Hindus and Muslims in accordance with their customs and a proper staff to attend to their wants. Thus not only was travel easier but the state posts were more regular.

All grants of land were examined and placed on a proper footing together with religious endowments. The mosque schools were especially favoured and education prospered at the hands of this learned king. He was a builder and constructed the Purana Kila on the site of Humayun's Din Panah. The mosque which still stands is a fine example of Afghan architecture. He encouraged religious foundations for educational purposes among Hindus as well as Muslims.

Public kitchens catered for the needs of the poor and needy of his own faith. The cultivator was protected against the dishonest or rapacious official or landowner.

Successors of Sher Shah

This all demanded ceaseless vigilance on the part of the ruler, for it was Sher Shah and not his nobles who was responsible for

all these wise and prudent measures. Only by ceaseless vigilance could the system be carried out. It remained for Akbar to develop it into a principle of government to be handed down to his successors. Sher Shah did not live long enough to do that, and it needed a superman to hold his Afghans in check. He was one of the greatest of enlightened despots, but he suffered from the defect of all despotisms ; he could not control his successors or ensure that they would be equally enlightened.

When he died his son Jalal Khan succeeded as Islam Shah. He had not his father's greatness, and tried to keep the nobles in order by stern measures when character failed. He engaged in hostilities with Haibat Khan Niyazi, the governor of the Punjab, and drove him out. Khavas Khan, his father's great general, had joined in this rebellion, but was unwilling to support Haibat Khan's bid for the throne and fled to Kumaon. He was tempted back by offers of pardon, and murdered. Meanwhile Shujaat Khan of Malwa had to be brought to book also. Kamran, who had fled from Humayun when he recovered Kabul, had been coldly received by the Niyazis and took refuge with the Khokhars who gave him up to Humayan, who now at last was forced to have him blinded. Islam Shah extirpated the Niyazis and held down the recalcitrant by stern measures. When he died in 1554 he had undone much of the good which his father after years of labour had managed to do. His son, a boy of twelve, was murdered by Mubarak Khan, Sher Shah's nephew, who now seized the power taking the title of Muhammad Adil Shah. He was a worthless person, and left the power in the hands of Himu, an able and energetic Hindu official. But dissension was breaking out everywhere. Bengal separated under a scion of the Suris, and his cousins Ibrahim and Sikandar Suri seized Delhi and the Punjab respectively. Sikandar soon drove Ibrahim out of Delhi and assumed the royal title.

The Suri kingdom was now a prey to disorder and rival claimants. This was Humayun's opportunity, and for once he did not hesitate. Early in 1555 he entered Lahore and defeated Sikandar who had advanced to dispute the prize with him at Sirhind. Bairam Khan, with the youthful Akbar, was sent on ahead, and by July Humayun was back in Delhi once again. He took up his quarters in the Purana Kila which he had begun and Sher Shah completed. There at the beginning of 1556 he slipped on the steep stairs leading from the library, and suffered a fractured skull as the result of a headlong fall to the bottom.

A historian has observed with perhaps too facile a generalization, ' If there was a possibility of falling, Humayun was not the man to miss it.' He cannot be dismissed as easily as this. He had shown skill as a general under Babur, but a fatal vacillation when his own master. He was brave, and venturesome at times as his escalade of the rocks at Champanir showed, but, like Hamlet,

> the native hue of resolution
> Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,
> And enterprises of great pitch and moment
> With this regard their currents turn awry
> And lose the name of action.

Shakespeare might have had in mind the story of this great Mughul emperor when, forty years later, he wrote the great tragedy of the man of culture and philosophy who proved unequal to the stern circumstances in which he found himself.

Chapter XV

AKBAR

Akbar was absent from Delhi, chasing Sikandar, and the news of Humayun's death was suppressed until he had assumed the imperial title of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar at Kalanor in the Punjab.

He was only a boy of thirteen, and his father's faithful minister, Bairam Khan, was responsible for the policy which was now followed. The situation was not free from danger. Sikandar Sur was still at large in the Punjab, and Ibrahim Sur held sway over Jaunpur and the modern Oudh, while Muhammad Adil Shah and his minister Himu were still possessed of considerable forces farther east, with their headquarters at Chunar. Malwa and Gujarat were independent and the Rajputs powerful and threatening.

Akbar does not seem to have shown the precocity of his grandfather Babur. He was little more than a figurehead, and for the first few years of his reign Bairam Khan was the power in the land.

The Mughuls held Delhi, Agra and Sambhal, but Himu had collected a formidable army and advanced to restore the Sur dominion over Delhi. Himu, a bania of Rewari, had won great reputation as a soldier and administrator, but he was not intending to win Delhi for the Suri dynasty but for himself.

He now advanced on Agra from Gwalior and the Mughuls retired before him. They finally stood at Tughlukabad, under Tardi Beg the governor, but were defeated, and Tardi Beg, instead of holding out in Delhi until relieved, seemed to have considered all was lost and retreated hurriedly towards Sirhind. The fugitives were met by Akbar and Bairam Khan, and it was clear that an example was required if discipline was to be restored. The example was the execution of Tardi Beg, to which Bairam Khan obtained Akbar's reluctant consent ; but the boy was at this time very much under the influence of the minister. This action, however, had the effect which was intended and the retreat was stayed.

The advance guard under Ali Kuli Khan Shaibani defeated Himu's van or covering force and captured his artillery. Mean-

while Himu had proclaimed himself Raja Vikramajit, and had for a time bought the adherence of the Afghans by a lavish distribution of plunder.

Himu advanced with a large host of 100,000 and 1,500 elephants. Against him were only 20,000 Mughuls under the command of Ali Kuli Khan, with Bairam Khan and Akbar in the rear. At first superior numbers prevailed, and on the field of Panipat the Mughul wings were driven in, and for a time it appeared that Himu would win the day when he led his elephants against the centre of the Mughul line. It was not the guns which decided the day, but an arrow which penetrated his eye and came out behind his head. The mahout immediately took the wounded and senseless general out of the fight, and this was the sign for the flight of his troops. Thus on the 5th November 1556 the fate of India was decided once more on the field of Panipat, as it was to be yet once again when Ahmad Shah Abdali defeated the Mahrattas in 1761 and again prevented a Hindu revival. Himu, had he won, would have been unlikely to have retained the loyalty of the Afghans who made up the great majority of his forces, and the young Akbar would in time have returned to the assault.

The following few years can hardly be called the reign of Akbar. He was still in tutelage, first to Bairam Khan, and later for a time under the influence of what were called the 'Atga Khail,' the cohort of his 'foster-fathers,' as the harem party consisting chiefly of his nurses' relations was called. But before dealing with this a brief account must be given of the reduction of the country.

Reduction of the Country

Ali Kuli Khan, the victorious commander, was given the title of Khan Zaman. He was an Usbeg, a descendant of that Shaibani Khan who had been such an inveterate enemy of Babur, and he was to prove troublesome in the extreme. He was sent to reoccupy Sambhal, his former governate, and soon had reduced the country as far as Lucknow. Agra was reoccupied and Gwalior besieged. Meanwhile Bairam Khan and Akbar marched to Lahore to deal with Sikandar Shah Suri who had returned and was threatening Lahore. Sikandar, hearing that Muhammad Adil Sur had been slain by his cousin Jalal-ud-din Bahadur Shah of Bengal, and that there was no hope of a Sur revival, surrendered

to Akbar and was given the jagir of Bihar. The policy was to bind the Afghans to the new régime by generous treatment. This was in 1557, and Sikandar gave no further trouble till his death. Haji Khan Mewati who marched on Hissar was defeated and fled to Gujarat, and imperial officers, including the first of the Sayyids of Barha to appear in history, were dispatched to take possession of Ajmir and the parts of Mewat and Rajputana adjacent. Gwalior and Kanauj were occupied and the Afghans driven out.

Bairam Khan

Akbar meanwhile remained at Agra, where his chief interests were in hunting and polo, while Bairam Khan ruled the kingdom. The latter's behaviour now began to be overbearing. He was a Shia, which did not make him any more popular among the predominately Sunni nobles, and his execution of Tardi Beg was remembered against him. He kept Akbar short of money while benefiting his own followers. The ladies of the imperial family, especially the foster-mothers, of whom Maham Anaga was the moving spirit, supported by Akbar's own mother Hamida Begam, were opposed to him. One day therefore in 1560 Akbar, now eighteen, took advantage of a hunting expedition to ride away to Delhi and join his mother. From there he informed Bairam Khan that he would from henceforth rule himself, and directed him to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, which was a polite form of banishment. Bairam Khan was advised to take arms but his loyalty forbade it, and he set out to Gujarat to take ship. Unfortunately the palace party prevailed on Akbar to send Pir Muhammad Khan, who had once been in Bairam's service but had behaved insolently and been punished, to follow him with a large force to see that the orders were carried out.

Bairam Khan had proceeded to the Punjab to collect his treasure, and there is little doubt that he proposed to proceed to Mecca, but this insult caused him to adopt the course it was intended to avoid. He collected an army but was defeated by a force sent under Atga Khan, Akbar's foster-father, and Akbar himself now took the field. The title of Khan Khanan which he had held was given to Munim Khan, and Bairam Khan surrendered. He was kindly received and given a choice of Chanderi and Kalpi, or the position of personal adviser to the emperor, or the pilgrimage to Mecca. He could not endure to occupy a

subordinate position and chose the voyage to Mecca. On his way through Gujarat he was assassinated by a private enemy. Akbar sent for his family and looked after them, and his son Abdur Rahim Mirza afterwards received the title of Khan Khanan. His widow Salima Begam, Akbar's cousin, was married as his second wife by Akbar himself, and became the mother of Murad.

But though he had emancipated himself from the tutelage of Bairam Khan, Akbar was still not free, and the palace clique for a time exercised the power which Bairam Khan had held. Akbar cannot be held blameless for this treatment of his old servant who had won the kingdom for him, and seen him through the early difficulties with the greatest success. Indeed Akbar owed all to him. He still preferred hunting and sport to the cares of a crown and was slow to grow up. He apparently was too impatient to follow the course of studies laid down for him, and never learnt to read or write though his tutor Mir Abdul Latif did his best, and later Akbar tried by diligent oral study to make up for his deficiencies. Hunting, polo and field sports were as always an engrossing pursuit, and his skill in the use of arms and his feats of endurance were a great asset to him. Some of the adventurous exploits which he performed showed a complete lack of fear, and he was in every respect the beau ideal of a leader and a man.

Conquest of Malwa

Adham Khan, the son of Maham Anaga, was now sent with his fellow-ruffian Pir Muhammad to seize Malwa, where Bayazid, the son of Shujaat Khan, known as Baz Bahadur, now reigned. He was no soldier, and had given up all claims to be considered one after his defeat by the brave Durgavati, queen regent of Gondwana, herself a Rajput princess of Mahoba. He was easily defeated and fled, leaving his kingdom and his mistress, the lovely Rupmati, in the hands of the enemy. They behaved like the ruffians they were, sparing neither Muslim or Hindu, and Rupmati took poison rather than submit to Adham Khan. The news of their excesses reached Akbar, and now he showed what he was capable of. He went to Sarangpur himself and Adham Khan protested his innocence, but was only saved by his mother's prayers and her suppression of the evidence by the murder of two of the ladies of Baz Bahadur's harem who had been victims of

Adham Khan's lust. Adham Khan was apparently forgiven, but later in 1561 recalled and Pir Muhammad left as governor. He determined to finish with Baz Bahadur who had taken refuge in Khandesh, and invaded that state where he committed the most terrible atrocities against the inhabitants. Swimming his horse across the Narbada, Pir Muhammad was drowned and 'went,' as Badaoni observes with relish, 'by water to fire.' Baz Bahadur then recovered his kingdom, but soon lost it again, and wandered for eight long years until he made his peace with Akbar and was given command of 2,000 horse, but was chiefly distinguished as 'a singer without rival.'

Ali Kuli Khan, Khan Zaman who had had so much to do with the winning of the battle of Panipat, had defeated the son of Muhammad Adil Sur and the Afghan malcontents near Jaunpur, where they had marched from Chunar in great force, and showed a disposition to keep the plunder. Akbar at once marched from Agra to deal with him, and he submitted and was forgiven, and sent back to his government of Jaunpur. Asaf Khan was sent to besiege Chunar which surrendered. There were signs that Akbar was freeing himself from the control of the palace party, though that control had never, it is obvious, been very strong, and now he recalled Atga Khan (the husband of his actual foster-mother Jiji Anaga, whose real name was Shams-ud-din Khan) from Kabul and made him chief minister as well as Munim Khan. This was not popular with Maham Anaga's party, and the recall of her son Adham Khan from Malwa added to their dismay.

Rajput Marriage

At the beginning of 1562 Akbar made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Muin-ud-din Chisti of Ajmir, and it was here that he gave evidence of his determination to win the allegiance of the Rajputs. Raja Behari Mal of Amber (the state later known as Jaipur), who had already paid homage to him, came to meet him. An alliance was arranged, and Akbar took the first step in that effort to unify Hindustan which marks him out as so far in advance of his age. How far the example of the Ottoman Turks, who for long had made marriage alliances with the Gentiles in the persons of Byzantine princesses, influenced him is not clear, but marriages with Hindu ladies had not been unknown before among the sultans of Delhi. Akbar only carried it further, and used it as a definite part of his policy and his efforts to make an

united Hindustan. He married a daughter of the raja of Amber, who became the mother of his successor Jahangir. The raja's son Bhagwan Das and the latter's nephew Man Singh joined Akbar's service, to win great renown and power in after years.

The Palace Party

Then came the final attempt of the palace party to assert themselves. Adham Khan murdered Atga Khan the minister within the very precincts of the palace, and was met by Akbar as he came out of the minister's room. Akbar struck him to the ground, and then ordered his guards to throw him over the terrace wall into the ditch below. He still breathed, and was taken up and cast down once more until he lay a mangled heap. Akbar broke the news to the sick Maham Anaga, who replied, whether in resignation or despair, 'Your Majesty did well,' and died within forty days. This was the violent end of the palace clique. Akbar had been forbearing in the extreme, but his naturally violent temper here blazed out and justice was bloodily done. But this was all. The other conspirators including the minister Munim Khan, Khan Khanan, were forgiven, and the Khan Khanan even restored to his position, but Akbar now took over the administration.

Akbar assumes Control

The policy of conciliating the Hindus, which had perhaps been initiated by his marriage with the princess of Amber in 1562, and the appointment of her relations to high office was continued in the following years 1563 and 1564 by the remission of the tax on pilgrims, and the abolition of the *jiziya* or poll tax on all Hindus. The administration of finance which Maham Anaga had had in her hands was now entrusted to the eunuch Bahlol Malık, who had been in the service of the Suris and was now given the title of Itimad Khan. So now at the age of twenty Akbar at last began to reign.

Consolidation

The next few years were spent in consolidating the political foundations of the empire. His first step was an extension of territory by an attack on Gondwana, ruled over in fact by the Chandel princess Durgavati, though her son was raja in name.

Asaf Khan, the governor of Kara, invaded Gondwana in 1564, and Durgavati's troops were no match for the Mughuls though she led them to battle herself, and finally, wounded in a last desperate charge, stabbed herself in the heart to avoid capture and dishonour. The capital, Chauragarh, was invested, and the young raja after a brave defence perished with his nobles and his women in the final act of *jauhar*. Asaf Khan retained the treasure and the elephants, and Akbar, who had his hands full with a revolt of the Usbeg officers headed by Khan Zaman, could not interfere.

This revolt was apparently induced by their objections to his tolerant policy towards the Hindus and their doubts of his orthodoxy. Abdulla Khan, governor of Malwa, was the first to rebel, and Akbar marched to Mandu and, pursuing Abdulla Khan with only three hundred horse, came up with him ; such was the impetuosity of his attack that he completely defeated him and captured his elephants and his harem.

Usbeg revolts

Akbar then returned to Agra and began his great building programme with the great fort, which took fifteen years and three and a half million rupees to complete. He transformed the Lodi city of Agra with its old brick fort into a city worthy of the name of Akbarabad which his grandson Shahjahan gave to it. But the Usbeg chiefs' rebellion soon drew him away. Khan Zaman and his brother Bahadur Khan, who held the governments of Jaunpur and Oudh and had been engaged in hostilities with the Afghans of Bihar, now rose in rebellion, and at the beginning of 1565 Akbar marched to support his officers who had been driven out of their holdings. Asaf Khan, the governor of Kara, was summoned to aid the Mughul officials in Kanauj and obeyed. Akbar rapidly occupied Lucknow and moved on towards Jaunpur, when he was joined by Asaf Khan who now presented him with the most valuable of the booty he had taken at Chauragarh. This was, however, not enough to satisfy Muzaffar Khan, the revenue minister, and his inquiries so frightened Asaf Khan that he slipped away from the royal camp and returned to his governate. Negotiations were opened with the Usbegs and peace made, and Khan Zaman restored to Jaunpur through the agency of Munim Khan who was either in his pay or in his favour. But the situation was not really capable of being patched up, and in 1566 they

rebelled again, but on the approach of Akbar, Khan Zaman fled across the Gogra, and again begged to be forgiven, and was actually reinstated again. Asaf Khan, who had fled to Gondwana to escape the inquiries of his revenue defalcations, now joined Khan Zaman at Jaunpur, but not liking his treatment soon deserted him in turn and made overtures to the emperor.

Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's younger brother, was the nominal governor of Kabul for the emperor. Munim Khan had been the real governor and had been succeeded by his son who proved a failure, and affairs in Kabul were in great confusion, until Sulaiman Mirza of Badakhshan intervened and hanged the ruffianly Shah Abul Maali who had established a dictatorship. In 1566 Muhammad Hakim Mirza invaded the Punjab, and must have been in correspondence with the Usbegs at Jaunpur because about the same time they declared him Padishah. The invasion of the Punjab was a failure as Hakim got no support, and on hearing that Akbar was marching to meet him he turned tail and hurried back to Kabul. At Lahore which he reached early in 1567, Akbar heard that his remote cousins—called, like Humayun's, the Mirzas—had rebelled round Sambhal where they had jagirs, but Munim Khan was able to deal with them and they fled to Malwa. But the news of Khan Zaman and the Usbegs was more disquieting, and they now openly declared Muhammad Hakim Padishah and began attacking the emperor's governors. Akbar reached the vicinity of Kara in June, and utterly defeated them, the final blow being a charge by the imperial elephants in which Khan Zaman was overrun and trampled underfoot. Bahadur Khan was captured, and this time Akbar was deaf to all entreaties and had him put to death on the spot. Several others were tortured and killed, and this dangerous faction was at last put down for good.

Capture of Chitor and Ranthambhor

His next step was to chastise the rana of Chitor or Mewar, and finally to put down the Mirzas who had made some headway in Malwa. This he entrusted to a subordinate commander, but he proceeded against Chitor in person. Udai Singh the rana was no warrior, but Chitor was defended by the Rajputs under the brave chiefs Jai Mal the Rathor and Patta Singh the Sisodia, while the raja fled to the neighbourhood of Udaipur. Chitor was long regarded as impregnable, standing on its hill 400 to

500 feet above the surrounding plain, $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles long, and 1,200 yards broad in the middle at its widest. Yet it had been taken by Ala-ud-din Khilji in 1303 without artillery, though it was the guns of the Ottoman Turk Rumi Khan which had been mainly responsible for its capture in 1534 by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. Akbar approached it in a different way by regular siege tactics, with trench and mine, batteries and covered approaches. Udai Singh was pursued and Udaipur sacked, but the rana was able to escape into more impenetrable country.

The first attempts at escalade having failed with heavy losses Akbar fell back on the mining galleries, but premature explosions caused much loss. A chance shot by a sniper, said to have been Akbar himself, killed Jaimal at last. Raja Bhagwan Das informed Akbar that the smoke they later saw was from the flames of the terrible Rajput rite of *jauhar* which the discomfited garrison had performed on the death of their leader. Three hundred Rajput ladies were burnt on the funeral pyre and the garrison, eight thousand strong, under Patta sallied out to die, for they had no chance in the open against the Mughul hosts. Then Akbar showed that he had not escaped the cruel streak of his Turki and Mongol ancestors. Not only the brave garrison, who asked for nothing better, were killed, but several thousands of the population were massacred on the excuse that they had helped in the defence. This must be remembered in all estimates of Akbar. It has been called ' the sin of the slaughter of Chitor,' but it must also be remembered that it is its very unusualness which makes it so remarkable.

The statues of the heroic defenders, Jaimal and Patta, each mounted on the kingly elephant, were set up as sentinels to Akbar's fort at Agra, and later removed by Shah Jahan to Delhi to his new fort there, only to be broken by the bigoted Aurangzeb. Chitor fell in February 1568 after a siege of four months, and Asaf Khan was made governor of Mewar, but the rana succeeded in evading capture and never submitted. The next objective was Ranthambhor, the other great fortress of Mewar, but this was put off while the Mirzas, who had fled from Malwa only to return, were dealt with. They were chased out again, and once more proceeded to fish in the troubled waters into which the murder of Chingiz Khan of Gujarat had plunged that country.

The siege of Ranthambhor was now undertaken in earnest under Akbar's own command in February 1569. His new large-size mortars did great damage and Surjan Rai the governor, chief

of Bundi, surrendered, on terms which included a promise that the chiefs of Bundi should not have to prostrate themselves in darbar before the Emperor, should not be required to give a princess to the emperor's harem, that they should appear in darbar fully armed, and that they would never be required to serve under another Hindu. These terms were negotiated by Bhagwan Das, and there is a legend that Akbar went with him in disguise, was recognized, and given the foremost place in the negotiations which were conducted under the very best conditions of chivalry.

After the surrender of Ranthambhor an expedition was sent against that other great fortress Kalinjar, now in the possession of Ram Chand, raja of Rewa. The raja, impressed by the capture of Chitor and Ranthambhor, soon surrendered it.

Akbar's Children

This completed the conquest of northern India, and Akbar, who had been without children, was now blessed by the birth of a son to the princess of Amber. Shaikh Salim Chisti of Sikri, near Agra, had promised him a son. He was a saint of great reputation, of the succession of Shaikh Muin-ud-din Chisti of Ajmir whither Akbar had been accustomed to pay annual pilgrimages to the shrine.

The boy was named Salim after the saint. Children now followed in rapid succession. A daughter Khanun Sultan, known as Shahzada Khanun, was born the same year. Salima Sultana Begam his cousin, once wife of Bairam Khan, gave birth to Murad in 1570, and two years later a concubine had a son called Daniyal. Two other daughters were born later.

It was now that Akbar began to build his city of Sikri, and at Ajmir too he built palaces for himself and his court. He then proceeded to Nagaur where the ruler of Jodhpur, Chandra Sen, the son of Maldeo of Marwar, gave in his allegiance, as also did Rai Kalyan Mal, raja of Bikanir, with whom he contracted a marriage alliance as he did with the raja of Jaisalmer, marrying his daughter. This was mostly the work of Bhagwan Das, and Akbar's position among the Rajputs was now firmly established, with the Sisodias of Mewar alone remaining obdurate and unreconciled. Baz Bahadur of Malwa, tired of his wanderings, also made his submission and joined the imperial court.

Campaign against the Mirzas

There now remained the Mirzas to deal with, and at the same time Gujarat. That kingdom was in a state of disorder, and as it controlled the seaports for the Mecca pilgrimage its control was necessary to the imperial power. The Mirzas were causing trouble there and the king, Muzaffar III, had little power. Itimad Khan, leader of one of the parties, invited Akbar to intervene. In July 1572 he advanced via Ajmir and Sirohi, and in November reached Ahmadabad, where Muzaffar made his submission, His foster-brother, Aziz Koka, Khan Azam, was made governor, and Akbar then marched towards the southern parts of Gujarat where the Mirzas were in power. He proceeded thence to Cambay, the great port of Gujarat, where for the first time he saw the sea. He also met the Portuguese, who came to pay their respects with the other merchants of that busy port. He next proceeded towards Baroda to deal with the Mirzas, who had seized Baroda Surat and Champanir. He himself with a small force of picked men rode to Baroda to deal with Ibrahim Husain Mirza, and somewhat recklessly crossed the river Mahi with only 200 horse and fell upon him. In the fight or rather charge upon the enemy Bhagwan Das and the emperor were surrounded and a brother of Bhagwan Das was killed, but the impetuosity of the attack was too much for the Mirzas and Ibrahim fled.

He then proceeded to Surat, which was taken in 1573. Ibrahim Husain Mirza fled to the Punjab, where he was defeated by the governor and died of his wounds. Husain Kuli Khan the governor, who had done good service by compelling the submission of Kangra or Nagarkot before this, was given the title of Khan Jahan. At Surat Akbar had entered into a treaty with the Portuguese which ensured the safety of the Mecca travellers. Friendly relations were established with the Portuguese viceroy, Antonio da Noronha, but Abul Fazl in his account calls them a ' crew of savages.' Yet Camoens, the leading epic poet of his day in Europe, had only recently been one of these so-called ' savages.' It was at Surat too that Akbar listened to the doctrines of the Zoroastrians.

But Gujarat was not yet finished with. Akbar had returned to Agra, but soon heard that another Mirza, Muhammad Husain, who had fled to the Deccan, had returned and in conjunction with some Gujarati nobles was besieging Aziz Koka in Ahmadabad. It was then that Akbar showed the rapidity of movement of which



Plate 32 The Tower of Victory, Chitor



Plate 33a Kila i Kuhna Mosque in Purana Kila, Delhi, built by Shir Shah



Plate 33b The Delhi Gate of the Fort, Agra

he was capable. With but 3,000 horse he rode from Sikri on 23 August and reached the neighbourhood of Ahmadabad on 2 September, a distance of 450 miles, in eleven days. He immediately attacked the enemy and defeated them in detail. Muhammad Husain was wounded and handed over to Rai Singh of Bikanir, who had him killed. Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk with another force now approached and was also defeated and executed. Akbar had finally disposed of the Mirzas and had won Gujarat. Todar Mal was entrusted with the reorganization of the revenue, which he carried out with the greatest speed and success, making a survey and organizing the collection all within six months.

The settlement left a balance of five million rupees a year after all the expenses of government had been deducted. It was to commemorate this conquest that the Buland Darwarza at Fatehpur Sikri was erected.

Reforms in Administration

The return to Agra was the occasion of the putting into execution of several reforms. These were the work of Raja Todar Mal and Muzaffar Khan Turbati, but were undoubtedly largely the result of Akbar's own instructions. They did not come into force at once, and some were more honoured in the breach than the observance, but they set a standard for the Mughul dynasty and furnished a code of administrative regulations.

The most important was the practical step of the abolition of the feudal system by which fiefs were assigned to various governors, and the introduction of a properly graded service of officials, both civil and military, each in his degree ranked by the number of troops he was to have the nominal command of—not that this ever meant that he did actually command any troops.

The military grades thus given to all were based on the numbers of horse commanded, from the mansabdars of 5,000 horse, later 7,000, to the commander of only ten. Civil officers held rank also in this order of precedence, and they were paid salaries direct from the royal treasury and not allowed to deduct from the tax or revenue collections the expenses of their province, district, or command. Those military officers who were to produce so many horse were no longer able to keep them on paper but in their stables, as Ala-ud-din and Sher Shah's order that each horse should be branded was reintroduced.

These reforms by which the emperor showed his intention of

centralizing the control and introducing direct responsibility to himself and not through intermediaries were naturally not popular. The officials and governors now found that they had to give strict account of their realizations of revenue—indeed, they were collected by a separate staff—and could not enrich themselves by collecting more or by charging for more horses and troops than they actually kept. At a stroke they were turned from rich men to recipients of a mere salary, and inevitably this was unpopular. How far the reforms were actually put into effect is not clear.

Muzaffar Khan was against them, and was removed from his post for not taking steps to put them into effect, and Raja Todar Mal was made chief minister or vakil. The collectors of revenue, the *karoris*, whose duty was to collect the revenue over an area which was assessed at a crore of dams, equivalent to 250,000 rupees, were not up to the work, and were in many cases corrupt. The scheme was put into effect in the older provinces, but in the frontier provinces and new conquests the system of assignment seems to have continued. Aziz Koka for instance in Gujarat made no attempt to put the orders into execution and was removed from office. He would have been removed from life if he had not been a much beloved foster-brother. Later it is clear that the system of assigning lands in lieu of salary was reverted to.

Bengal

The clearing of the Afghans from Hindustan had taken a long time, and they were still in power and capable of giving trouble in Bengal. Many in the eastern parts of the empire had made their peace and had been received into the service of the state, but they were always liable to cause trouble. The only man who had been really able to deal with them was Sher Shah, and his successors had been unable to keep them in order. Their characteristics were a sturdy independence which did not brook dictation, an impatience of all restraint, and a disposition to fight for their own hand. On the death of Islam Shah in 1552 another of the same tribe, the Surs, had established himself in Bengal—namely, Muhammad Khan Sur. He was succeeded in two years by his son Bahadur Shah, who reigned till 1560, when another brother succeeded him. This Sur dynasty, however, came to an end when Taj Khan Kararani the Afghan who had murdered Khavas Khan, Sher Shah's general, established himself and started another dynasty in Bengal in 1564. He was in turn

succeeded by his son Sulaiman Kararani, who made his peace with Akbar through the efforts of Munim Khan. He died in 1572, and after two successors had been murdered Sulaiman's younger son Daud became king.

Daud was foolish enough to think that he was strong enough to challenge Akbar, and he advanced and took the frontier town of Zamania near Ghazipur. Munim Khan took the field on Akbar's orders and laid siege to Patna. As the campaign did not progress favourably Akbar himself set out to join him in 1574. It was then that he first met his future panegyrist Abul Fazl, the son of Shaikh Mubarak of Nagaur, who had been converted to the doctrines of the Madhavi sect and was a learned and clever scholar, and whose influence on Akbar together with that of his sons, Abul Fazl and Faizi, later became very great. Another visitor was Abul Kadir Badaoni the future historian of the orthodox party.

The appearance of Akbar before Patna and his capture of the key town of Hajipur was too much for Daud, who deserted his men and fled to Bengal, followed by his army, who were severely cut about by Akbar. He then directed Munim Khan and Todar Mal to occupy Bengal and returned himself to Fatehpur Sikri. Munim Khan was made governor of Bengal, and his fief of Jaunpur together with Benares and Chunar and other eastern territories came directly under the emperor and were administered by his officers.

After reducing several strong places and forcing the defile at Teliyagarhi he occupied the capital Tanda while Todar Mal pressed on into Orissa, whither Daud had retired. In March 1575 the armies met at Tukaroi near Midnapur. The result was the complete defeat of Daud and the slaughter of his men. Daud now made overtures for peace and, as the army was worn out by campaigning in that climate through the monsoon, Munim Khan agreed to allow him to retain most of Orissa. Todar Mal, whose generalship had restored the day when the Afghans seemed about to win at Tukaroi, refused to sign the treaty as he profoundly distrusted Daud, but all were weary of the war and peace was made. Bengal required to be settled, and Munim Khan, in spite of the experiences of former invaders, determined to make Gaur his headquarters. But pestilence broke out and the army suffered severely, and Munim Khan was compelled to retreat to Tanda, where he died. The army fell into confusion, and Daud, seizing the opportunity, soon regained Bengal.

Akbar had been considering a campaign to restore Sulaiman Mirza, who had been driven out of Badakhshan, but the need for action in Bengal was more urgent and he sent Khan Jahan from the Punjab to restore the situation with the assistance of Todar Mal. The troops had retreated into Bihar and order had to be restored. This was done, and Teliyagarhi once more captured, and at Rajmahal Muzaffar Khan with the Bihar troops joined them according to the Padishah's orders. The final battle was fought in July 1576 near Rajmahal and ended in the victory of the Mughuls. Daud was captured and his head cut off and sent to Akbar, who was on his way to join the army. Thus at last Bengal was incorporated into the Mughul empire, and Akbar's sway extended right across India from Kabul to the Bay of Bengal.

The Rajputs

Akbar used his connection with Amber to further his influence in Rajputana, but Mewar still refused to submit. Partap Singh had succeeded Udai Singh in 1572. Raja Man Singh tried to arrange a compromise, but was insulted in his capacity as the Padishah's envoy by the extreme orthodoxy of the rana, who refused to eat with him and performed the most public purification ceremonies on the spot where he had taken his meal. This was because he had allowed his sister to marry the ' mlechcha ' Akbar.

There is little wonder that Akbar was infuriated by the insult as the rana might have expected, but the differences between them were too great for peaceable settlement, and there was no other arbitrament but battle. Man Singh was somewhat tactlessly put in command of a force which was to march into the territory of the rana. Another Rajput, Rai Lunkaran of Sambhar, Asaf Khan, and two of the Sayyids of Barha were the other commanders.

The battle took place in the plain before the pass of Haldighat leading to Gogunda near Udaipur. Rajputs fought against Rajputs and Muslims against Muslims, for Hakim Sur the Afghan was on Rana Partap's side. The historian Badaoni was present, and gives a vivid account of the battle. It was a severely contested fight, and for a while the issue was uncertain, but at last the imperial forces won and the Rajputs, after severe losses were put to flight. Man Singh was suspected by Akbar of not pursuing the wounded Partap with sufficient energy and was recalled. Akbar reached Ajmir in September of 1576, and after

a while realized the burden he had placed on Man Singh and readmitted him to his favour.

The campaign went on but Partap succeeded in evading capture. Various lesser chiefs were made to submit including the raja of Idar while the chief of Dungarpur supplied a daughter in marriage, and in the following year the raja of Bundi also submitted.

But Partap was never subdued and maintained a precarious independence in the wild places of Rajputana. An expedition was sent against Khandesh in 1577, and the Raja Ali Khan submitted, but any further advance against the states of the Deccan was deferred owing to a scion of the Mirzas who caused trouble in Gujarat. Todar Mal put them to flight after two defeats of their forces, but on his departure the young Muzaffar Husain Mirza again reappeared necessitating another change in the government of Gujarat by the appointment of Shaibh-ud-din Ahmad Khan.

Akbar now moved into the Punjab in connection with affairs on the border, especially the question of Kabul. During his progress he had time to pay attention to currency matters, and he appointed an artist of renown as mint master, Abd-us-samad, with pleasing results, for Akbar's coinage can bear comparison with the best examples of contemporary currency. In regard to design, purity and weight it is much superior to the contemporary coinage of Elizabeth in England, and was carefully controlled. There were eighty mints in the empire, some striking only copper, but it shows that trade was brisk.

Religious Experiences

Akbar had before now built the Ibadat Khana in Fatehpur Sikri (in 1574) for religious discussions. He had always been intensely interested in theological speculations, and the orthodox were more and more suspicious of his views. His Rajput wives were allowed the full exercise of their religion, and he had in his harem women of various faiths including an Armenian. The debates were at first confined to Muslims, and Makhdum-ul-Mulk, the head of the orthodox Ulama, and the Shaikh Abd-un-Nabi were prominent speakers. Shaikh Mubarak and his sons Faizi the poet and Abul Fazl were the exponents of a toleration which bordered on freethinking, and the disputes became acrimonious and threatening.

Akbar was inclined to mysticism. He had been influenced by the teaching of the Sufis and made a pilgrimage each year to the celebrated shrine of Muin-ud-din Chisti at Ajmir. His Persian tutor Abd-ul-Latif had encouraged him to listen to all kinds of doctrine, but he had continued to be orthodox in his religious observances. In 1578 during his progress through the Punjab he had experienced some form of religious ecstasy and believed he had received a divine message. His attraction to mysticism was increased, and as a result he stopped the large-scale drive of wild animals on which he was engaged, and which had up to then been his passion. There is no doubt that this experience had a great and permanent effect on him. He was always temperate, and his habits were simple as regards food and drink. He was never slothful and only needed a few hours' sleep.

In this year he began to made a definite move in religious matters, and to assert his position as the Padishah to be responsible for spiritual as well as temporal affairs. This was in a way a natural development of the Mughul doctrine of rule in which the Padishah was supreme over his people—a doctrine first asserted by Babur and continued by all the Mughul rulers. He ascended the pulpit in Fatehpur Sikri's beautiful mosque and recited the *kutba* in a metrical form prepared by Faizi, ending with Allahu Akbar, 'God is great,' but which some interpreted as 'Akbar is God,' an interpretation which was probably instigated by malice. Then Shaikh Mubarak drew up a declaration which has been called the 'Infallibility Decree,' to be signed by the leading Ulama, which gave the emperor the last word in deciding disputes on the interpretation of the disputed religious points. The decision was to be in accordance with the Koran and for the benefit of the people. The disputes between the various theologians in the Ibadat Khana had no doubt furnished the occasion for this decree, but it was also a claim to be a real Caliph as against the Ottoman Sultan and the Safavi Shias. There was need for such an office, and the so-called infallibility decree did little more than confirm it.

He had now admitted to the debates not only the Islamic doctors but Jains, Hindus, Zoroastrians, Buddhists, and was soon to send for a Christian mission. The violence and mutual abuse of the orthodox theologians had sickened him, and Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Abd-un-Nabi were sent off to Mecca. Akbar had already listened to a Portuguese priest, Antonio Cabral, and had sent to Goa for a better instructed mission. This resulted in the

dispatch of three Jesuit fathers, Antonio Monserrate, Rodolpho Acquaviva, and a Persian, Francisco Enriques, at the end of 1578. They were well received by Akbar when they arrived at the beginning of 1580, and he gave them full facilities to preach their faith and listened to them himself, and later sent his sons to receive instruction ; but Akbar had no intention of adopting one of the existing faiths. He meant to be his own prophet, nor did the demands of the priests suit either his predilections or his policy. Their insistence that he should be the husband of one wife was impossible to Akbar, whose diplomatic marriages to Rajput princesses had been essentially a matter of state policy. He could not dismiss these ladies and put to shame some of his most trusted and loyal officers. All these innovations were unpopular—not among the people, for they knew nothing about them, but among the officers of the court and the orthodox divines whose attitude can be clearly seen from the comments of the orthodox Badaoni.

Rebellion against Akbar

There were other reasons too which led to dissatisfaction, chief among them being the new organization of the empire, especially in the change from the feudal system of holding fiefs and the branding regulation. Muzaffar Khan, governor of Bengal, was tactless in his administration and application of the new regulations, and chose the moment when the higher officers were dissatisfied to reduce the allowances (batta) of the troops. This all caused uneasiness, culminating in 1580 with an announcement by the Kazi of Jaunpur that Akbar was an apostate from Islam and rebellion against him was lawful. This might not have caused much attention if the ground had not been prepared. Officers in Bihar and Bengal rose in rebellion. Muzaffar Khan was besieged in Tanda, captured, and put to death. The rebels then declared Muhammad Hakim of Kabul, Akbar's brother, emperor, and Todar Mal who advanced against them had to take refuge in Monghyr because he could not trust his own troops. Akbar now sent for Aziz Koka Khan Azam, and sent him into Bengal. There was trouble elsewhere in Allahabad and Oudh, and things were serious. In the court too Muhammad Hakim had supporters, and the revenue minister, Shah Mansur, was suspected of correspondence with Muhammad Hakim. He was deprived of office, but later forgiven and reinstated. Muhammad

Hakim invaded the Punjab in 1581 and Masum Khan Farankhudi, who had changed sides before, supported Muhammad Hakim at Ayodhya. Shabaz Khan was sent to deal with him and the rebels from Bihar who had joined him, and was successful in coping with this dangerous situation.

Akbar now felt he could proceed to the Punjab and meet the menace of Muhammad Hakim. On the way correspondence between Shah Mansur and Muhammad Hakim was produced showing that the former meditated teachery, and he was hanged after an inquiry which does not seem to have been conclusive ; but his record was bad. Muhammad Hakim had failed to take Lahore, and on news of Akbar's approach retired towards Kabul. Man Singh and Murad were sent on in pursuit and Akbar followed and occupied Kabul in August 1581. Muhammad Hakim, who was a person of no consequence and a drunkard too, begged for forgiveness and was pardoned, but his sister, Bakht-un-Nisa Begam, was made governor, and though on Akbar's return to Agra Muhammad Hakim returned to Kabul, all orders were issued in her name. The rebellion in Bengal lingered on. Masum Khan was pardoned, but was assassinated soon after.

Relations with the Portuguese

Akbar undoubtedly resented the idea that the Portuguese commanded the way to Mecca. They had been given territory near Daman to safeguard the pilgrimage of Gulbadan Begam to Mecca in 1575, but on her return Daman was attacked, the Mughuls being beaten off with great loss. Surat and Diu were also attacked or threatened, but with no effect. The viceroy at Goa now recalled the Jesuit Mission, but Akbar attributed the unfriendly acts to his subordinates and Acquaviva remained, and Akbar sent a letter to Philip II of Spain, who was now king of Portugal as well. The conquest of Portugal by Spain, which took place in 1580, however meant the beginning of the end for the Portuguese in India. Father Monserrate, who has left an account of his mission, accompanied Akbar to Kabul, and it was he who was entrusted with the letter to Philip, but it never arrived in Spain. Acquaviva was murdered by a Hindu mob after he left Agra in 1582 on his way back to Goa, and Monserrate, diverted to Abyssinia, was captured by the Turks on his way, and when released returned to die at Goa.

Land Revenue

Various experiments had been made with the collection and administration of the land revenue, and definite rates for the different crops were laid down, but the question of the period for which the schedules were to be in force was not settled. It was apparently at first annual, and with the emperor absent in the Punjab, this led to difficulties. Now a ten year average was taken. The trouble in Bengal and Bihar had been partly caused by a resumption of grants or fiefs, and the method of collection of the revenue is somewhat obscure. Though the state lands were administered direct by the *karoris* or collectors, the lands assigned to the great officials for the payment of their salaries were under their direct control as to collection, though not as to rates, which appear to have applied to all kinds of land except those of the great Hindu magnates or princes, who apparently paid no revenue, though they might make presents from time to time.

The measurement of the lands under crops was done when the crops were above ground, and the value was calculated according to the rate schedules which varied for the different kinds of crops, adjustments being made later for damage or failure of crops through floods, frost, or other reasons. The assessments were calculated in cash, and the normal share was one third of the produce. The rates varied, as has been said, according to the crop sown, and also according to the locality—the pargannah or revenue circle being taken as the unit. This was the system finally worked out, and in the crown lands under the revenue ministers Muzaffar Khan, Todar Mal and Shah Mansur, the areas were put under the *amil* or *karori*, who had powers to vary demands to some extent so as to encourage tillage and to get the cultivators to plough waste lands or to grow better and more paying crops. Later the collectors or *karoris* were placed under the provincial revenue officer called the diwan.

To Todar Mal has been attributed the main hand in drawing up these assessment rate schedules, and he was in general charge as revenue minister, but from time to time was sent out in military command. He was undoubtedly a very efficient civil servant, but was bad tempered and vindictive, and towards the end of the reign he was superseded by others though remaining in nominal control. The success of the system needed very close and careful supervision, and during Akbar's reign this was available, but

later revenue administration degenerated, and all sorts of corruption and peculation set in, while the system of revenue farming was reintroduced over an increasing area.

These revenue reforms of 1580–1 were accompanied by the division of the empire into provinces or subas, twelve in number. Allahabad, Agra, Oudh, Ajmir, Gujarat, Bihar, Bengal, Delhi, the Punjab, Multan, Kabul and Malwa. The provincial officers were the sipah salar or governor, who was also in military command, the diwan, who was the financial head, the bakshi, paymaster, the kotwal, head of the police, and others for different departments.

While at one time an attempt was made to pay definite salaries to the officers of the empire, this appears to have been given up owing to the general dissatisfaction, and a return was made to the system of assigning the revenues of a certain area to a particular office holder, but even where this was done the method of land revenue assessment was maintained, It is not clear what relation the graded list of officials into mansabdars, ranging from commanders of 5,000 to as little as ten horse, had to the revenue system if, as has been said, they were paid by assignments of land on which they collected the revenue, and so paid for the upkeep of their troops and their own expenses, because this system included the diwans and revenue officers who did not command troops. But it is clear that the crown lands or khalisa did not cover the greater part of the empire and most of the land was held as assignments. The word fief by which it is often rendered is not an exact parallel, as the fiefs of the feudal system in Europe were held on an entirely different plan. It should be remembered that officials were transferred from district or suba quite frequently, and sons did not succeed to their fathers' assignments, and all the savings of an official reverted in theory at any rate, to the emperor. Sons, however, were generally provided for during their father's lifetime by other assignments, and so set on the official ladder.

While Sher Shah's assessment system was the foundation of Akbar's, it was vastly improved. There were two main periods of experiment, the first culminating in 1570–1, when Todar Mal made his first assessment schedule for the whole empire, while in 1573 the payment of officers by cash salaries was introduced. The final arrangements were systemized in 1580, when payment of cash salaries seems to have been given up and the assignment system which had been maintained all along in certain parts of the

empire was returned to. The lands assigned were never in the same area in which the officer held official duties.

The Din Ilahi

In 1582 was propounded the Din Ilahi or Divine Faith, which seems to have been a vague pantheism including elements from the different faiths of the realm. It was a mixture of the tenets of Zoroaster, the Jains, Hinduism, Buddhism, though the monotheism of Islam was given a nominal assent. It purported to have the 'great advantage of not losing what was good in any one religion while gaining what was better in another.' It was more an ethical system than a religion, and was never forced on the people though there was a certain amount of missionary enterprise. Universal toleration was part of the doctrine, but the Hindu practices of child marriage and sati were frowned upon. Abul Fazl and other historians state that Akbar did not cease to be a Muslim. The oath which those who accepted the new religion had to take called upon them to sacrifice property, life, honour and religion in its service.

The family of Shaikh Mubarak, who seems to have been primarily responsible for the form in which the new faith was presented, namely Faizi the poet and Abul Fazl the historian and Akbar's secretary, were the chief exponents, together with Raja Birbal the wit of Akbar's court, the only Hindu known to have become a member. Bhagwan Das and Man Singh refused, and the majority who joined were people out for advancement. In any case it was only meant for the intelligentsia. The tenets of the religion showed the influence of Zoroastrianism in the adoration of the sun, while Hindu practices adopted included the vegetarian diet and the forbidding of the slaughter of cows, while the feast of Ramzan and the pilgrimage to Mecca were not to be observed by adherents.

The Din Ilahi was a serious effort to weld the empire together, and may be considered part of Akbar's deliberate policy to achieve union between Hindu and Muslim. Toleration was established. The Jesuits at Agra were given freedom to preach the Christian faith. The request of Arjun Singh the Sikh Guru to remit the collection of revenue in the Punjab during a period of famine was acceded to. His marriage policy and his employment of Hindus in the highest offices was a sign that Akbar aimed at a synthesis of ideas which would unite the different communities into one

people. But it failed. The Din Ilahi was not strong enough either spiritually or intellectually to win many adherents and it was never imposed. The obstinate refusal of Partap Singh of Mewar to have anything to do with Man Singh because he was polluted by his marriage connections showed the extreme Hindu reaction, while the comments of Badaoni on the death of Bhagwan Das, and Todar Mal later, that they had ' hastened to their abode in hell and torment,' and his remarks on the death of his patron Faizi typify the differences which divided the orthodox on both sides.

Abul Fazl in a poem gives an idea of the religion which was to join the people together.

O God, in every temple I see those who see Thee and in every tongue that is spoken Thou art praised. . . .
Each religion says Thou art one without equal.
Be it mosque men murmur holy prayer ; or church and the bells ring for love of Thee.
Awhile I frequent the Christian cloister, anon the mosque ;
But Thee only I seek from fane to fane.
Thine elect know naught of heresy or orthodoxy whereof neither stands behind the screen of thy truth.
Heresy to the heretic, dogma to the orthodox—
But the dust of the rose petal belongs to the heart of the perfume seller. *

This is an echo of Kabir's ' I am not in the temple nor in the mosque, neither in Ka'aba nor Kailas.' Had there been no Nanak or Kabir there would have been no Din Ilahi.

This was no burning creed which could win man's assent, the assent of the average man who needs dogma to keep him right. Thus it failed, and with it perhaps failed the chance of the Mughul dynasty to unify India.

Akbar settles in Lahore

To return to the political history of the reign, Akbar went to Prayag in 1583, where he drew up plans for his new city and fort of Allahabad and watched events in Bengal. In the following year the rebellion in Bengal was on the way to being settled, and he returned to Fatehpur Sikri. In 1585 he left for the Punjab. He never returned to the beautiful city. The dam of the reservoir which supplied water to the royal settlement suddenly burst and nearly drowned Akbar and some of his friends who were playing

* Mediaeval India, S. Lane-Poole (T. Fisher Unwin)

cards on the bank. He made his headquarters in Lahore, where he stayed from 1585 to 1598 as the situation on the frontier needed his attention. Before he left Fatehpur Sikri he was visited by the first Englishmen who ever visited the Mughul court, Newberry, Fitch and Leedes. Leedes was a jeweller and remained some time in Akbar's service.

On the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Man Singh had been sent to Kabul. There was danger from the hereditary enemies of Akbar's house, the Usbegs, and Abdulla Khan Shaibani had overrun Badakhshan which was lost to the empire. The Yusufzais held Swat and Bajaur and made the road from the Indus to the Kyber almost impassable, and had to be dealt with. This was combined with an expedition against Kashmir.

Incorporation of Kashmir

Akbar had long considered Kashmir as being within the influence of the Mughul empire, and in 1578 had sent a demand that Ali Khan the ruler should acknowledge his supremacy. This received no reply, but in 1580 his son Yusuf Khan, driven out by faction, came to Agra soliciting aid. This was enough for the rebellious nobles, and they restored Yusuf in haste lest a Mughul army should occupy the country. But now Akbar renewed his claims and summoned Yusuf to pay homage. On his refusal he sent Bhagwan Das with an army in 1585 to enforce his claims. To maintain the line of communications for this expedition a force was sent under Zain Khan against the Yusufzais in the Swat Valley. On his demand for reinforcements Raja Birbal and the physician Abul Fath, both completely ignorant of military matters, were dispatched with more troops. They were not only incompetent but, what was worse, believed they were great tacticians. The result was disaster. The army was caught in a pass and overwhelmed, eight thousand including Birbal being slaughtered, and only a remnant escaped. Todar Mal had to be sent hurriedly to restore the position.

Meanwhile the invasion of Kashmir continued in wintry weather. There were great difficulties about supply, and Bhagwan Das was soon ready to listen to Yusuf's suggestions for submission. The submission tendered, however, was only nominal, and when Yusuf arrived at Akbar's camp under Bhagwan Das's safe conduct Akbar detained him. Yakub, the son of Yusuf, now continued the fight, and Bhagwan Das, feeling that his Rajput honour had

been engaged, is stated to have attempted to commit suicide. The following year another expedition was sent to Kashmir and Srinagar was occupied. Yakub surrendered two years later, and Kashmir was finally incorporated in the Mughul empire. The transaction does not reflect credit on Akbar.

The Frontier Tribes

The frontier tribes were a more difficult proposition. A fanatic sect, the Raushanais, caused trouble by closing the road to Kabul and Man Singh had to take the field, but though he defeated them they were not subdued. They formed a coalition with the Afridi, Orakzai and Yusufzai tribes and Peshawar was besieged. Zain Khan was sent to settle matters, but though the situation was temporarily restored they continued to give trouble, and it was not until 1588 that peaceful conditions were restored.

The conquest of Sind was necessary to round off the north-west approaches. The ruler, Mirza Jani Beg, made a nominal submission and warded off the inevitable for a time. Later the Khan Khanan invaded Sind with an army, and Jani Beg submitted in 1590. In 1593 he made his obeisance to Akbar in person and, having accepted the Din Ilahi, was restored but only as governor.

Man Singh and his Rajputs were not popular among the fanatical Afghans of Kabul, and Akbar considered he had not been sufficiently successful in dealing with the Raushanais. He was sent in 1587 to Bihar to deal with the rebellious Afghans there, and with him went Yusuf Khan of Kashmir who had been given a vague promise of being sent back to Kashmir later as governor. Akbar toured Kashmir in 1589, when he received the submission of Yakub whom he sent to join his father in Bihar. The Emperor next paid a short visit to Kabul. It was in this year that two of his most faithful servants, Todar Mal and Bhagwan Das, died. Badaoni the historian shows his charity with this epitaph, ' May God scorch them both.'

In Bihar, Raja Man Singh and his son Jagat Singh had restored order by 1590. They next had to deal with the Afghans of Orissa, and Nasir Khan Lohani, the son of Kutlugh Khan who had shown fight but died before he could try conclusions, very wisely submitted, and was confirmed on condition of sending a tribute of elephants and placing Akbar's name on the coinage. The religious susceptibilities of the Hindus were conciliated by

making the great temple of Jagannath at Puri *khalisa* land under the emperor's direct protection.

The Deccan

Now that all northern India had come under the Mughul sway and Gujarat on the flank was part of the empire, the position of the kingdoms of the Deccan became a matter for consideration. Signs of possible intentions had been the building of the strong fortress of Allahabad as a possible base should an advance southwards be decided on.

During the time that the Mughul empire had been growing, the affairs of the Deccan kingdoms had been very confused. The Barid Shahs of Bidar were generally allied with Vijayanagar against the other kingdoms. As early as 1529 Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur and Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar combined against Bidar and took the capital, and for a time Bidar became part of Bijapur. Krishna, raja of Vijayanagar, died in 1530, and a combination of Bijapur and the Imad Shah of Berar recovered the Raichur Doab from Vijayanagar.

In 1544, however, another combination was formed when Burhan Nizam Shah allied with Sadashivaraya of Vijayanagar against Bijapur, but suffered defeat. The Barid Shahs of Bidar had been restored and supported Bijapur against the Nizam Shahs of Ahmadnagar. Vijayanagar allied itself at times with Ahmadnagar and at times with Bijapur. In 1564 Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur and Sadashivaraya invaded Ahmadnagar and ravaged the country. The atrocities of the Vijayanagar forces enraged the Muslims, and this was added to when Ram Raja Saluva the minister demanded that the kings of Bijapur and Golkunda should prostrate themselves like vassals before Sadashivaraya. This was the price for his assistance against Ahmadnagar. This arrogant demand was the cause of a temporary combination on racial lines. Ibrahim Kutb Shah of Golkunda now arranged a reconciliation, which was sealed by the marriage of Chand Bibi, daughter of Husain Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, to Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur. Ali Barid Shah of Bidar also joined the confederacy, which demanded the restoration of the Raichur Doab and other districts from Vijayanagar, but Sadashivaraya treated the embassy with contempt. Intolerance and insult were the diplomatic currency of both sides in these encounters, and had the inevitable result—the ultimate extermination of one side.

Ram Raja was eighty years old, but undaunted he mustered a huge army to meet the advance by the kings of Bijapur, Golkunda, Ahmadnagar and Bidar. The battle, which was fought near Talikota in 1565, was at first doubtful, but at last Husain Nizam Shah checked and finally drove back the Hindus in the centre. Ram Raja was captured and beheaded and his army fled, no less than 100,000 being reported as slain. Vijayanagar was destroyed and the kingdom broken up. In 1572 Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar invaded Berar, which had not joined the confederacy against Vijayanagar, and occupied the kingdom, which now became part of the Ahmadnagar state, Burhan Imad Shah being imprisoned in Ahmadnagar and later put to death.

Troubles regarding the succession now broke out in Ahmadnagar, and finally Burhan, the younger brother of Murtaza who was assassinated in 1585, became king with the aid of Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh. He had taken refuge in Akbar's court, and had been offered aid by Akbar to gain the kingdom which was at the time ruled over by his son Ismail Nizam Shah, but he did not wish to give Akbar a claim and relied on his own efforts. It was in 1591 that he became king as Burhan Nizam Shah II. Akbar made preparations to establish his influence over the Deccan, but no immediate move was made. When Burhan Nizam Shah died in 1591 his successor Ibrahim was killed in a war with Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur, and Chand Bibi, Burhan's sister and the widow of Ali Adil Shah I of Bijapur, set up his infant son Bahadur. Other claimants, however, were put forward by the different factions of the Deccanis, and the African mercenaries and Miyan Manjhu of the Deccani party now took the fatal step of appealing to the Mughuls for aid. This was the excuse needed, and the Khan Khanan, Abdur Rahim, from Malwa and Prince Murad from Gujarat now set their forces in motion and advanced to Ahmadnagar. They were joined somewhat reluctantly by Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh. This advance frightened the warring parties into union, and both Bijapur and Golkunda sent aid. Chand Bibi's defence of Ahmadnagar is famous, but she made peace in 1596 and ceded Berar to Akbar. Orissa had been finally conquered in 1592 when Nasir Khan, who had again rebelled, was defeated by Man Singh and the provinces became a part of the empire in a real sense.

Kandahar was handed over to the Mughuls by its Persian governor, who received the command of five thousand horse and the assignment of Sambhal as a reward in 1595. But the death



Plate 34a Humayun's Tomb, Delhi



Plate 34b *left* Birbal ; *right* Akbar (from Johnson's Album No. 57, India Office Library)



Plate 35a Fatehpur Sikri : Buland Darwaza



Plate 35b Fatehpur Sikri : Tomb of Shaikh Salim Chisti



Plate 36a Fatehpur Sikri : Diwan-i-Khas



Plate 36b Fatehpur Sikri : Raja Birbal's house

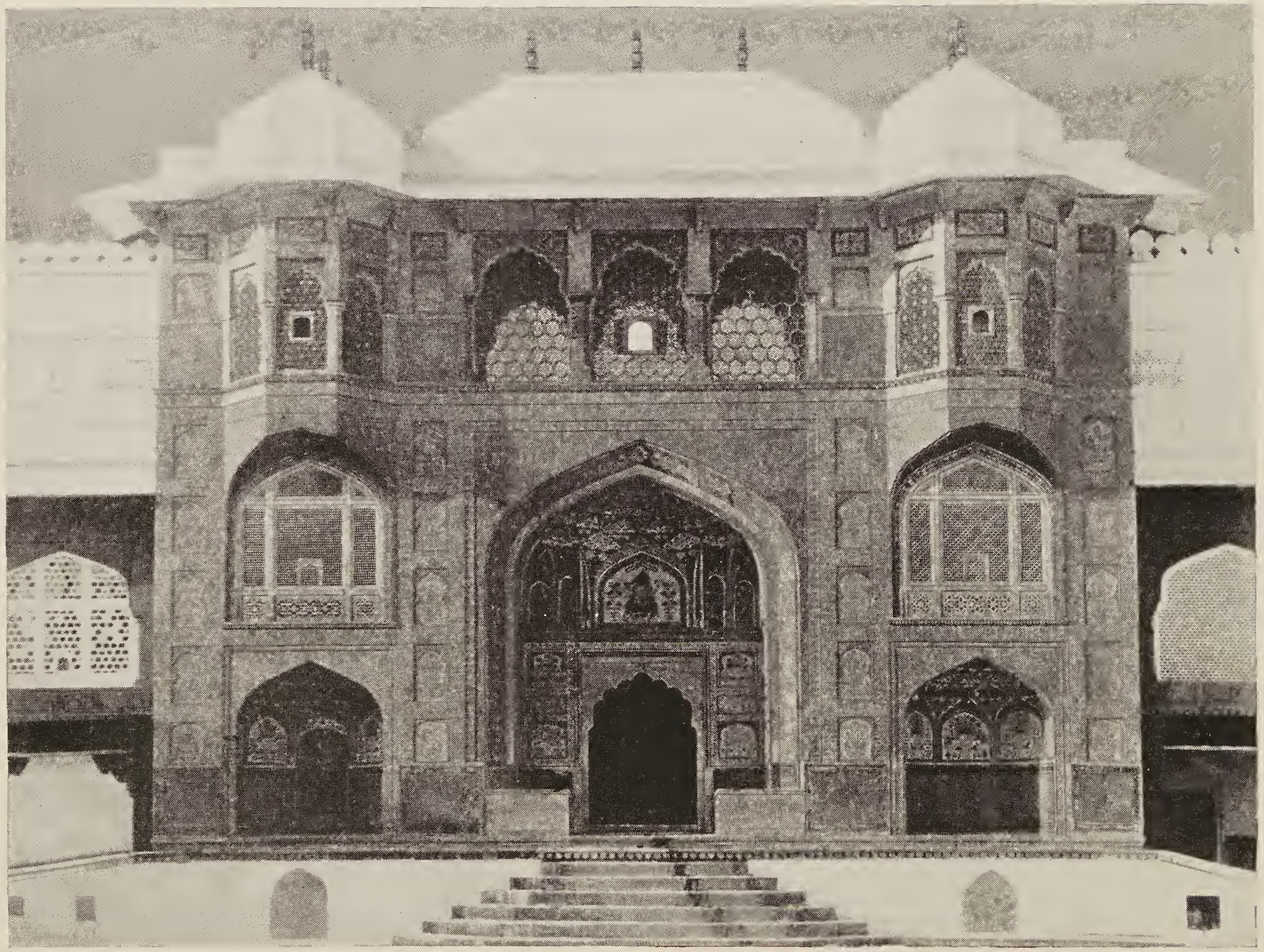


Plate 37 Gateway of Amber Palace, Jaipur

of Faizi in the same year was a cause of grief to Akbar. A serious famine which broke out this year and lasted for some years caused great distress, though the statement made by one historian that men ate their own kind out of hunger is probably little more than the usual rhetorical phrase used for a serious famine and not to be taken literally. At any rate no special steps seem to have been taken in the way of famine relief.

The peace with Bijapur did not last long and hostilities broke out again. In 1597 a doubtful battle on the banks of the Godaveri between the Khan Khanan together with Raja Ali Khan, and the Bijapur forces led to a suspicion that Ali Khan had played the Mughuls false, and his camp was plundered. But the discovery of his dead body under a heap of slain showed that he had, on the contrary, fought loyally to the last. This behaviour was bitterly resented by his son and successor, Bahadur Khan, while the quarrels between the drunken Murad and the Khan Khanan had put a stop to further success in the Deccan ; but the great fort of Gawil was taken and later Narnala in 1597. The Khan Khanan, however, had returned to Malwa. It was clear that Akbar's presence was necessary.

The emperor had been busy in Kashmir first putting down a rebellion and then settling the revenue arrangements. Early in 1598 Abdulla Khan Shaibani, the Usbeg, died, and the danger to Kabul was at an end. For a time Akbar dallied with the dreams of Babur to recover Samarkand. It was proposed to send Salim to carry out the prospect, but Salim was unwilling to bury himself in far off Transoxiana when his father might die at any time. He was also conscious that he was not popular with anyone, and that his son Khusru might supplant him. So the scheme was given up and at last at the end of 1598 Akbar left Lahore to proceed to the Deccan. Abul Fazl was sent to carry orders to Murad to join the emperor, and to the Khan Khanan to start. He found Bahadur of Khandesh ill-disposed to help, and the army of Murad in a state of inefficiency and mutiny, while Murad was in a drunken stupor. This was in May 1599, and a few days later Murad died of his excesses. Abul Fazl managed to restore some discipline to the army, and put them on the march towards Ahmadnagar. Salim would have been the natural commander, but he refused to go so far away for the same reasons as he refused the expedition into Transoxiana, and the young prince Daniyal was given the command, but was slow to take it up. Abul Fazl did his best, and Akbar sent funds to pay the troops. Salim was sent to Ajmir

with Man Singh to watch him, as his loyalty was rightly suspected. Finally the Khan Khanan was dispatched to relieve Abul Fazl and assist Daniyal, who was little more than a nominal commander in any case, while Akbar himself marched from Agra with 80,000 horse.

Meanwhile in Ahmadnagar Chand Bibi and the young king were besieged by the African faction, and she entered into correspondence with Abul Fazl. This was the situation when Akbar arrived at Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh, at the beginning of 1600, but Bahadur Faruki retired to the citidel of Asirgarh and refused to deal with him. Daniyal was sent on to undertake the siege of Ahmadnagar, and this was begun on regular lines. Chand Bibi was assassinated, but this did not mean the surrender of the capital, and it held out until August, when it was finally assaulted and taken and the young prince, Bahadur Nizam Shah, sent as prisoner to Gwalior. In Khandesh Asirgarh still held out. Bahadur at last came out under a safe conduct to Akbar's camp to make his submission. He left orders that the fortress was to be held to the last. There was double dealing on both sides, and the only faithful man seems to have been the African Yakut, the commander of Asirgarh, who in accordance with Bahadur's orders refused to surrender when his son was sent from Bahadur, telling him to do so. His son on returning to Akbar's camp was killed by Akbar's orders. This is one of the acts of Akbar which has blackened his fair name—a trace no doubt of that Turki cruelty which was a legacy from his Timurid ancestry. Yakut took poison when he found none of the family of the Farukis willing to resist, and the fortress surrendered early in 1601.

The whole of Ahmadnagar was not occupied, and the new king Murtaza Nizam Shah II, under the protection of the loyal African Malik Ambar, held it from the old capital of Daulatabad. The rest was formed into a province, and so were Berar and Khandesh, all under the viceroyalty of Prince Daniyal.

While this was happening in the Deccan Man Singh at Ajmir had failed to keep Salim in order. Jagat Singh had died in Bengal and his young son Maha Singh was not able to keep the nobles in order. Rebellion had broken out, and Maha Singh was defeated though not driven out.

Depravity of Salim

Salim returned to Allahabad with the intention of making use of the trouble in Bengal. At Allahabad he seized the treasury

of Bihar, more than three million rupees, and appointed his own men as governors in Allahabad and Oudh as well as in Bihar. He was supported by those who disliked Abul Fazl and the Din Ilahi. Salim was now in open rebellion and struck his own coins in Allahabad. Akbar returned to Agra, and Salim with an armed force advanced towards Agra plundering the country as he passed through, but retired to Allahabad when his father ordered him. Akbar still reluctant to proceed to extremes, appointed him governor of Bengal and Orissa with practically independent powers, but Salim refused this, and continued to defy his father. Akbar now sent for Abul Fazl. Salim knew his enemy and realized that he favoured Khusru, and with a brutal disregard of consequences arranged with Bir Singh the Bundela chief of Orchha to waylay and kill him. This was successfully accomplished and the head sent to Salim, who received it with joy and submitted the gory trophy to all sorts of insult. Akbar on receipt of the news was overcome with grief and rage, and ordered the murderer to be hunted to death. This was in 1602, but Bir Singh, though often cornered, always seemed to slip away and was never caught.

The ladies of the royal family now intervened. Akbar's mother and his wife Salima Begam brought Salim to court at Agra in 1603. The reconciliation was apparently sincere, and Salim gave up to Akbar 12,000 gold mohurs and 770 elephants. He was now sent against the Rana Amar Singh of Mewar, but put up all sorts of excuses and was finally allowed to return to Allahabad to collect reinforcements. While there his wife, sister of Man Singh, called the Shah Begam, the mother of Khusru, heart-broken at the estrangement between Khusru and his father, died apparently by her own hand, and Salim became more a drunkard than before. In his cups he broke all restraints, flaying alive, it is said, the newswriter of the emperor for reporting upon him, beating servants to death, and in general behaving like a wild beast. Akbar would probably have acted then, but his mother's death interrupted his intentions, and at the end of the year Salim came to Agra to condole. He was well received in public, but later arrested, and Akbar, beside himself, struck him in the face and put him under close restraint. The reason for Akbar's behaviour towards Salim, who had gone beyond the limit, was probably due to the fact that he felt he could not put Khusru in his father's place and also because Daniyal had proved hopeless and was a slave to drink, from which he died in 1605 at Burhanpur.

So Salim was gradually restored to favour though kept in Agra.

It was at this time that a London merchant, John Mildenhall, whose grave is in the old cemetery at Agra, came to obtain permission to trade for the new association of merchants in London granted a charter by Queen Elizabeth in 1600 as the East India Company. He represented himself as a full-fledged ambassador from the Queen, which he certainly was not, but merely held the usual passport or letter issued to such travellers. He was supported by Salim, and later in 1608 received from him as emperor the licence which he craved, but which the opposition of the Portuguese Fathers prevented him from obtaining from Akbar.

The supporters of Khusru, Raja Man Singh his uncle, and Khan Azam Aziz Koka, whose daughter he had married, were opposed to Salim. Khusru was only a youth of eighteen, and the quarrel between him and his father worried Akbar greatly. He fell ill, and his illness was aggravated by these dissensions. Man Singh and Khan Azam formed a plot to seize Salim, but he was too wary, and when they summoned a meeting to suggest that he should be put out of the succession they did not win assent, but they exacted an oath from him to protect Islam and not to punish his son. The Sayyids of Barha and a party among the Rajputs declared for Salim, and Man Singh, finding he had failed, left for Bengal. This gave Salim an opportunity to become reconciled with his sick father. Akbar was so ill that he could not speak, but signed to Salim to put on the turban of empire and the sword of Humayun, which was an acknowledgement that he was the heir. Then Akbar became worse, and died on the 25th October 1605. He was just a month short of 63, and had reigned for nearly fifty years.

Art and Architecture

The fifty years of Akbar's reign were a period of great artistic growth in all branches of art and literature. His court was the centre of a culture which has influenced India ever since, and has even survived the philistinism of the nineteenth century. Babur was a lover of poetry and music and an executant in both, but had little time to leave any monuments to architecture behind, and the same may be said of Humayun. But it was different with Akbar. His court was the centre of a great aesthetic revival, or



Map 14 Akbar's Empire with Provinces, 1605

perhaps it would be more correct to say that it attracted the greatest poets, musicians, artists and thinkers of the empire. His nine gems—Abul Fazl, Faizi, Tansen, Birbal the most famous—were only some of the foremost figures in culture of his time. Tulsi Das, who perhaps had the most influence of them all, is not mentioned in the annals of his reign. He was the singer of the poor and wretched, whose existence the luxury and grandeur of the court obscures.

As a builder Akbar has left behind one of the most perfect memorials of any age and clime, the beautiful city of Fatehpur Sikri, but this was not the earliest of his building efforts. The tomb of Humayun at Delhi was built about 1564, and is the first example of that Persian influence which, carried out by Indian workmen and adapted to Indian conditions, is the beginning of the Mughul style of architecture. One of the novelties was the setting of the garden tomb with its paved paths, ornamental flower beds, avenues of cypresses, running water courses, fountains, and the entrance gateways repeating or leading up to the façade of the main edifice crowned with the majestic dome. This was the first example of the double dome, so characteristic of Mughul buildings, with its outer and inner shell—the outer of white marble. This conception was borrowed from the Timurid buildings of Bokhara and Samarkand, as was the recessed archway in the centre of the façade. The coloured tiles of the Persian style are absent, as they were not an Indian product, but an effort to decorate the somewhat severe outline was made with panels and borderings of white marble.

The next undertakings were the great forts at Agra and Lahore, constructed under the superintendence of Kasim Khan, who was overseer of buildings and of ships. The Red Fort at Agra was built of an inner core of rubble and cement, with a facing of slabs of the red sandstone which came from a near-by quarry. The main gateway, which is on the western face known as the Delhi Gate, a majestic entrance with its archway and bastions, and the decoration of marble and coloured tiles showing dragons and birds and foliage and elephants indicates that the Indian workman was as capable as the Persian. The palace buildings within were also of red sandstone, many of them replaced by white marble edifices in Shah Jahan's time. The Jahangiri Mahal, which remains, is later than the fort which was finished in 1566, and is said by Abul Fazl to have been constructed in the style of Bengal and Gujarat. Carved stone brackets support

stone beams and flat ceilings ; there are few arches, and the whole is a reproduction in stone of woodwork after the Hindu style. The fort at Lahore is much on the same lines, but it has been greatly altered. The great fort guarding the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna at Prayag, where the city of Allahabad was built, was later. About the same time as the Agra fort was the beautiful bridge over the Gumti at Jaunpur, a perfect example of the bridge builder's art and the first really adequate bridge in a country where the rivers are so broad and spread so widely in the rains that no great bridges were built until modern engineering was able to deal with the problems of the monsoon.

But Akbar's great contribution to architecture is undoubtedly his city of Fatehpur Sikri, which was begun in 1571. Jahangir records that it was completed in fourteen or fifteen years. It was built on a sandstone ridge about twenty-six miles from Agra, and was two miles long and one mile broad, with an artificial lake on one side and walls on the other three. An enormous staff of workmen was employed, and the style was varied as a consequence with Hindu forms much in prominence as in the palace of Jodh Bai, where many of the motives from Hindu temple architecture are employed after the Gujarat style. The palace of Miriam has inside paintings on the walls of great importance for the study of Mughul art, while the Turkish Sultana's palace has the panels inside carved in the most delicate and beautiful designs, naturalistic vine and leaf patterns, and also the usual Islamic decoration. Birbal's house also has much beautiful stonework carved in all sorts of designs. Balconies and windows of delightful tracery and ornamentation, and pillars and little kiosks on the flat roofs and wide eaves all lend a peculiar charm to the general appearance. The Diwan-i-Khas, sometimes considered to be the Ibadat Khana, is a building with a central hall having galleries round the walls, and a pillar with a circular platform in the centre, where no doubt the Emperor sat.

The most important building is the Jami Masjid, the model of all subsequent Mughul mosques. It was completed in 1571. The façade has a central arched portico and three domes, while inside is the principal chamber under the main dome. Side chapels are under the two others on each side, and pillared aisles lead off from each. The decoration is marble inlay and painted plaster relief, and the twenty-one mihrabs are brilliantly decorated in colour. The southern entrance to the sacred enclosure is formed by the Buland Darwaza, a magnificent triumphal gateway. This

was built to commemorate the conquest of Gujarat. Facing it is the tomb of the saint Shaikh Salim Chisti, a gemlike building of white marble and tracery of lattice carving. Built in 1571 it was originally of red sandstone like all these buildings at Fatehpur Sikri, and the marble is a later addition.

Nowhere else in the world is there such a perfect example of sacred and domestic architecture on one site as is to be found in Akbar's dream city of Fatehpur Sikri.

The Hindu style of Mughul architecture is to be seen developed further in the Rajput states, especially in the old city of Amber, which was begun about 1600 in Akbar's time.

Painting

The mural art of Ajanta shows what artistic excellence was attained by Hindu artists, but art in India seems to have been a court embellishment and faded away with the cataclysms of medieval times. The somewhat fanatic kings of the Sultanate of Delhi carried out the extreme Islamic injunction against the representation of living beings, and it was not until the Persian art of Central Asia, which was itself a descendant of Chinese and Byzantine motives, was introduced by the Mughuls, that an opportunity was given to Indian artists to show once again what they were capable of. At first this art was predominantly Persian, based on the miniature paintings of book illustrations after the school of the famous Bihzad, who flourished at the court of Sultan Husain Mirza of Herat. Babur was a great admirer of his work, and Humayun, who lived at the Persian court of Shah Tahmasp during the Suri usurpation, brought from Tabriz to India the famous artist Mir Sayyid Ali, who was responsible for the illustrations of the *Amir Hamzah*. The illustrations were executed by a school of artists under this master. This was completed in Akbar's reign when Abdul Samad finished the work. Akbar was a great patron of this art, and a special school of art was opened in which he took personal interest. Developments in colours were made, and the Mughul style now began to show itself. It was a fusion of Persian forms and Indian naturalistic expression, especially in the rendering of the face and figure. This was expressed principally in book illustrations, of which many beautiful examples exist, notably the illustrated version of the *Mahabharata* called the *Razmannanah*, which is now in the possession of the Maharaja of Jaipur, and the *Baharistan of Jami* in the Bodleian



Plate 38 Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan with Itimad-ud-daula and Asaf Khan, from the A. Chester Beatty Collection, London



Plate 39 Darbar of Akbar, Delhi, at the beginning of the 17th century, from the collection in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay



Plate 40 Abul Fazl presenting the second volume of the Akbarnamah to Akbar, from a manuscript of the Akbarnamah in the A. Chester Beatty Collection, London



Plate 41 A Zenana School in the Deccan (late 17th century) from the collection in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (see page 286)

at Oxford. The artists' names have been recorded by Abul Fazl. He refers especially to the excellence of the Hindus in this art, and mentions Daswant, Basawan, Sanwal Das among others. That illustration was not the only work done is shown by the wall paintings at Fatehpur Sikri, and the designs of flowers, foliage and animals in the architectural decoration. Bairam Khan's son, Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, was another great patron of art, and there is a portrait of him painted a little later, which shows that the great nobles also encouraged this art.

Under Akbar the style naturally developed markedly, and under Jahangir reached a very high standard. The Rajput princes, who were quick to take advantage of any artistic development, also encouraged painting, and the Rajput style developed on these new lines, for Indian art had never really died out.

Music

It is strange that music has been almost a lost art in India, because it is obvious that Hindu culture gave it its due place and the early Muslim culture also approved it. It was Amir Khusru in the fourteenth century who invented the sitar. The vina of course goes back to early antiquity, and is depicted on the coins of the Imperial Guptas. The flute is the instrument of Krishna, and is possibly the earliest wind instrument in the world. The Suris were passionately devoted to music, and with the coming of the Mughuls from Central Asia, where music was the accompaniment of poetry and the alphabet of courtly accomplishments, music under Akbar took a foremost place. The Emperor himself was fond of music, and kept a court orchestra and composed himself. Tansen, a Hindu from Gwalior which is still the home of the art, was the greatest exponent in Akbar's court. Abdur Rahim the Khan Khanan, that cultivated man, composed for his own verses and kept musicians of his own. Raja Bhagwan Das and Man Singh were also keen enthusiasts, and the Hindu and Muslim musicians had no differences in their devotion to their art, which began to develop into a real Indian school. Harmony which had developed in Europe did not, however, emerge in India, and this is the great difference between the two. The great choral works of European composers have no equivalent in Indian music, which is individual ; and though Hindu music was associated with religion it never became a part of corporate religious expression as it did in Europe.

Literature

The Mughul dynasty were great patrons of literature. Babur himself was a poet of no mean order in Turki and a very cultured man. Humayun too loved literature and was well versed in the best examples. Akbar, though formally illiterate, had a mind so retentive of what was read to him, that he was able to hold his own with the greatest scholars with whom he filled his court. Of these the two brothers Abul Fazl and Abul Faiz or Faizi were perhaps the most remarkable for the breadth of their mental equipment. Abul Fazl in the *Akbarnamah* wrote a history of Akbar's reign which is much praised for its style by those qualified to judge, though as history it is too much of a panegyric. His *Ain-i-Akbari* gives a very valuable picture of the empire and its organization and administration.

Other historians of the time were the orthodox Abdul Kadir of Budaun known as Al Badaoni, who wrote the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, and Khwaja Nizam-ud-din Ahmad who wrote the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*. These are Persian works. Ghizali was the poet laureate, a Persian who won great renown by his poetry. Faizi, who succeeded him, was not only a poet but an Arabic scholar and skilled in medicine. His *Masnavi Nala-o-Daman* is most admired. Muhammad Husain Naziri of Nishapur was famous for his *ghazals*, while Sayyid Jamal-ud-din Urfi of Shiraz, patronized by the Khan Khanan, wrote *kasidas* of great merit. Something must be said about Gulbadan Begam, Babur's daughter, a literary blue stocking and the first of that band of literary ladies of the Mughul court who show the state of culture that existed. Her *Humayunnamah* is still read. Sultana Salima, Akbar's cousin and wife, and Maham Anaga were also accomplished ladies, and others will be referred to later in their place. All this bears witness to the culture of the Mughuls, in which they are such a contrast to their predecessors. This is the age of culture in royal circles, and the Tudors Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth were also noted for their literary talents.

Hindi literature had, it will be remembered, been given new life by Kabir and Guru Nanak. An interesting figure is Muhammad Jaisi from Jais in Rai Bareli, who wrote in Hindi the *Padmavati* in Sher Shah's time, an absorbing epic of the beautiful Padmini of Chitor. Hindi now shared with the Persian literature of the Mughul court and gained from the contact. Abdur Rahim, the Khan Khanan, that great patron of art and culture generally,

wrote Hindi poetry himself. Birbal was the great centre of Hindi verse at the court, and Bhagwan Das, Man Singh and Todar Mal all joined in its improvement. Surdas of Agra was the great poet of the Krishna worship, and his *Sursagar* is famous—one of the real creations of Hindi verse. This has exerted the greatest influence and one which was not in the circles of the nobles but among the people of the villages unaffected by the grandeur and wealth of Akbar's court. Persian had been introduced by Todar Mal as the language of the records.

But perhaps the greatest of all was Tulsi Das, poet and preacher, who of them all has exerted the greatest influence of any of the great figures of the time. Born in 1532, he lived until 1623, and thus was contemporary with Akbar, but he is never mentioned in the chronicles of the time. The worship of Rama was his theme. His *Ramcharitmanas* (The Lake of the deeds of Rama) is full of sublime teaching and gives the duty of the ordinary man. Like Nanak, Kabir and others of the mystic school, he is a monotheist. This *Ramayana* embodies the faith of the average Hindu and is his bible. The principle all embody in their works is *bakhti*, personal devotion to the divine. Some of their disciples developed it in various ways, but Surdas and Tulsidas are the prophets of the ordinary Hindu, not the Vedas or Puranas, but these intimate and familiar writings. Tulsi Das was orthodox and followed the Brahmanical traditions, but notwithstanding this he was influenced immensely by the *bakhti* cult. Vithal Nath, the son of Vallabhacharya, continued the Krishna teaching like Surdas. Dadu Dayal, who lived at this time, was opposed to Hindu orthodoxy and preached a simple faith of devotion.

In Bengal there had been a revulsion against the Brahmanic teaching, and Islamic influences had spread among the people. The cult of the Satyapir has already been referred to. Chaitanya succeeded to this synthesis of beliefs. His teaching of love and devotion to Krishna expressed in various ways, including song and dance, had a great influence on all Bengali ideas. A large variety of sects developed from these ideas, and the influence on Bengali literature was immense.

In other parts of the empire of Akbar there were the same developments, and the local language became the medium of their dispersion.

Marathi became the language of the government, both in the states of Bijapur and Golkunda, and the religious reformers used the language. Namdev was the first really to spread the *bakhti*

cult in the Deccan, traditionally at the end of the thirteenth century, but almost certainly later than this. His teaching was carried on by the famous Tukaram, who was born about 1608, and comes in the next period. Vernacular literature it will be seen owed a great deal to the use of the vernaculars, Hindi, Bengali, and Marathi, and the Persianized form of the common language of North India, which developed into Urdu first apparently in the Deccan. This subject is intensely interesting for the development of Akbar's own ideas, as there is no doubt that this ferment of religious speculation which led everywhere to a desire for a less formalized religious outlook was one of the important causes of Akbar's attempt to unify India by a universal toleration and perhaps a universal religion—the Din Ilahi.

Akbar's Personality

And now something must be said about Akbar's own character and person.

With Asoka he must be classed as one of the greatest rulers of India, and so much has been written about him that it is difficult to get an idea of what he really was. He has been called the Prince of Dreamers because of his ideas for universal faith, universal toleration, but not apparently a universal language, though that might have developed.

Some have idealized him unduly, others tended to go the other way and represent him as a swollen-headed and illiterate potentate whose success had rather gone to his head ; but whatever view we take he was a remarkable man. No man who rules for fifty years can be expected to maintain the same high standard all the time, especially if he is an absolute monarch.

Let us see what sort of a man he was physically. Babur, we read in his *Memoirs*, swam his horse over every river he came across in Hindustan—a great feat when the size of some of these rivers is considered. Akbar inherited this physical endurance and the sportsman's prowess. He was no clever and feeble prince, but a leader and king who could beat any of his subjects at whatever he attempted in the way of physical endurance.

He was a great horseman, who holds the record for some of the most remarkable rides in the history of India—Ajmir to Agra, 240 miles in 24 hours ; another great ride was his forced march from Sikri to Ahmadabad, 450 miles in eleven days. He played polo with skill, and was so fond of the game that he is said to have

played it at night with luminous balls. As a sportsman he was a great *shikari* until he tired of the slaughter of game. He was an inventor, too, for he developed an improvement in the making of gun barrels, and was a mechanical innovator. In appearance he was of middle height, fair with black eyes. He wore a moustache and no beard. He was powerfully built, with a broad chest and long arms. This is Jahangir's description. Father Monserrate says of him, 'He was in face and stature fit for the dignity of King . . . he has a noble mien and great dignity.' Again, 'He was a great king; a prince beloved by all, firm with the great, kind to those of low estate, and just to all men . . . he lived in fear of God, to whom he never failed to pray four times daily. . . . Towards his fellow-men he was kind and forebearing, averse from taking life, and quick to show mercy.'

This is a very fair picture of the great Emperor who tried to unite India.

He was a great general and personally brave to the verge of recklessness, as his attack with two hundred men on the army of Mirza Husain on the Mahi River shows. He was interested in everything, and had a quick active brain which ranged over a large number of subjects. Before his times in many things, his diplomacy was that of his age, and it is unjust to decry certain actions such as his behaviour at Asirgarh, his treatment of Yusuf of Kashmir, and the 'sin of the slaughter of Chitor,' for example, as if he is to be judged by the highest modern standards.

Some have criticized his Din Ilahi as an absurd innovation, but it developed from his desire for *sulh-i-kull*, universal peace or toleration, and was undoubtedly influenced by the teaching of reformers like Nanak, Kabir, and possibly Tulsidas and Surdas, and of course the Sufi doctrines of Islam. He tried earnestly to weld his people into one, and had he succeeded the history of India would have been different—but he was before his time in this. Experimentalist (he tried tobacco, introduced into India towards the end of his reign), innovator, mystic, he may have been, like all absolute rulers, too optimistic in his reforms, but he left an empire where administration was founded on just principles, even if those principles were only to be maintained by ceaseless vigilance.

Perhaps one of his most attractive sides is his attitude to learning, literature and art, all of which he cultivated and improved by his patronage. As to the general well-being of the people, that was something which did not come within the vision

of authority in those days anywhere in the world. The common people did not share in the glories of his court or the wealth of his treasury, except in as far as the settlement of the revenue improved their lot and allowed them to enjoy with greater expectation of permanence the fruits of their labour. Famine and pestilence were still rife, and little if anything was done to mitigate them. Education was a personal matter, and indeed it is only in the last century that states have begun to feel that they have any duty in the matter.

Akbar did not institute any great centre of learning, and the demand of the court did not affect the great mass of the people. It was indeed an island of culture and wealth in the midst of poverty and mental darkness. Kabir and Surdas and Tulsidas did more for the minds of the people than all the wealth and all the efforts of the great Emperor. Education was still a matter for the individual. The rich could have their children educated by tutors, and Plate 41 shows a mullah with his noble pupils of a royal or noble family, and girls at that. The rich were educated among the Muslims, and the poor, if they were Muslims, had the mosque schools for the learning of the elements of their faith, while the Hindu schools of the pandits at Benares and other sacred centres spread the traditional teaching of the ancient philosophy ; but few of the ordinary people ever had an opportunity to attend.

The villages lived their traditional life, and under Akbar at any rate there was more likelihood that they would not starve, but they were subject to corvées at the will of the Governor, and the workmen or artisans were compelled to work for a small wage at the orders of the nobles. The Hindu merchants were careful not to show their wealth, and hoarded wealth has no interest for any but misers. There were no luxuries for these classes ; woollens were not used and their clothing was scanty, though apparently jewellery was worn by the women. In Akbar's time, at any rate, food was cheap, and the currency carefully regulated. Sher Shah had introduced a copper coin called the *dam*, and also a silver rupee—forty *dams* going to one rupee. Wages were for an ordinary labourer two *dams* a day and for an unskilled artisan seven *dams*, but food was cheap and generally plentiful.

The industries were cloth and textiles, shawls from Lahore, carpets at Fatehpur Sikri, cotton textiles from Gujarat and Burhanpur, and the famous muslin of Dacca. Indigo and wool were exported. There were state manufactories or *kharkhanas*

for various articles to be used by the court or the army, where in Akbar's days much beautiful work of all kinds, embroidery, gold-thread work, inlaying, gold and silver work, jewellery, arms and armour were manufactured, and the Emperor's Department of Fine Arts, where the illustrators and miniature painters worked, functioned busily. The great building projects of Akbar and his successors Jahangir and Shah Jahan also gave much employment to skilled workmen.

On the whole, however, the arts and crafts were carried out for the benefit of the court, and there seems to have been no wealthy middle class to encourage them. This was due largely to the fact that the great officers of state could not leave property to their heirs, and thus no moneyed class could spring up, and this is the class which encourages production on a large scale before the ordinary people are prepared by education to enjoy and demand the products of the artist and the craftsman.

Chapter XVI

JAHANGIR

On the death of Akbar and the collapse of the party who desired Khusru's succession to the throne, Salim had no difficulty in succeeding, and he ascended the throne at Agra on the 3rd November 1605. He took the titles of Nur-ud-din (Light of the Faith), Muhammad Jahangir (Holder of the World). He issued twelve ordinances as a sort of testament of policy abolishing the unauthorized cesses, making arrangements for the safety of the highways, safeguarding of private inheritance, prohibiting the manufacture and sale of drink (with a frank confession in his *Memoirs* of his own habits), forbidding of violence and confiscation of property by officials ; the provision of hospitals and physicians in large towns, the observance of a day of rest, forbidding the slaughter of cows, confirmation of mansabs and jagirs and of religious endowments, and an amnesty to prisoners. How far these were carried out or whether they were an empty gesture is not known. He rewarded his supporters. Zamana Beg, the chief soldier, was given the title of Mahabat Khan, while the Persian Ghiyas Beg who had shown his loyalty under Akbar was given that of Itimad-ud-daula. Har Das Rai, called by Akbar Rai Rayan, a Khatri known as Raja Bikramajit, was made commandant of artillery.

Other promotions were not so wise. Bir Singh, the Bundela chief who had been his agent in the death of Abul Fazl, was raised to a mansab of three thousand, and is described in his *Memoirs* as ' brave, kind-hearted, and pure as any man of his age,' which hardly vouches for Salim as a judge of character. But he did not take revenge, as from his former conduct he might have been expected to do, on Raja Man Singh and the Khan Azam, the supporters of Khusru, and he seems to have really tried to effect a reconciliation with his son. There is a certain simplicity about Jahangir which is very apparent in his *Memoirs*, and especially in his pride over the goldern chain he had hung from the fort at Agra—the Chain of Justice—for anyone who was denied justice to pull and set all the bells ringing. It is not recorded that anyone ever had the temerity to ring it.



Plate 42 Portrait of Jahangir by Bichitr,
from the A. Chester Beatty Collection, London

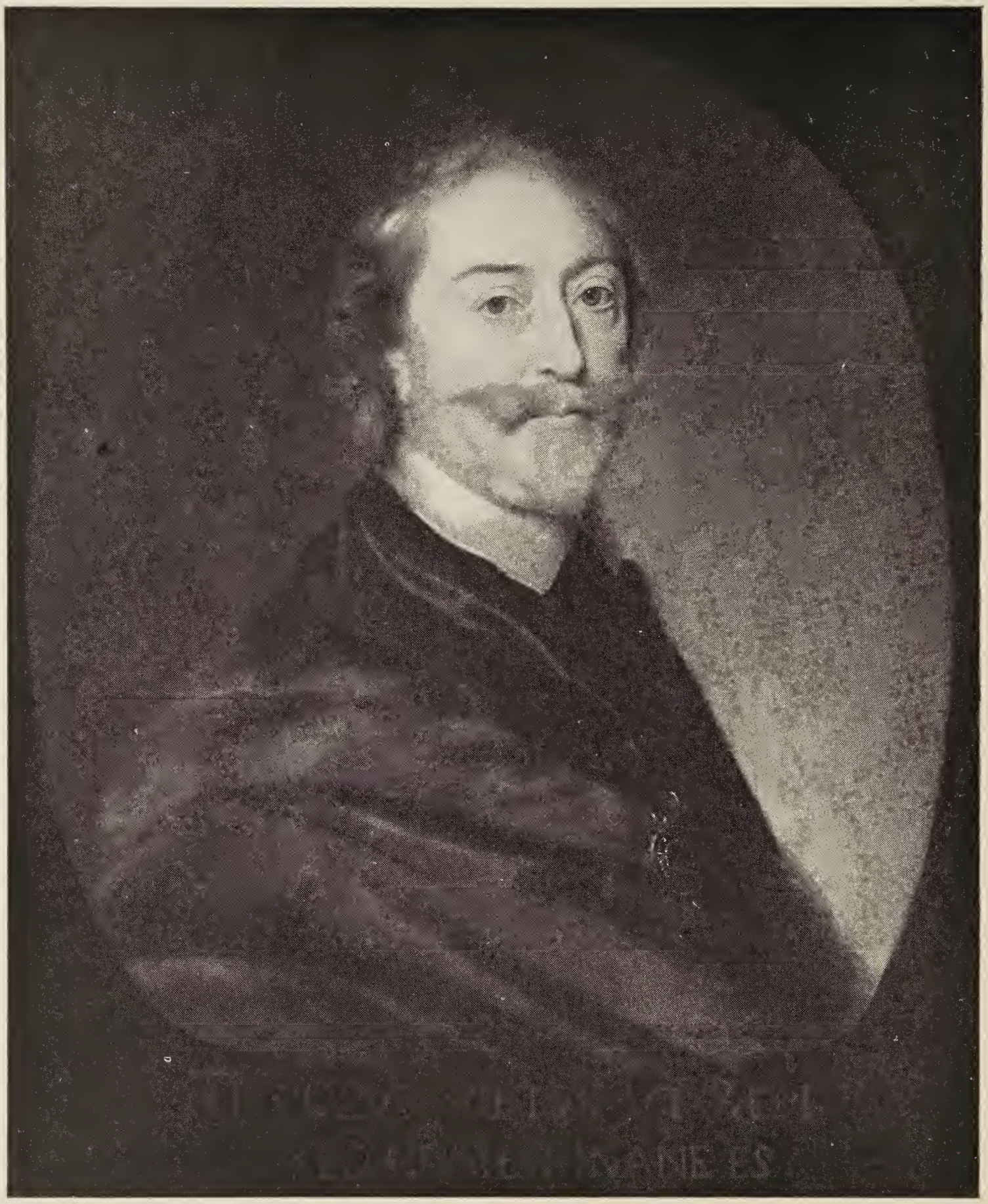


Plate 43 Sir Thomas Roe, from a portrait by M. J. Mieneveldt
in the National Portrait Gallery

Rebellion of Khusru

The character of his eldest son Khusru presents many difficulties. It is evident that he was much beloved by the people. Jahangir presents him as a rebellious son who repaid affection with distrust. He refers to his vain dreams and says he had to confine him. He also says that his mother the Shah Begam, Raja Man Singh's sister, 'grieved by his unseemly acts . . . took poison and died. . . . Her Rajput pride was wounded and she set her heart upon death,' and again, 'Unable to endure the ill-conduct of her son and brothers towards me she gave up her life.' But this was three years before, and it is even said that the real cause of her death was Jahangir's ill-treatment of her. He certainly does seem to protest too much. Whether Khusru was the tool of others or the somewhat colourless figurehead he at times seems to be, he was indeed an unfortunate prince. It is clear, at the very least, that he disliked his father. He became a legend. Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain, Terry, calls him 'a gentleman of very lovely presence and fine carriage, so exceedingly beloved of the common people that . . . he was . . . the very love and delight of them.'

He was now to make a bid for liberty. He broke out from his confinement which was apparently not at all strict, and left Agra in 1606 with a small body of adherents, ostensibly to visit Akbar's tomb at Sikandra just outside. He pushed on to Muttra, where he was joined by about three thousand men under Husain Beg Badaskhani, and continued to the Punjab. Here he was joined by the Diwan, Abdur Rahim. At Taran Taran the Sikh Guru Arjun Singh helped him with money, and by the time he reached Lahore his numbers had been increased by eager adherents to over twelve thousand. But the gates were shut against him by Dilawar Khan the governor, and now Jahangir with the imperial forces was hard on his heels. He was, as he himself says, eager to avoid extremities and entered into correspondence with his son for his submission. But Khusru was superior in numbers and seemed convinced he would win. In the battle which followed at Bhairowal, near the junction of the Beas and the Sutlej, the imperial forces under Shaikh Farid scattered Khusru's motley and untrained army, and the prince fled, but found the fords over the Chenab held, and was captured and taken to Lahore to his father. The latter had had a fright, and had seen his newly won throne slipping away from him. He punished the rebellion with savage

barbarity. The two chief followers of Khusru, Husain Beg and Abdur Rahim, were sown up in skins of a cow and an ass respectively and paraded round the city, their faces to a donkey's tail. Husain Beg in the cow's skin died as it constricted, but Abdur Rahim in the slower drying ass's skin survived. Khusru who had been captured by Mahabat Khan was brought before his father, bound, and with a chain on his leg, dejected and in tears. The Emperor had his followers impaled on a double row of stakes, and the prince, fettered as he was, carried past on an elephant to receive this terrible homage. All this was in keeping with the brutality of Jahangir's character which had been kept in check since his accession, but the danger he had run broke its bounds. The Guru Arjun Singh who had helped Khusru was now tortured to death—to leave a legacy of hate to his people. Raja Man Singh, the uncle of Khusru, was also fined and deprived of his government in Bengal.

The Persians under the Shah Abbas were now threatening Kandahar, but Jahangir proceeded to Kabul and the attack was warded off, and Shah Abbas excused it as a border fray unauthorized by the court. In Kabul Khusru was released from his chains, but he intrigued again and there was a plot to murder Jahangir while out hunting on his way back to Lahore. This led to Mahabat Khan being instructed to blind the prince, and Jahangir in his *Memoirs* reports, ' When the wire was put in his eyes such pain was inflicted on him that it is beyond all expression.' But it appears later that he did not entirely lose his sight, and after treatment by physicians even regained the use of one eye later when Jahangir relented. Sharif, the son of Itimad-ud-daula, and a nephew of Asaf Khan were implicated in the plot, and Itimad-ud-daula was imprisoned for a time ; but Asaf Khan, whose daughter Arjumand Banu Begam, the future Mumtaz Mahal, had just before this been betrothed to Prince Khurram, was not suspected. Khurram indeed is stated to have informed his father of the plot, and was rewarded with the jagir of Firoz Hissar the heir-apparent's usual fief.

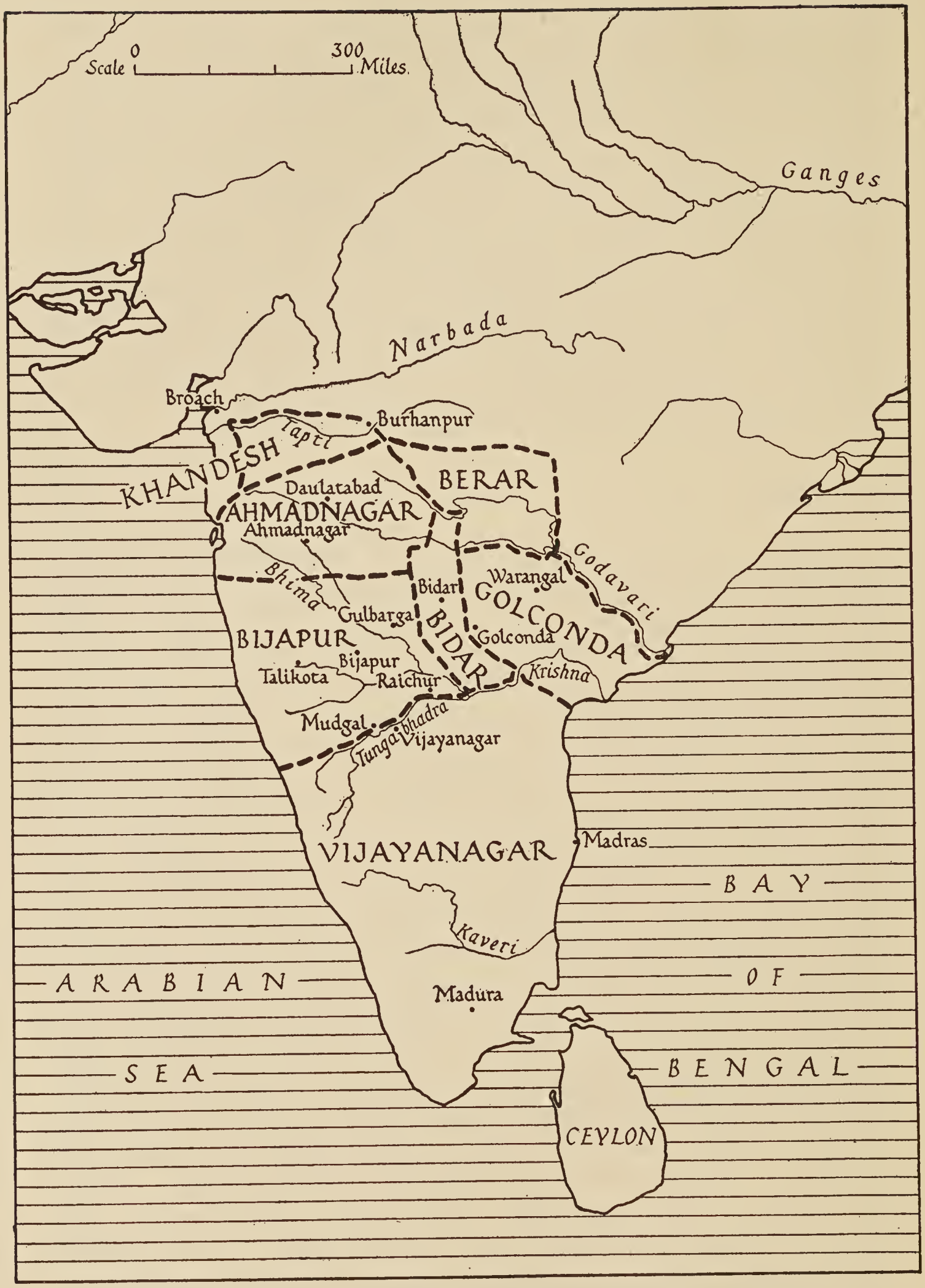
Mewar

It will be remembered that Akbar had sent Jahangir to Ajmir to subdue the unconquered Sisodias of Mewar, who had proudly refused to follow the example of other Rajputs in doing obeisance to the Mughul's throne, but had done nothing owing to the

intrigues regarding the succession. On his accession he had dispatched an army under Parviz and Asaf Khan, but the rebellion of Khusru had intervened. The imperial policy was to support Sagar, the uncle of Rana Amar Singh who was placed in Chitor, but results were hard to come by. Now when Jahangir returned to Agra in 1608 the design was taken up with new vigour, and Mahabat Khan was given the command. The Rana adopted guerilla tactics, and laid waste his own lands in the lowlands so that the Mughul army could obtain no supplies, while he retired with his chiefs to the highlands. This form of resistance was successful for a time, and Mahabat Khan was replaced the following year by Abdulla Khan who did no better, and the brave Amar Singh was still unsubdued.

The Deccan

While the campaign in Rajputana was being waged thus inconclusively, attention was directed to affairs in the Deccan where no progress had been made since Akbar's time. The Nizam Shahs still retained part of their territories, though Ahmadnagar was in the hands of the Mughuls. Here an Abyssinian slave, Malik Ambar, was the power behind the throne of Murtaza Nizam Shah II. He introduced reforms in revenue collection on the lines of the Mughul empire, but it was as a general that he was most notable. He was the first to realize the value of the Maratha horse—light cavalry who were skilled in guerilla tactics. Their rapid movements, untramelled by the unwieldy baggage trains which were now making the Mughul armies moving camps and not fighting bodies, made full use of the broken Deccan country for sudden stabs on flank and rear, and their lightning forays cut off supplies and made an advance in force a dangerous business. The imperial governors and generals seemed unable to deal with these tactics. The Khan Khanan promised Jahangir that he would finish this troublesome business within two years, but he was unable to redeem his promise. ' He patched up a sort of peace,' says Jahangir. Parviz was now sent with Asaf Khan. This had no better success, and all that happened was the loss of Ahmadnagar to the Deccanis whose capital was Khirki (later Aurangabad). The Khan Khanan was recalled, and Pir Khan Lodi the Khan Jahan took his place in 1610. An attempt was made the next year at a pincer movement with Abdulla Khan advancing from Gujarat, but



Map 15 The Deccan Kingdoms at the end of the 15th century

quarrels and lack of co-operation between him and the Khan Jahan rendered his advance against Daulatabad a failure, and he had to retreat to Gujarat with considerable loss. In 1612 the Khan Khanan was again given the command and was successful in occupying and burning Khirki, but insubordination and his own susceptibility to bribes rendered further success impossible. It was obvious that something greater was required.

The Emperor's Marriage

Before the account of the military measures taken in the Deccan and Mewar can be completed, it is necessary to retrace our steps to the domestic affairs of the Emperor. And of these the most important was his marriage to Itimad-ud-daula's daughter Mihr-un-Nissa. Mirza Ghiyas Beg of Teheran had come to India in search of his fortune in Akbar's days, and rose rapidly in the service of the State. His daughter was Mihr-un-Nissa and his son Itikad Khan, who later became famous as Asaf Khan. Mihr-un-Nissa was married at seventeen to a Persian adventurer, Ali Kuli Istajlu, who won the favour of Jahangir. He won further fame by slaying a tiger, and was given the title of Sher Afkan Khan. When Jahangir succeeded to the throne he gave him the jagir of Burdwan, and later he appears to have got mixed up in the sedition with which that province was rife. (Jahangir calls Sher Afkan 'one of the turbulent characters of the country' in his *Memoirs*.) His arrest was ordered, and when the governor Kutb-ud-din Khan proceeded to Burdwan to carry out the order his suspicions were aroused. In an effort to escape he cut down the governor, and was surrounded and dispatched by his followers. This was in 1607.

Mihr-un-Nissa and her daughter were sent to Agra where her father was, and became one of the ladies attending on Salima Begam. There does not seem to be any truth in the story that Jahangir had met her during Akbar's lifetime and had fallen in love, and that she was hurriedly married to Sher Afkan, or that the death of Sher Afkan was engineered so that she might be free to marry Jahangir. This did not happen until four years later in 1611.

Mihr-un-Nissa, now called Nur Mahal (Light of the Palace) and later Nur Jahan, by which name she is generally known, was a remarkable woman. She was beautiful, though when she married Jahangir she was no longer young being just under

thirty-four. She was artistic, and so in sympathy with the artistic Emperor who was devoted to her. Her brain was masculine in its keenness. She was a good shot who killed a tiger from her elephant, and she appeared in public. She was no mean poetess in Persian. For many years she ruled the empire, and as a woman in a Muslim dynasty could not appear openly she had to use finesse and exercise her power through others—her father, Itimad-ud-daula, her brother Asaf Khan, and especially through the Emperor over whom she exercised complete control. She loved power and schemed to retain it. Khurram had already been betrothed to her niece Arjumand Banu Begam, Asaf Khan's daughter, and they were married the following year, and this alliance seemed to confirm the power of this palace clique, Nur Jahan, Itimad-ud-daula and Asaf Khan and now the heir-apparent Khurram.

The Emperor confessed that she could rule the empire provided he had his cup of wine and a bit of meat. But it was not quite as easy as that. Nur Jahan had to work for her power. She issued firmans herself, and her name even appeared on the coins. Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of Elizabeth, refers to that powerful faction, 'Normall, the beloved Queen, aunt to Sultan Khurram's wife, sister of Asaf Khan.' These were the real power behind the throne, and Khusru and his hopes had faded to nothing. Later, as we shall see, she realized that Khurram was not one who could be influenced and set her hopes elsewhere ; but her power in its essence depended on her husband and died with him. These two royal ladies, the elegant and accomplished Nur Jahan and the more attractive character Mumtaz Mahal her niece, are the two most prominent of all the Mughul ladies, but of the two Mumtaz Mahal has left the greatest mark in that lovely monument her husband raised over her grave at Agra, the Taj Mahal.

Bengal

The turbulence of Sher Afkan appears to have been a forerunner of real revolt in the eastern provinces. In Bihar an impostor claimed to be Khusru, gained many followers, and was even able, owing to the cowardice of the imperial officials, to seize Patna during the absence of the governor in 1610. The governor, however, returned from Gorakhpur, where he had gone to take over his jagir or assignment, and soon disposed of the

impostor, whose name was Kutb-ud-din. The success he had gained was a sign of the popularity of Khusru and the pity excited by his blinding, for the impostor had counterfeited the marks of branding round the eyes we are told. The punishment of the officials who had fled is typical of the half-barbaric and half-cultured civilization of the times. Their heads and beards were shaved, and they were clothed in women's garments and paraded round the streets of Agra.

But a more serious menace now arose in the final effort of the always disgruntled Afghans to escape from Mughul suzerainty. They now rose under Usman Khan. Islam Khan, the governor of Bihar, was given the post in Bengal and instructed to put down the rebellion. Shujaat Khan was in command of the troops, and covered himself with distinction by his attack on Usman Khan, whose corpulence necessitated his being mounted on an elephant. Shujaat Khan on horseback was attacked, and wounded the elephant with his sword and lance but was then unhorsed; nothing daunted, however, he sprang up again and renewed the attack—man against elephant. Generals in those days had to be men-at-arms as well. Usman was killed and his men scattered. Shujaat Khan was given the title of Rustam-al-Zamani (the champion of his age) and a mansab of a thousand horse, while Islam Khan the governor got six thousand—an index of the importance of the campaign. This was the end of Afghan trouble in Bengal—a province which had given trouble since the very beginning of Muslim rule in India. This was in 1612. Before this there had been trouble on the North-West Frontier, where the fanatic Raushanais had risen and attacked Kabul itself. The frontier was troubled on and off all the reign.

Kumaon

An interesting incident was the visit of Raja Lakshmi Chand of Kumaon to the court of Jahangir. Jahangir mentions the visit of his father Raja Rai in 1568 to Akbar's court, and his request which was granted that he might be introduced by the son of Raja Todar Mal. There is, however, no raja of that name, and Lakhshmi Chand's predecessor was Rudra Chand. Jahangir says that the Raja was 'the richest hill chief, and it is said that there is a gold-mine in his territory.' This is an echo which goes back to the time of Ptolemy and his story of 'ant gold.' He brought as presents 'beautiful strong ponies,' the Bhutia pony

still famed to-day. Other gifts were hawks and falcons and numerous pods of musk. Later Kokra, a chief in Bihar, through whose territories ran a stream which was reputed to contain diamonds, was attacked, apparently quite without any other cause but the presence of the diamonds, at Jahangir's orders by Ibrahim Khan the governor of Bihar. The chief and his family were apparently put to the sword, and the territory including the diamonds seized. For this Ibrahim Khan was promoted and given the title of Fath Jang. But Kumaon escaped in spite of the reputed gold-mine. Hill campaigns were too difficult, nor was Kumaon part of the territory of the Mughul empire at any time.

Submission of Mewar

The war against Rana Amar Singh had continued with varying fortunes, but he was still unsubdued and the imperial forces had suffered some defeats. Abdulla Khan had been sent to the Deccan in 1611, and Raja Basu from the Punjab had done no better. Mahabat Khan was not in favour with the palace clique and was unemployed, but Aziz Koka, the Khan Azam, now took command and asked that Khurram should be sent as well. Khusru was now restored to liberty having had his eyes treated, and accompanied Jahangir to Ajmir where he went in 1613. Khusru had married as his only wife Aziz Koka's daughter and was a great favourite with the ladies of the royal harem, who had begged Jahangir to be reconciled. But it was not a success. He showed no joy in his father's presence and was finally forbidden the Court. His father-in-law, Aziz Koka, too, fell from favour, as Khurram complained against him that he could do nothing with him, and he was suspected, perhaps rightly, of wishing to push the claims of Khusru as heir and eldest son. He was therefore arrested by Mahabat Khan and conveyed to Asaf Khan to be kept safe, and imprisoned in the usual royal detention camp at Gwalior. It seems as if Jahangir had reasserted himself against the influence of Nur Jahan, Asaf Khan, and Khurram, and contemplated restoring Khusru to his rightful place ; but circumstances were too strong for him, and his easy-going disposition, when not inflamed by one of his bursts of rage or sapped by drink, resumed its sway and he gave way.

The campaign in Mewar was now pushed on with vigour. Khurram was an expert tactician, and his system of blockhouses

and moving columns at last wore down the Rajput resistance. It was hopeless to continue the heroic resistance which had gone on so long, chiefly by a policy of destroying all supplies and making the land a wilderness. This ultimately reacted against the defenders themselves, and the gallant Rana at last recognized that he would destroy his people if he did not submit. He sent envoys requesting terms with his son but excusing himself from attending on the Emperor on account of his age, but his Rajput pride could not brook attendance at the Mughul court. Jahangir met him half-way and wrote him what he calls a kind and reassuring firman, with the imprint of his hand on it. Khurram received the Rana with courtesy as an honoured foe, and was always trusted by the Rajputs. He sent his son Karan Singh, for Rana and son could not appear together, and he was also kindly received and given presents of beauty and value. The terms were apparently that he should be recognized as Zemindar of Mewar in the Mughul grade of office, but paid no tribute except the contingents he was expected to furnish to the royal armies. Chitor was never to be fortified. Khurram was greatly rewarded. He was given a mansab of eight thousand horse and a personal allowance or *zat* of fifteen thousand. He was twenty-four years of age, and recognized as the most likely successor to his father now that Khusru had failed to find favour and Parviz had failed in the Deccan. Thus at the end of 1614 the star of Khurram was greatly in the ascendant, and the solidarity of the palace clique seemed unimpaired.

English Visitors

Mention has already been made of the English travellers who visited Akbar's court—John Newberry, Ralph Fitch and the jeweller William Leedes (who travelled in that very ship the *Tiger*, mentioned by Shakespeare in *Macbeth* : ' Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master o' the *Tiger*),' and John Mildenhall, who made himself out to be Elizabeth's ambassador, and whose grave is still to be seen in Agra—the first Englishman who is known to have been buried in the country. Akbar's partiality for the Jesuits led to the foundation of a permanent mission in Agra, which remained there until 1773, when the society was suppressed by the Pope. Jahangir gave them permission to build a church and a college. Some of them were men of considerable eminence. Jerome Xavier was grandnephew of St Francis Xavier, and they numbered

men of letters, mathematicians and scholars. But these were Portuguese.

In Jahangir's time two Englishmen especially are prominent, William Hawkins, perhaps a relation of Sir John Hawkins, Elizabeth's admiral who helped Drake to defeat the Spanish Armada in 1588. He came out with letters from James I on behalf of the newly formed East India Company. He arrived in Agra in 1609, and seems to have won the favour of the Emperor, who promised him a mansab and gave him a wife and welcomed his presence at his drinking parties, of which he tells some unflattering stories in his report to the Company which has been published. His object was to obtain the right to trade by establishing a permanent station at Surat, but the Portuguese made use of the Jesuit mission in Agra to stop this, and Hawkins left disappointed in 1611. A threat to cut the trade and pilgrim route to the Red Sea, however, led to the English being treated with more respect, and a Portuguese defeat at sea led to a change of views.

In 1613 Jahangir issued a firman, allowing the English to establish a trading station on shore at Surat. The Portuguese viceroy determined to oppose this by force of arms, and sent a fleet to attack the English ships under command of Nicholas Downton, and to seize Surat from the Mughuls. Though more powerful they were not so well handled and had to withdraw. This is the first mention of the English in the *Memoirs* which refers to the defeat of the Portuguese. But the Portuguese now made peace with the Emperor, and the position of the English traders was made precarious. As a result the Company sent out a very different man as ambassador from King James to the Great Mughul in the person of Sir Thomas Roe. He was of a very different class from the rough sea captain Hawkins. Educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, a man of good family, a Member of Parliament, and always conscious of his own dignity and that of the king he represented, he was an ideal representative of the unknown country in the West regarded by the Mughuls as of little account until they began to realize the far-reaching effect of sea power. He arrived at the Mughul court, which was then at Ajmir, in 1615.

His conception of himself as an ambassador from one king to another was not appreciated by the Mughul court, who in their self-sufficiency thought that they were a law to themselves, and to whom conceptions of diplomatic relations and the Law of Nations were quite remote. In fact, while the West had been

introduced to what may be called the modern concept of ideas by the Renaissance, the East was still curiously medieval in both its political and imaginative ideas. Thus Roe had no great succcess as an ambassador in obtaining privileges for trade on modern lines. The chief object was the possession of a permanent station in Gujarat and freedom from the numerous and often illegal customs levied by the different governors. He had against him the Portuguese, who used the Jesuit mission in Agra to intrigue against him quite naturally, as their trade would suffer if it had to be divided with others, and the Dutch Company had already made considerable inroads on it as it was. He was unable to obtain the general trade treaty he desired. It was an idea entirely foreign to Mughul statescraft. Roe describes the attitude exactly when he says, ' Neither will this overgrown Elephant descend to Articles or bind himself reciprocally to any Prince upon terms of equality, but only by way of favour admit our stay.'

Khurram as viceroy of Gujarat resented his dealing directly with the Emperor, and Nur Jahan backed the Portuguese in return for valuable presents. However, in the end, Roe's persistence and pertinacity won from the Emperor a firman granting a factory in Surat, though permission for trade elsewhere was not granted. Though this was rescinded, arrangements were made at last with Khurram, and though no fortified station could be built at Surat, a trading station was permitted, and so the Company's factories, places both of collection and manufacture of raw material into finished goods for the eastern trade, were at last put on a proper basis. A factory or collecting station was set up in Agra and others at Ahmadabad and Broach, with Surat the chief station and in control of the others. As early as 1611 a trading depot had been established at Masulipatam in Golkunda territory.

Roe left India in 1619, having been largely responsible for these concessions obtained under very difficult conditions.

Of course had the Mughuls been in the least interested in establishing a merchantile marine of their own the situation would have been very different, but since the occupation of the country by the Muslim power trade had been left largely in the hands of foreigners, generally Arabs from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, and the Egyptian traders from Suez. There was no idea of sending the products of India outside the country in Indian ships. Those who wanted them could come and fetch them for themselves. In addition to this a great part of the trade with the West went overland and not by sea at all in its first stages, but

via Samarkand and Bokhara, Kandahar and Tabriz, and so through Baghdad to Damascus and Aleppo, Smyrna and Istanbul. It was the great maritime adventurers of the western nations, who by the discovery of the sea as a means of communication free from the perils of the land, led to the change from the Red Sea and Gulf ports trade with India to that direct by sea round the Cape of Good Hope. This change brought India gradually from her virtual seclusion of the Middle Ages and laid her open to influences and changes which culminated at a time when the centralized machinery of the Mughul autocracy had broken down. The story of the setting up of the European trading companies and their extension, however, will be dealt with later. This was only the beginning.

The Deccan

Affairs in the Deccan meanwhile had not been going well. Parviz, who was the nominal commander-in-chief with Abdur Rahim the Khan Khanan, could make no headway against Malik Ambar, and in 1616 Parviz was transferred to Allahabad, and it was decided to send Khurram to the Deccan. His rank was again raised to 20,000 *zat* and 10,000 *sawar*, and he was given the title Shah Khurram. What was more he was given an adequate force and Abdulla Khan a tried general sent with him. Rana Amar Singh sent 1,500 Rajput horse under Karan Singh, and the Deccan officers met him on the Narbada, the Khan Khanan, the Khan Jahan, and Mahabat Khan, now once more coming back into prominence. Meanwhile the court, accompanied by Sir Thomas Roe, moved to Mandu. Here Jahangir occupied himself in doing justice to Nasir-ud-din Shah Khilji of Malwa for the murder of his father over a hundred years before. He had his bones removed from the tomb and thrown into the Narbada. 'Sher Khan Afghan,' he recalls, 'though he had a brutal disposition beat the tomb with sticks.' Jahangir went one better than Sher Shah and kicked it. Another of his actions at this time was to prohibit tobacco because of its effects on health and mind.

Meanwhile Khurram reached Burhanpur in March 1617, and his strength was so great that when he proposed a treaty Malik Ambar and Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur hastened to make terms on the basis of the restoration of Ahmadnagar and the other imperial territory overrun and of the payment of one and a half million rupees. The Khan Khanan was left in charge,

and Khurram returned to Mandu, where he was received with the greatest honours. His rank was raised to a height never before bestowed, 30,000 *zat* and 20,000 *sawar*, and the title of Shahjahan. Nur Jahan, to whom he presented lavish presents from the booty, gave him a magnificent entertainment and all appeared amity and accord. Shahjahan was made Governor of Gujarat, and Jahangir and Nur Jahan now accompanied him when he went to take over his new viceroyalty. At Cambay he states that the European ships ' dressed ship ' in his honour. ' Having decorated their boats they displayed them before me and then took their departure,' he records. This is the first recorded naval review by a Mughul emperor. Here Sir Thomas Roe left. Jahangir did not like the climate of Gujarat. He was ill at Ahmadabad and called it Bemaristan and Gardabad owing to the dust. The court returned to Agra early in 1619. Plague which was raging over many parts of India prevented them from going to Agra, and they stopped at Fatehpur Sikri, where Shahjahan's mother Jodh Bai, daughter of Raja Udai Singh of Amber or Jaipur, the Mota Raja, died. On the way back from Gujarat Mumtaz Mahal had given birth to a third son—Aurangzeb.

Kashmir

Akbar had been the first of the Mughuls to visit Kashmir, and the beauty of the lovely valley had much impressed him. It was Jahangir, however, who made it the summer resort of the court. The gardens on the Dal Lake, the Nishat Bagh, and the Shalamar still exist to show how much the Mughuls loved pleasant gardens with watercourses trained to add their cascades to the beauty of green trees, brown walls with trailing roses and beds of flowers. Nur Jahan's summer palace on the island in the lake at Ganderbal still manifests in its ruins the aesthetic tastes of this accomplished beauty, her understanding of the artistic ideas and the love of nature which actuated her strange mixture of a husband. The visit to Kashmir was made in 1619, and though baggage was cut down as much as possible still 700 elephants were required. They arrived in Srinagar in early spring with snow still on the passes, and some of the elephants fell over the precipices with members of the royal harem. The court was not very happy owing to the lack of lodgings and suitable food, but this did not affect the Emperor. It was to him a health measure, the beginning of those migrations to the hills to avoid the heats and dust of summer

which succeeding British administrations have found so valuable. Apparently he had taken to drinking heavily again, and his wife and the doctors prevailed on him to cut down his daily potations.

While in Kashmir news came of the final conquest of Kangra or Nagarkot, which still held out. Suraj Mal, the imperial commander, went over to his co-religionists, but Raja Bikramajit carried on the siege and was finally successful, having captured his former commander Suraj Mal and the Raja of Chamba with whom he had taken refuge. The garrison after a year's investment was forced to surrender by the near approach of starvation. The following year, 1621, Jahangir visited the place on his way to Jammu, and exhibited the intolerance which now once more showed signs of reviving, possibly as a reaction to Akbar's unorthodoxy, by polluting the precincts of the ancient Jwalamukhi temple by sacrificing a cow and reciting the *kutba* preparatory to building a mosque on the site.

This campaign had been carried out entirely for purposes of personal prestige, to do something that Akbar had failed to do, and it held up the forces which might with greater advantage have been diverted to the Deccan where Malik Ambar was again active, and had succeeded in restoring the alliance between the Nizam Shahis and the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkunda. He soon drove the Mughuls out of the territories they had recovered and invested them in Burhanpur and Ahmadnagar, and the Khan Khanan had to send urgently to the Emperor for aid.

Shahjahan and the Deccan

Shahjahan was the obvious person to send, but he would not go and leave Khusru with his father, whose health showed signs of failing and whose affection for Khusru had appeared to be reviving again. Nur Jahan, too, felt that Shahjahan was too powerful and if he succeeded, her day was over. Having tasted power she was reluctant to let it go. She had made overtures to Khusru to marry Ladili Begam, her daughter by her first husband, but he was devoted to his only wife, Aziz Koka Khan Azam's daughter, and the plan fell through. Now a struggle arose for the custody of Khusru, and after Jahangir had once refused he gave way, and the unhappy prince was taken off to the Deccan in Shahjahan's train in 1620.

His first step was to disperse the Mahratta horse who had penetrated almost to Mandu. Then he advanced in March 1621

to relieve the Khan Khanan who had been shut up in Burhanpur. After that he advanced into the enemy country and, though attacked continuously, seized Khirki and destroyed it once more. An advance on Daulatabad was attempted, but the opposition was too severe and it was decided to relieve Ahmadnagar. This proved a difficult matter and his communications were menaced by the Deccanis. Another army, under Muhammad Taki, recovered Berar and Khandesh, and advanced to free the communications of the imperial army. The advance to Ahmadnagar still hung fire, but now Malik Ambar had had enough and asked for terms. The forces investing Ahmadnagar were withdrawn and the Mughul territory acquired again given up, while the three kingdoms of the Deccan agreed to pay an indemnity of five million rupees. Shahjahan returned to Burhanpur and occupied himself in reorganizing the administration.

Nur Jahan's Intrigues and Death of Khusru

Meanwhile Nur Jahan had been looking about for someone to play off against Shahjahan whom she considered to be much too powerful. Her choice fell on Shahryar, the third son of Jahangir by a concubine, a worthless youth of sixteen well fitted to be her tool. She married him to her daughter Ladili Begum after Shahjahan had left for the Deccan. In the following year Itimad-ud-daula died. This seems to have been the final cause which broke up the palace clique. Her brother Asaf Khan was not in favour of Shahryar but sided with his son-in-law, and Nur Jahan now came out into the open. The death of Khusru at Burhanpur was reported by Shahjahan as being due to colic, but actually he was strangled by his brother's orders in January 1622. Jahangir simply records that he received a letter from Khurram informing him that Khusru had died of colic, and makes no comment though he must have had his suspicions. It was the report of Jahangir's illness which reached Burhanpur in July 1621 which was the immediate cause of his death. This did not improve the position of Shahjahan in his father's eyes, and Nur Jahan found it no doubt a useful weapon in her campaign against him. The death of Khusru sent a wave of sorrow throughout the empire. His body which had been buried at Burhanpur was dug up by his father's orders and conveyed to Allahabad, where it was buried in the lovely garden now known as the Khusru Bagh, near the tomb of his mother Man Bai, the Shah Begam, and the empty

tomb of his sister Sultan-un-Nissa who was buried at Sikandra in 1624–25. There appear to have been attempts to make a saint of him, and shrines were erected where his bier rested on the journey up, but Jahangir had these destroyed. A Persian inscription exists in the tomb, dated 1622, in which the opening words are significant :

> Alas and alas for the unjust ways of Heaven,
> Woe, woe, when Justice left and Tyranny arrived.

Jahangir had been taken ill, apparently with asthma, in 1621, and this illness had been the chief cause of the death of Khusru and the determination of Nur Jahan to break with Khurram and form a party of her own. Asaf Khan favoured his son-in-law, and the death of Itimad-ud-daula finally dissipated the alliance. It is obvious that Nur Jahan influenced Jahangir against Khurram, because he now changed in his attitude towards his son. He was given no new honours for his success in the Deccan, and soon the struggle between Shahjahan and Nur Jahan was in full progress.

Persians and Kandahar

Shah Abbas of Persia had for long had his eyes on Kandahar. He sent ambassadors to Jahangir and apparently lulled his suspicions, but in 1622 he laid siege to the fortress which fell after a short resistance. Taken by surprise Jahangir had to send for the army of the Deccan and its commander. Supplies were collected at Multan, and in March Kandahar was invested. Shahjahan, however, was not agreeable to go on such a distant campaign and leave his enemies at court to intrigue against him. He marched to Mandu, and then sent to the Emperor conditions on which he was willing to take the command. These showed his suspicions ; Ranthambhor as a fortress in which to leave his family, the Punjab to be under his control as a base of supply and incidentally as a safeguard, and that he should remain at Mandu during the rainy season. These conditions were not accepted, and Jahangir ordered that if he stayed at Mandu till after the rains he was to send the chief amirs, the Sayyids of Barha and of Bokhara, the Afghans, and the Rajputs in advance. The use of Shahryar as a possible claimant now forced Shahjahan to more determined steps. He had applied for the assignment of Dholpur which had become vacant, and anticipated consent by sending his men to take over, but it was given to Shahryar and his men were

already in possession. This led to a fight and determined Jahangir, or rather Nur Jahan persuaded him, that Shahryar was the man to support, and the command of the army was nominally entrusted to him ; his rank and allowances were increased and he was given Shahjahan's special jagir of Firoz Hissar, the usual sign of the heir-apparent. This was final. Whether Shahjahan had been manœuvred into rebellion or had fallen into it himself, the fact could be no longer concealed.

Shahjahan's Rebellion

The Emperor and Nur Jahan were at Lahore collecting an army, and Shahjahan determined to march on Agra to seize the treasure. He was supported by the Khan Khanan, of whom Jahangir remarks, ' by nature a rebel and traitor. His father had acted in the same way ' (this was Bairam Khan in Akbar's time). Asaf Khan was suspected and sent out of the way when Mahabat Khan was at last entrusted with the chief command by the imperial court. Shahjahan's march on Agra did not succeed, because Itibar Khan closed the gates of the fort, and saved the treasure, though the town of Agra was plundered. He then marched north to meet the imperial army which, under the command of Mahabat Khan, was marching south to Delhi with Jahangir, and the Empress with it. The two forces met at Bilochpur and Shahjahan's army was defeated in March 1623, Raja Bikramajit his chief commander being killed.

Shahjahan retreated to Mandu, where he was followed up by Mahabat Khan and Parviz in May. Another force under Aziz Koka and Bulaki, Khusru's son, advanced on Gujarat, whither Abdulla Khan who had deserted to Shahjahan just before the battle of Bilochpur was compelled to flee. The approach of the imperial army compelled Shahjahan to leave Mandu and cross the Narbada. He was now deserted by the Khan Khanan and many others and was hunted through the Deccan, refused help by Malik Ambar, and crossed into Golkunda where Muhammad Kutb Shahi allowed him to cross into Orissa without interference. He had not given up hope, and by the negligence of the Governor of Orissa was enabled to march into Bengal. Abdulla Khan captured Burdwan. Ibrahim Khan, the Governor of Bengal who was brother to Nur Jahan, prepared to resist at the defile of Rajmahal, but was defeated and killed, and Shahjahan marched on to Dacca. Bengal was his. Raja Bhim Singh of Mewar

occupied Patna for him. The way was now open for the invasion of the Ganges Valley. Rohtas was surrendered and finally Jaunpur was reached. Abdulla Khan was sent to lay siege to the fort at Allahabad, and Shahjahan himself passed through Benares. By this time Mahabat Khan and Parviz had come up from the Deccan and put a stop to this unimpeded progress. Abdulla Khan had been compelled to raise the siege of Allahabad and Raja Bhim Singh was killed near Jaunpur. A battle was fought at Damdama in the Allahabad district, and Shahjahan was finally defeated. Now, again, he had to flee, and made his way to Rohtas where Mumtaz Mahal had just given birth to Murad Bakhsh. He had to leave them there, and once more took the long route to the Deccan. There he found Malik Ambar ready to help, and joined the enemy of his race and family. He laid siege to Burhanpur, but Mahabat Khan and Parviz had now arrived and compelled him to raise the siege. Abdulla Khan now deserted him ; he fell ill and was at the end of his resources. There was nothing left but to ask for pardon, which he did. Jahangir or Nur Jahan had no objection. The latter was alarmed at the possible danger from Parviz to her schemes. He had been raised to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 *sawar* and 40,000 *zat*, and his dependence on Mahabat Khan alarmed her. Accordingly the submission of Shahjahan was accepted. It had been proved that he was helpless against the imperial power. He had to send his sons Dara and Aurangzeb as hostages, and he himself was to live at Nasik after handing over the fortresses of Rohtas and Asirgarh which were still in his hands. Thus ended this three years' rebellion.

The Dictatorship of Mahabat Khan

Nur Jahan showed her distrust of Mahabat Khan by having him summoned to court to separate him from Parviz. He came in 1626, accompanied by his Rajput troops to the number of several thousands. He joined the court on the Jhelum in its progress to Kabul, and was immediately treated with indignity and threatened with an inquiry into his actions. Asaf Khan joined forces with Nur Jahan against him, and Jahangir was by now in no state to take hold of the situation. It was in self-defence that Mahabat Khan was compelled to seize the person of the Emperor. Nur Jahan made a brave effort to rescue him and then joined his captivity, for that is what it was. Asaf Khan fled to

Attock, but surrendered on the promise that his life would be spared. Thus the army marched, with the Emperor, Nur Jahan, and Asaf Khan prisoners in fact, if not in name. But Mahabat Khan though a good general was no politician, and his Rajputs were not the same safeguard surrounded by fanatical Afghans in Kabul as they had been elsewhere. An attack was made on them and many were killed.

In October 1626 Parviz died at Burhanpur of the effects of drink, and this further weakened the position of the opponents of Nur Jahan. Malik Ambar had died in May. The court set out on the journey back from Kabul in November, and near the Punjab Rohtas the royal party felt strong enough to direct Mahabat Khan to take his Rajputs a day's march ahead. He realized what this meant, and taking Asaf Khan and some of the royal princes with him as hostages he made for Lahore. Here he judged it wise to send the hostages back and made his own escape to Mewar. Shahjahan had also taken refuge at Udaipur during part of his exile, and had been aided by the Sisodias with a force of Rajput horse with which he advanced north to Ajmir, ostensibly to rescue his father, but the failure of Mahabat Khan and the restoral of the royal influence caused him to turn aside, and he seems to have nourished designs of getting the help of Shah Abbas. He accordingly made for Sind, but the Governor of Thatta, who favoured the party of Shahryar, stopped this design and Shahjahan had to fall back. Passing through Mewar he was joined by Mahabat Khan, and proceeded to Junnar where they awaited events.

Death of Jahangir

In the early spring of 1627 Jahangir proceeded once more to Kashmir for the summer, but the change did him no good. He was obviously failing. In the autumn the journey down to the plains began, but Jahangir got weaker every day. His asthma had not been improved by the hills, and at last he died early in November 1627 in his fifty-eighth year. His body was taken to Lahore and buried at Shahdara, where the tomb erected by Nur Jahan still remains.

The Character of Jahangir and his Achievements

Jahangir was a curious mixture. To take his bad qualities, he was cruel, as his behaviour at Allahabad before Akbar's death

shows, with his flaying alive of unfortunate servants and the brutality which, there is little doubt, had something to do with his wife the Shah Begam taking poison because her Rajput pride would not brook such behaviour. His impaling on stakes the followers of Khusru at Lahore, the flaying alive of Guru Arjun Singh, the sewing up of men in wet skins which dried and crushed them to death, his wild-beast fights with human beings, all show a curious insensibility to suffering, which may be contrasted with his grief when a beater went over a *khud* and was crushed to death in Kashmir in his last journey down. Hawkins' descriptions of his nightly orgies, when his hand shook so much that he could not hold his food and it had to be guided to his mouth by servants is repulsive. Sir Thomas Roe, a more reliable witness perhaps, confirms this, and Jahangir in his *Memoirs* confesses that he was a heavy drinker. His weakness of character is shown by the hold that Nur Jahan was enabled to maintain over him, and his virtual resignation of the government to her. He was a simple-minded man in other respects, with little ideas of state policy. The government went on by its own momentum, and he simply finicked with petty reforms like the forbidding of the manufacture of drink, the banning of tobacco, and the setting up of a few hospitals.

His architectural contributions are few, but among them is a characteristic development of landscape gardening. Babur had set the fashion, but its greatest development was undoubtedly by Jahangir, in Kashmir, in the lovely gardens on the Dal Lake, where the Shalamar Bagh is the most perfect example of this art, with its terraces of green grass and flowers and the stream, without which the Mughul garden was not complete, cascading through its formal pleasances. The nobles vied with him and Asaf Khan's Nishat Bagh is another example of landscape gardening at its best. Away in the charming lake of Ganderbal is the island on which Nur Jahan built her pleasure house, a perfect setting for what must have been a lovely refuge from the world and its troubles. Nur Jahan's exquisite taste is further displayed in the most beautiful monument of Jahangir's reign, the lovely tomb of her father, Itimad-ud-daula. This little gem of architecture across the river from the Taj is one of the most beautiful of all the beautiful examples of Mughul architecture. Constructed of white marble interlaced screens and ornamented with the *pietra dura* work of semi-precious stones in intricate patterns, it is the first example of this use of white marble without a foundation of red

sandstone, and also of the use of *pietra dura* decoration. It has been described as not only a perfect example of architectural refinement, but as a type of craftsmanship applied to architecture in a matchless manner, and its setting with its red sandstone gateways, fountains, and cypress-walks beside the flower-beds completes the perfect picture.

Akbar's tomb at Sikandra outside Agra was begun by that Emperor himself, but Jahangir altered and completed it. The scheme or design of the setting is probably Akbar's own. It is placed in a large square garden surrounded by high walls, each with a red sandstone gateway in the centre surmounted at each corner by four lovely white marble minars, and ornamented with painted, carved and inlaid stone decoration.

The gateways lead by raised causeways towards the central tomb, each causeway having a central platform with a fountain and steps leading down to the flower-beds below. The large tomb building is surmounted by a white marble superstructure with latticed perforated sides in the centre of which is the cenotaph. The actual tomb is below in a large central hall. The design of the central block, the tomb proper, seems to have suffered from a change of plan, and Jahangir says he was dissatisfied with the way it was being done after Khusru's rebellion and pulled down and rebuilt some of it. It was not finished until 1612–3. This reconstruction cost fifteen lakhs, and may account for the somewhat formless mass of the tomb itself. His own tomb at Shahdara near Lahore was built by Nur Jahan, but according to his own design, as it bears no resemblance to the beautiful tomb of Itimad-ud-daula. The tomb of the Khan Khanan in Delhi is on the same lines as Humayun's tomb, and is a finer though smaller edition as far as design goes, though it has been stripped of much of its decoration.

Jahangir's taste is shown by his love of painting, which in his time reached its finest pitch. Abul Hasan and Mansur are mentioned as his court painters, and the former did a painting of the court as a frontispiece to the *Jahangirnama*, which does not seem to have survived. He was an expert, and says, 'I am very fond of painting and have such discrimination in judging these that I can tell the name of the artist and whether living or dead.' The Emperor was a naturalist and keenly interested in birds, animals, flowers and all wild nature. Thus the artists of his time were especially directed to paint birds and animals, plant life and flowers, and their fidelity to nature is remarkable. This was

the hey-day of Indian—not Persian—painting, a real synthesis of all the best in Persian and native art fused together by the patronage and understanding of the artistic Emperor. A word must be said about his coinage, the most perfect of all Indian coins. Of these his zodical coins with the signs of the zodiac, the ram, the bull, etc. are the most interesting. They took the sign of the month they were issued in, and were first issued in 1618. This representation of living things on coins was contrary to the strict tenets of his religion, but while Jahangir seems to have been fairly orthodox he was not a strict observer, as his drinking showed, and in other respects he was very tolerant. Nur Jahan's name appears on some coins, and his heavy gold coins were called *nurjahani*. On some portrait-medals his own head appears and a drinking cup in his hand.

His interest in literature was that of a cultured gentleman of his time. Like all his family, he practised poetry, which was in those days, as in the courts of Europe, a polite accomplishment.

But Jahangir was no great emperor like his father. During his reign he did nothing to maintain the administration at its former high level. He allowed the reins of government to fall into the hands of Nur Jahan and her family, who used the power for her own good, not that of the realm. The roads were unsafe, and the governors did much what they liked. It was only the system which carried on the life of the country. We hear of the misery of the common people from the recorded impressions of travellers—how they were oppressed by the governors and suffered from pestilence and famine without any hope of alleviation from those who were set over them. He was an easy-going voluptuary, weak in character, though with some attractive traits.

Chapter XVII

SHAHJAHAN

Jahangir died on 7 November 1627 and Shahjahan was still in the Deccan. Asaf Khan, who was all along the strong partisan of his own son-in-law, realized the importance of forestalling Nur Jahan and Shahryar, and proclaimed Bulaki the son of Khusru as Padishah under the title of Davar Baksh. This was to keep the throne warm for Shahjahan. Shahryar, who was in Lahore, had himself proclaimed emperor there. Asaf Khan and Davar Baksh, however, had got moving before Nur Jahan arrived in front of the city, and defeated the troops Shahryar sent against them. Nur Jahan had been put under guard, and Shahryar was surrendered and blinded. A message was sent to Shahjahan bidding him to come with the utmost dispatch. He started through Gujarat and Ajmir, and sent a message that the royal princes Davar Baksh and his brother and the two sons of Daniyal his uncle should be blinded and dispatched ' to their rightful abode.' This was warrant for their execution, which was carried out, and Shahjahan was proclaimed emperor early in January 1628.

He had sent messages to Khan Jahan Pir Lodi at Burhanpur, but the latter had ignored them. He was conscious of his treachery in giving up large territories to the Nizamshahi in return for large bribes, and apparently did not consider that Shahjahan stood any chance. When, however, Shahjahan was proclaimed emperor he came round and made his submission and was forgiven. Rana Karan Singh of Mewar met him on his way through Rajputana and gave him large offerings and was lavishly rewarded, and at Ajmir Mahabat Khan was left as governor. Reaching Agra, the official ceremony of coronation was held by the reading of the *kutba* in his name, which was Abul Muzzafar Shihabuddin Muhammad Sahib Kiran Sani. Great celebrations were the order of the day, and Mumtaz Mahal and Jahanara Begam gave him presents and distributed alms. The Empress was given an annual privy purse of a million rupees, and Jahanara Begam shared in this magnificence, as did the royal princes. Asaf Kahn was promoted to 8,000 *zat* and 8,000 *sowar*, and made chief minister, while Mahabat Khan got 7,000 *zat* and the title of Khan Khanan,

while his son Khan Zaman obtained the governorship of Malwa. Other loyal officers were rewarded in various ways, among whom was Shaista Khan and Mir Jumla and his father-in-law Shahnawaz Khan. Nur Jahan's power had vanished and her intrigues were no longer to be feared. She went into retirement at Lahore, where she was given a generous allowance, and with her daughter, Shahryar's widow, spent her time in constructing the tomb of her husband and in charitable works. The fate she had feared was upon her, but she met it courageously. She had enjoyed sixteen years of power such as came to few women of her time in the East, but her methods had thrown the empire into considerable confusion, and it took Shahjahan some time to restore order. Nur Jahan died at the end of 1645, four years after the death of her brother Asaf Khan, who was given the title of Khan Khanan on the death of Mahabat Khan in 1634.

Rebellions

The two chief causes of trouble to Shahjahan in the early part of his reign were Jhujhar Singh, the Bundela chief of Orchha, son of that Bir Singh who had murdered Abul Fazl and been rewarded by Jahangir, and Pir Lodi the Afghan Khan Jahan.

The former was well received by Shahjahan when he came to Agra to pay his respects, but soon found that the free hand which Jahangir had given his father would not be extended to him, and that inquiries were to be set on foot into Bir Singh's unjustified acquisitions. The Bundelas had been allowed to do much as they liked by Jahangir, and Jhujhar Singh's son Vikramajit, who was left in Bundelkand, proceeded to exceed his authority. Jhujhar Singh therefore fled from the court in June 1628. He could not be immediately dealt with, but Shahjahan soon showed he was not to be trifled with. He appointed Mahabat Khan to march from Agra, Khan Jahan from Malwa, and Abdulla Khan with a third force. He himself moved to Gwalior.

The three forces concentrated on the fortress of Irich and captured it, killing three thousand of the garrison. This disposed Jhujhar Singh to submit in early 1629. He paid one and a half million rupees and forty elephants, but though confirmed in his rank he lost some of his jagirs, and was ordered to assist in the Deccan with a force of four thousand. Here he did good service for a time, together with his son Jajraj or Vikramajit.

Pir Lodi the Khan Jahan had, it will be remembered, given



Plate 44 Shahjahan at his Accession, by courtesy of Anthony Napier Sturt, Esq., Painswick, Glos.



Plate 45 Agra. The Tomb of Itimad-ud-daula





Plate 46 Agra Fort
above The Moti Masjid
(the Pearl Mosque)
below The Musamman Burj
(the Jasmine Tower)



Plate 47a Agra. The Taj Mahal from the River Jamna

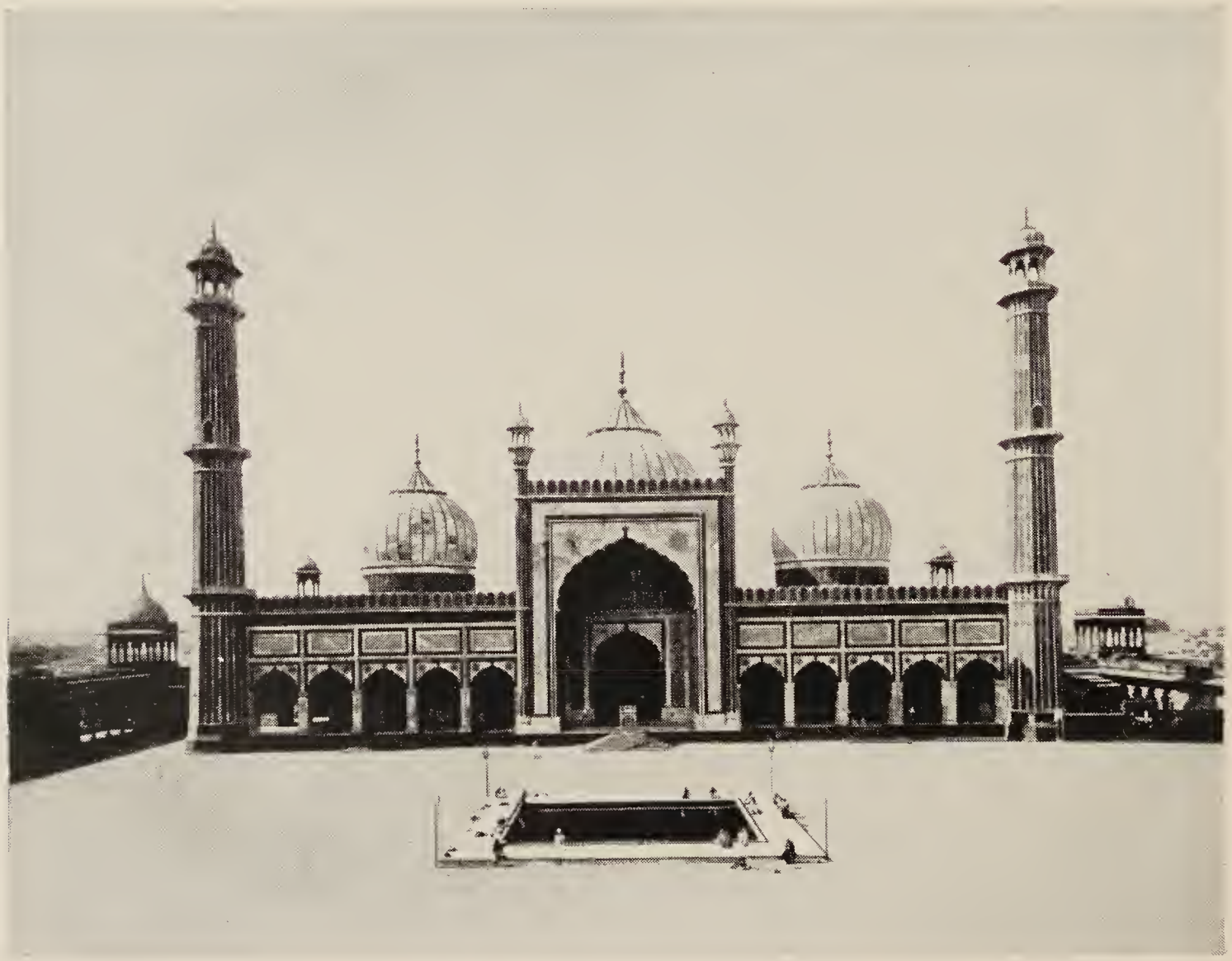


Plate 47b Delhi. The Jami Masjid

up the Balaghat or Berar highlands to the Nizam Shah in return for a large bribe, and had paid no attention to Shahjahan's orders to prosecute the war when he proceeded to assume the crown at Agra.

He made submission however when Shahjahan became Emperor, and his inactivity in the Deccan caused Shahjahan to transfer him to Malwa. His share in the campaign against Jhujhar Singh has been noticed, but when he came to Agra he felt slighted, and soon, when some of his jagirs were resumed, he became apprehensive. He was suspicious by nature, and even a reassuring letter from the Emperor did not satisfy him, and his conscience too was not at ease, especially when he saw so many of Jahangir's favourites being replaced. Accordingly one night in October 1629 he fled from Agra with his followers. He was pursued and caught up with near Dholpur, where a fight took place in which he was worsted, but leaving his women and his treasure he himself managed to escape and ultimately reached Daulatabad.

Here Murtaza Nizam Shah II received him cordially, and gave him a jagir and his followers lands held by the Mughuls, so as to commit them to his side. This open rebellion made it necessary for Shahjahan to deal with the question of the Deccan in earnest, for the imperialists were being driven out. He proceeded to the scene of operations himself.

Iradat Khan, now given the title of Khan Azam, was made commander-in-chief, and proceeded to clear the Balaghat in 1630. This operation was interrupted by the rains, but continued until Daulatabad was threatened and Murtaza began to repent of his alliance. The Khan Jahan had been half-hearted in his efforts, and now fled via Malwa to the Punjab, where he hoped for Afghan support. He was hotly pursued and tried to take refuge in Bundelkand, but Vikramajit, who had helped him before, now turned against him and attacked him. He was pursued to the river Sindh, the tributory of the Chambal, and finally slain by the imperial officers.

But the war against Ahmadnagar went on. The Mahrattas now began to join the Mughuls. Jadu Rai their leader, who had played the Nizam Shahis false, was murdered by the orders of Murtaza, and his son-in-law Shahji Bhonsla offered his services to the Mughuls, who gladly accepted them. Fath Khan, the son of the great Malik Ambar, had been imprisoned by Murtaza, and Mukarrab Khan his brother-in-law, who was a Persian and not an Abyssinian, became the chief power in Ahmadnagar. He

entered into an alliance with Bijapur. This made things more difficult for Khan Azam, and he was compelled to withdraw from the siege of Parenda, an important strategic position, with severe loss. On the south Nasik had been seized, and Junnar and Nasik was handed over to Shahji Bhonsla. Though Berar and most of the Balaghat had been cleared, the Mughuls were still far from being successful. Affairs improved as the result of a palace revolution in Ahmadnagar, where Murtaza II released Fath Khan and Mukarrab Khan was superseded. This resulted in his going over to the Mughuls, and he was given the title of Rustum Khan and sent to Katehr. Fath Khan now imprisoned the king, and entered into correspondence with Asaf Khan, who suggested that he should be suppressed permanently. Murtaza was accordingly murdered, and his ten year old son Husain made king. Fath Khan now was ready to submit, but Bijapur refused, and in the end of 1631 Asaf Khan was sent to march on Bijapur. On his way he sacked Gulbarga and soon reached the environs of Bijapur. Here lack of supplies owing to the severe famine which had raged in the Deccan for three years caused him to grant a truce, which the Bijapuris, knowing his state, protracted. Finally he was compelled to fall back, plundering and laying waste the countryside. Mumtaz Mahal had died in June at Burhanpur on the birth of her fourteenth child, and Shahjahan was overcome with grief. When the advance on Bijapur failed he returned to Agra in 1632, where he set to work on that great monument to conjugal devotion, the Taj Mahal. Mahabat Khan was given the command in the Deccan, and his son Khan Zaman officiated for him.

Shahji Bhonsla had once again changed sides. He had been ordered to give up some of the territory which had been held by Fath Khan of Ahmadnagar and given to him during the war, but this was now restored to Fath Khan on conclusion of peace. He accordingly made overtures to Bijapur and promised to take Daulatabad, if assisted. Fath Khan appealed to Mahabat Khan for aid and Khan Zaman was sent to help him. They defeated the Bijapuri troops under Randola Khan. This led to another diplomatic revolution, and bribed by money and supplies Fath Khan joined with Bijapur against the Mughuls. Now Mahabat Khan showed the stuff he was made of. He was undoubtedly the best general the Mughuls had, and his last campaign against Daulatabad showed that he was a master of what is called nowadays the logistics of warfare. Operating in the Deccan with its long lines of communications against the Mahratta horse and

guerilla tactics was a matter of supplies, and Mahabat Khan made elaborate arrangements and organized a proper commissariat with the help of the *banjaras*, the carriers of northern India. The famine was still raging in the Deccan, but a line of supplies was organized for the supply of grain from Gujarat and from Agra. Having established his communications in this manner, the old general set out for Daulatabad and closely invested the citadel called Ambarkot which he captured, and then laid siege to Mahakot the other key-point of the defences of Daulatabad. All the efforts of Randola Khan and Shahji to relieve the pressure proved useless, and a reinforcement from Bijapur under Murari Pandit did no better. Daulatabad fell and Fath Khan surrendered in June 1633. The Bijapur army was defeated and Fath Khan and Husain Nizam Shah sent to Agra, and the young king went to join his relations in the prison fortress of Gwalior. Fath Khan was treated with great consideration, his jagirs restored, and an allowance of two hundred thousand rupees a year granted.

Thus ended an important stage in the reduction of the Deccan ; but it was by no means the end. Shahji still held most of the Konkan and the country north of Poona, and the whole of the Balaghat was not freed. Shahji set up another member of the Nizam Shahi line, and continued his raids against the Mughuls. Shah Shuja was in nominal charge and he and Mahabat Khan set out to reduce the enemy. The siege of Parenda however failed, and as the rains were coming on the army had to beat a retreat to Burhanpur. This failure was not pleasant to Shahjahan and he recalled Shah Shuja and censured Mahabat Khan. The old general was ill, and this broke his heart and seems to have turned his brain. He died in 1634.

Portuguese at Hugli

At this stage it will be convenient to give some account of happenings in the north. It was while Shahjahan was in the Deccan that he sent orders to Kasim Khan of Bengal to deal with the Portuguese at Hugli, who had been behaving in a manner unlooked for in peaceful merchants. The trading centre at Hugli in the Delta had been established by the Portuguese nearly a hundred years before for trade with the east coast of India, the Spice Islands, and China. They were left to themselves by the Mughul authorities in Bengal, who had moved their capital from Sonargaon to Dacca in 1608. They were now accustomed to

demand a toll from boats passing their settlement, and had joined in acts of piracy with the Portuguese renegades of Chittagong who had severed connection with Goa and taken to unabashed piracy. In numbers they were only about two hundred, but they added to these by purchasing children from the inhabitants nearby their settlement and using them as slaves, or bringing them up as Christians. When Shahjahan heard of their misbehaviour he remembered that when he was in need during his rebellion his appeal for aid had been somewhat insolently refused, and they had omitted to send congratulations and presents on his accession. Two slave girls of Mumtaz Mahal's had been captured during the flight from Bengal, and lately a Portuguese from the Magh territory sailed up to a village near Dacca and plundered it and carried off a Muslim lady. This seems to have been the final outrage, and it was decided that revenge was due. This did not take place until 1632 as other things intervened, and few in numbers though they were the military qualities of the Portuguese commanded great respect. Indeed it took a whole campaign and the mobilization of a large army, said to have been a hundred thousand strong, to conquer them. Bad though the conduct of the Portuguese had been, the treatment meted out to them was inhuman. The survivors, women and children, were taken to Agra and distributed among the harems of the Mughul nobles, Shahjahan himself taking some. The men were offered the choice of apostasy or imprisonment with torture. Some of the priests were battered to death, others imprisoned, and a regular wave of intolerance seems to have swept the court, the church at Agra also being destroyed at this time. Only the armed strong man could keep his house in these days, it was evident ; but it must be remembered that the Portuguese had given much excuse for punishment, both by their proselytizing habits and by their connection with the pirates in the Magh kingdom of Arakan who were accustomed to carry fire and sword up the waterways of eastern Bengal.

Bundelkand

Jhujhar Singh had rendered good service in the Deccan, and returned to Orchha after five years' service under Mahabat Khan and Khan Azam. His ambition now impelled him to attack the independent territory of Gondwana south of his own Bundelkand. The raja, Prem Narayan, was besieged in the fort Chauragarh,

and when he got no help from the Emperor to whom he had appealed (except a message to Jhujhar Singh warning him against continuing), he surrendered. The treacherous Bundela did not carry out the terms and the raja was killed. The Bundelas had presumed too much on the Emperor's clemency, and were now to be taught that they were not independent rulers but merely officials of the empire. But the way he set about it was remarkable. Jhujhar Singh was ordered to give up the lands or an equivalent amount of his own, and to pay a fine of one million rupees from the treasures of Prem Narayan. That is, the Emperor compounded the offence for a share of the loot. But Jhujhar Singh refused to do this and sent for his troops and his son Jajraj from the Deccan. They were met by the imperialists and defeated and the son wounded. Meanwhile Auraungzeb was sent against Orchha. He drove Jhujhar Singh out of Bundelkand into Gondwana, where Jhujhar Singh and his son took refuge in Chauragarh. The appointment of Aurangzeb was merely nominal, as he was too young to serve as anything but a figurehead. The real generals were Khan Dauran (Nasiri Khan), Abdulla Khan, and Sayyid Muzaffar Khan of Barha, the Khan Jahan, who attacked from different directions. Jhujhar Singh did not await the arrival of this formidable array. He fled with his women and followers into the Deccan, and was pursued by Khan Dauran and Abdulla Khan. Pressed hard the Bundelas wounded their women in a hurried attempt at *jauhar* and escaped into the jungles, where Jhujhar Singh and Jajraj were killed by Gonds and their heads sent to Shahjahan.

The Khan Jahan Sayyid Muzaffar had been left behind to search for the Bundela treasures, and soon unearthed ten million rupees. The son of Jhujhar Singh and the grandson who were captured were converted perforce to Islam and the temples of Bundelkand desecrated. But Bundelkand was not completely subjugated, and partisans such as Champat Rai carried on the struggle much longer.

Garhwal and Baltistan

Baltistan, or little Tibet, bordering on Kashmir, naturally drew the attention of the Mughuls, and had given shelter to the Chakks, the old line of Kashmir rulers. The Abdal or ruler had submitted in 1634, but operations were again necessary and after a short campaign he submitted.

In 1635 Najabat Khan, the Governor of Kangra at the time, had occupied the Doon Valley and pushed up from Hardwar towards Srinagar, the capital of Garhwal. Mughul armies never were at their best in the hills and his retreat was cut off by the sturdy hillmen ; avalanches of rocks and earth were loosed upon them and the army obliterated, the commander alone escaping to face Shahjahan's wrath. Other expeditions were sent later but effected nothing of any importance, though the raja of Kumaon, Trimal Chand the inveterate enemy of Garhwal, lent his assistance to the Mughuls.

The loss of Kandahar had been a great blow to the Mughuls' prestige, and several attempts were made to recover it by negotiation. In 1638 Ali Mardan Khan, the Governor, fell out of favour at the Persian court and admitted a Mughul force into Kandahar. The Persian expedition sent to recover it was defeated, and Kandahar was once more part of the empire. It was the preoccupation of Persia with attacks by the Turks under Murad IV that made this act of treachery easy. Ali Mardan Khan was liberally rewarded and later made Governor of Kashmir. Shah Safi, the successor of Shah Abbas I, was too occupied with the attacks of the Turks to take any serious steps, and when he died in 1642 his successor Shah Abbas II was a minor, and internal affairs engrossed the attention of the Persians. Ali Mardan Khan was a great irrigation expert and won favour for his canals round Lahore, and also his improvements in the Mughul gardens in Kashmir.

On the east, the Ahoms, a branch of the Shans from Burma, had occupied upper Assam. In the lower part, known as Kamrup, the Mughuls had gained control, but the Ahom king aided a local chief in an insurrection and the Mughuls were driven out. Islam Khan when he became governor decided to invade the Ahom country and recovered Kamarup, but an expedition against the Ahoms failed and Gauhati became the chief Mughul centre.

The troubled politics of the Deccan led to renewed Mughul interference in 1636. Bijapur and Golkunda conspired against the Mughuls, while Shahji was seriously threatening their power. Shahjahan therefore put pressure on Muhammad Adil Shah who agreed to co-operate against Shahji Bhonsla. Mustapha Khan, the Peshwa of Bijapur, had won the upper hand and was in favour of the Mughuls. Shaista Khan captured Junnar and other forts, and Shahjahan left Aurangzeb as viceroy to deal with Shahji. The latter recovered much of his losses, until the

coalition of Khan Zaman and Randola Khan, the general of Bijapur, drove him from Poona into the Konkan and he had to sue for terms. He surrendered the conquests he had made, and was taken into the service of the Adil Shah and given Poona as a jagir. Peace was made on condition that Mughul supremacy was acknowledged, the arrears of tribute—two million rupees—paid, and the boundaries of Bijapur settled. The important fort of Parenda and the Konkan was handed over to the Adil Shah, but hostilities with Golkunda were forbidden.

Relations with the latter were friendly, owing to the kindness with which Shahjahan had been treated on his flight. But the state religion was Shia and Shahjahan affected strict orthodoxy. The name of the Shia Shah of Persia had for long been recited in the mosques, and this was objected to as was the Shia practice of *tabarra*, or curses on the names of the three successors of the Prophet not recognized by the Shias. The Padishah's name was now substituted in the Friday prayers, and a huge tribute of 200,000 huns (a hun was worth three rupees) exacted.

Aurangzeb was eighteen when made viceroy of the Deccan, which consisted of the four provinces of Ahmadnagar and Daulatabad, Khandesh, Berar and Telingana. He remained there for eight years. The death of Asaf Khan the minister and father-in-law of Shahjahan, in 1641, seems to have led to changes. His vast estate of over two crores reverted to the Emperor, and Shahjahan gave twenty lakhs to his family. In 1644 an accident to Jahanara Begam, who was seriously burnt, brought the family together in Agra. While there Aurangzeb fell into disfavour. The exact reason is unknown, but seems to have been due to the jealousy of Dara the eldest son. The story of his wish to retire from the world as a religious recluse was probably to cover his disgrace. He was deprived of his viceroyalty and retired into private life. Later Jahanara reconciled father and son and he was given the governorship of Gujarat.

Transoxiana Expedition

Ever since the time of Babur the Mughul emperors had dreams of winning back the territories of the Timurid princes in Transoxiana and especially Samarkand. During the confusion on the death of Jahangir, Nasir Muhammad of Balkh had attempted to seize Kabul in 1628, and Mahabat Khan was sent to its relief, and his son Lashkar Khan drove the Usbegs off. The ruler of Samar-

kand, Imam Kuli, brother of Nasir Muhammad, had become blind in 1641, and was superseded by his brother. Nasir Muhammad's rule was strict and led to revolts all over Transoxiana, and in 1645 his son Abdul Aziz, who had been sent against the rebels, made common cause with them, and became Khan of Bokhara and Samarkand, while Nasir Muhammad was restricted to his original Balkh.

Shahjahan felt that this was his opportunity. He reorganized the army and moved it up to Kabul, going with it himself. Murad Baksh was to command the actual expedition, which was planned to occupy Badakhshan, and then join with Nasir Muhammad to recover Samarkand and Bokhara with the intention of joining them to the Mughul dominions.

Nasir Muhammad in the upshot was unwilling to accept his role, and when the expedition in July 1646 entered Balkh, Nasir Muhammad refused his assistance and retreated to the Oxus, where he was defeated and fled to Persia. The campaign so far had been successful, but Murad had no taste for a hard life, and the soldiers were very different from the hard-bitten adventurers of Babur's day. The prince wrote to his father asking to be relieved, and his letter came as a great shock to the Emperor, who was indulging in great dreams of a Central Asia empire joined to India. He sent the minister Sadulla Khan to argue with Murad, but the latter would listen to nothing, and left his command without orders though not without competent commanders, who now were left to command a somewhat scattered army of occupation. The country was hard to hold, and the Mughuls were not skilled in the type of war required. The Usbeg tribes were much more mobile, and the slow and cumberous Mughul columns could not bring them to a pitched battle. They did not try to hold the line of the Oxus, and the Usbeg nomads raided where they pleased.

Shahjahan now sent Aurangzeb with reinforcements and treasure, and he set out for Kabul in April 1647. Pressing on he crossed the passes into Balkh, shaking off all efforts to stop him, and advanced to meet the Usbegs on the Oxus, where Abdul Aziz had assembled a large force. But now another army threatened Balkh itself, and he had to return. In the battle which followed the Mughuls showed that they were still masters of the field in a pitched engagement. The conduct of Aurangzeb, who at the hour of the evening prayer dismounted and spread his carpet in the midst of the battle and performed the requisite prostrations,

filled the Usbegs with admiration, and his coolness and steady determination had much to do with the victory. But one successful battle could not hold the country. The winter was coming on, the troops were mutinous, and the ravaged countryside offered no supplies. There was nothing for it but to withdraw to Kabul, and this was done in October 1647. The dream was ended. Transoxiana could not be held by a power based on India, as history had proved before.

After this unsuccessful effort Aurangzeb was made governor of Multan. Now Abbas II in Persia had grown up and began to demand the return of Kandahar. Finally he sent a force to take it, and the Mughuls were unprepared. When news of the advance arrived it was too late in the year to send relief over the snow-covered passes. The governor of Kandahar was faced with treachery within and close investment without. He was weak and vacillitating, and finally, when an Usbeg commander betrayed a gate in his charge, surrendered and was allowed to march away early in 1649. Aurangzeb, who was responsible for aid, could not reach Kabul till March. He advanced to Kandahar at once with a somewhat motley army of Rajputs, mercenary Usbegs, Afghans, and the Sayyids of Barha. They were, however, deficient in artillery and supplies, and though they defeated a Persian army could not take Kandahar. The attempt was renewed in 1652 with more artillery, but it was badly handled. The Persian guns were better served, and they profited by the lessons they had learnt in the hard school of wars with the Ottoman Turks. The decay of Mughul tactics and military skill had been already apparent in their campaigns in the Deccan. It was to be shown further in the succeeding reign. Not only that, but the spirit was not the same. They had become enervated by luxury and unwilling to face the hardships of a severe and long campaign. They failed again, and Shahjahan recalled the expedition, though Aurangzeb expostulated and claimed he could still take Kandahar. But Shahjahan had lost patience and lost confidence in him as a general. ' Men of experience,' he said, ' need no instruction.' Aurangzeb was sent back to the Deccan for his second term as viceroy.

Dara, who had twitted Aurangzeb with his failure, was now given his chance. He was given Multan and Kabul subas, and his rank was raised to as much as 30,000 *zat* and 20,000 *sawar*. Great preparations were made, new cannon cast, and a large force collected. This time the line of the Helmand river

was occupied by Rustum Khan, and Kandahar itself surrounded. But again the Persian artillery was superior, and all assaults failed. The Persians were superior soldiers, better trained and of better physique, while their use of firearms and artillery was much superior, as were the arms themselves. Another advantage was that of supply. The huge Mughul army with its camp followers and elephants and horses could not be supplied for long at such a distance from their base. The Mughul guns were inaccurate and badly constructed and their range inferior. Finally they ran out of ammunition. Thus the attempt failed and there was nothing left but retreat.

Aurangzeb's Second Viceroyalty in the Deccan

In 1652 Aurangzeb was sent to the Deccan for the second time. It was during this second viceroyalty that he set to work to restore the condition of the country which had suffered from so prolonged a state of war when the armies of Bijapur, the remnant of Ahmadnagar and the Mahrattas, had ranged over the whole country and spread fire and rapine far and wide, while famine had added to the miseries of the people. The huge Mughul armies with their great trains of camp followers had added in no small degree to the devastation it had suffered.

Murshid Kuli Khan, an experienced revenue officer, was appointed to survey and restore the revenue system of the Deccan. He is said to have introduced the system of Todar Mal, but this was by no means universal, and the method of sharing was also used. The share varied from half to as little as one-ninth for the valuable crops such as cane and poppy. A third method was that usual in those parts, namely a tax on each plough. This was to encourage the cultivation of land which had gone waste and to break new land.

Cultivators were encouraged by seed and resettlement advances, for many of the villages had been destroyed and some had to be repeopled by transfers of population. This soon restored prosperity and added to Aurangzeb's strength. He established himself at Khirki, which he called Aurangabad.

Golkunda

Aurangzeb now interfered in the affairs of Golkunda. His puritan spirit was vexed by the heresy of this Shia state, and it soon appeared that he was convinced that nothing but conquest

was the cure. This applied also to Bijapur, but Golkunda was the first to be attacked. It must be acknowledged that both these states were thoroughly untrustworthy, and little confidence could ever be placed on their protestations of loyalty. They were already tributory, and once that status had been accepted there was always the likelihood of the natural transition to complete dependency. Already both had agreed to lay any differences before the Padishah for arbitration.

The matter in dispute at this juncture was somewhat complicated. Golkunda had extended its authority over the remnants of the old Vijayanagar kingdom in the Carnatic, where further north Bijapur had also taken its share. It was the minister of Abdulla Kutb Shah who was chiefly responsible, and he turned his conquests into a strong principality for himself. He was a Persian named Muhammad Said, who had come to Golkunda as the servant of a merchant and won considerable wealth as well as succeeding to his master's fortune. Abdulla was impressed by him, and made him Mir Jumla, or chief minister, by which name he is hereafter referred to.

The minister was evidently aiming at becoming independent, and Abdulla finally imprisoned his son, an insolent ruffian, and confiscated his property. Mir Jumla had already been in secret correspondence with Aurangzeb. He now offered his services to the Mughuls, and Shahjahan wrote informing the king that he had taken Mir Jumla and his son into his service. Abdulla, ignorant of all this, had refused to release Mir Jumla's son, and this became one of the excuses for war. Another was the fact that the tribute of 200,000 huns was to be paid in rupees. The rate of exchange had gone up from three rupees to five, and Aurangzeb now demanded all this as arrears, no less than two million rupees. The third excuse was the unauthorized hostilities which had led to the extension of territory which Aurangzeb now said was contrary to the treaty. Abdulla, when he heard the news, hastened to release Mir Jumla's son and family, and sent them to Aurangzeb, but this did not stop him. In 1656 he sent his eldest son Muhammad Sultan in arms against his intended father-in-law, and followed with the main body himself. Hyderabad was taken and sacked, and the Shah fled to Golkunda. Meanwhile Aurangzeb's duplicity became known, and Dara and Jahanara Begam used it to arouse the anger of Shahjahan and orders were issued to Aurangzeb to discontinue the campaign. These reached him before Golkunda, where he had been reinforced by Shaista Khan from Malwa,

and where some fighting had already taken place, varied by requests for peace from the Kutb Shah. When the Padishah's order came Aurangzeb pushed on the negotiations for the marriage of his son with the Shah's daughter. The marriage was solemnized and a large dowry in jewels and bullion accompanied the lady. It is also stated that a secret article of the treaty of peace acknowledged that Muhammad Sultan should be the heir of Abdulla. A large indemnity of ten million rupees was extracted. Mir Jumla now joined the imperial army with all his forces. He proceeded to the imperial court, where he presented gifts worth fifteen lakhs. He was given a mansab of 6,000 horse, and made chief minister in succession to Sadulla Khan, and given the title of Muazzam Khan, while his son was also honoured.

This was really the end of the independence of Golkunda. To some extent the Kutb Shah had brought it on himself, since while negotiating with Aurangzeb he was appealing to Bijapur for aid, but his actions were also caused by his very weakness.

Bijapur

It was now the turn of Bijapur. Muhammad Adil Shah had maintained his independence better than the Kutb Shahis. His was a stronger kingdom. He had extended his territories across India from east to west, and had been engaged in hostilities with the Portuguese in the West. He was not, however, brought to book for this, and was recognized as Shah in 1648. The Mughuls had never recognized this title before. Still Bijapur was made to feel that it was in a subordinate position, and the Adil Shah was on one occasion rebuked for his excessive magnificence.

In 1656 Muhammad Adil Shah died and was succeeded by his son Ali Adil Shah, whose paternity was doubted by some. In addition he was young and could not control his nobles, and trouble broke out. Aurangzeb had long determined that there was no room for independent kingdoms in the South, and Shia kingdoms at that. Shahjahan was persuaded to sanction an invasion. Mir Jumla was sent to assist, and Aurangzeb marched on Bidar, which was captured after a short siege and great booty taken. Then the fortress of Kalyani was invested. This held out longer, but at last it, too, fell after the Bijapur army had been defeated in the field. Now the way was open to Bijapur itself and the forces were set in motion, but an order from Shahjahan arrived which forbade further action. The reason for this was primarily

the jealousy of Dara, who was his father's favourite, and also the growing power of Aurangzeb was causing misgivings. Accordingly peace was made. The Mughuls retained Bidar and Kalyani, which they held, and were to be given Parenda and the forts in the Konkan. An indemnity of ten million rupees was fixed. Sivaji, the son of Shahji Bhonsla, who was a feudatory of Bijapur, had caused considerable trouble to the Mughuls during the campaign by seizing Junnar and raiding far and wide, but was wise enough to recognize that the time was not ripe for continued resistance alone, and he also submitted.

War of Succession

Shahjahan's illness in September of 1657 precipitated matters. The four brothers had already been given viceroyalties, in which they were to a great extent independent ; Aurangzeb, as has been seen, in the Deccan, Shah Shuja ruled Bengal and the east, while Murad Baksh had Gujarat and Malwa. Dara Shikoh the eldest son remained with his father, but had as his share not only Allahabad but the Punjab and Multan. It was Dara who was evidently intended by Shahjahan to succeed him. He had been promoted to the very great rank of 40,000 *sawar* and given the title of Shah Buland Ikbal, while in durbar he sat on a golden chair beside the Peacock Throne. It was clear that the struggle would be between him and Aurangzeb. There had long been competition between Aurangzeb and Dara, and the latter had succeeded to some extent in thwarting his projects in the Deccan, but he had not the character of Aurangzeb. His experience of administration and war were small, as he had remained with his father while Aurangzeb had learnt generalship in the Deccan, and in Afghanistan Dara had failed disastrously. Dara, too, had leanings towards Sufiism which was suspect to Aurangzeb. He had neither the persistence nor the experience of Aurangzeb. Shah Shuja was a man of taste and culture, but easy-going and given to pleasure. He was old before his time, partly owing to the climate of Bengal and partly to his habits. Murad Baksh was rash and brave, generous and impetuous, but no statesman, and though a good fighter not much of a tactician. These were the competitors when the news of Shahjahan's illness leaked out. Aurangzeb was in correspondence with both Shuja and Murad, but he did not show his hand and was content to use both of them as stalking-horses.

Dara issued orders in the name of Shahjahan. He recalled Mir Jumla from the Deccan, and the Bijapuris took the opportunity to avoid handing over Parenda and the other forts. Shah Shuja proclaimed himself Padishah and marched towards the centre of the empire. He was followed by Murad Baksh, who laid the merchants of Surat under a forced contribution and announced his claim to the throne. Aurangzeb himself made no claim. He promised to support Murad and kept Mir Jumla with him. Meanwhile Shahjahan had recovered to some degree and sent a force under Dara's son, Sulaiman Shikoh, and Raja Jai Singh (Amber) to deal with Shuja. This they did, defeating him near Benares early in 1658, and putting him to flight. Meanwhile Murad had murdered Jahanara Begam's diwan at Surat and, though advised to wait by Aurangzeb, collected his forces, and it was agreed that they should divide India between them. Dara was proclaimed a heretic in order to give some colour to their rebellion. In January Aurangzeb started and was joined by Murad in Malwa during April. They advanced together towards Agra, and near Ujjain met the imperial army under Raja Jaswant Singh of Marwar and defeated it owing to lack of co-operation between the leaders. Aurangzeb was joined by some of the Muslim officers, while the badly wounded Rajput fled to Jodhpur where he was refused admission by his rani as a coward. From the battlefield Aurangzeb and Murad marched to Gwalior, where they heard that Dara with an army was holding the line of the Chambal River to prevent their advance on Agra. Champa Rai the Bundela, however, led them by an unguarded ford to threaten Dara's communications and caused him to retreat towards Agra, leaving some of his heavy guns behind him.

At Samugarh, ten miles east of Agra, the two armies met. Aurangzeb's army had had a hard march. It was the middle of the hot weather and the troops were exhausted, some dying from heat stroke. Dara's inexperience, however, was in their favour and he let them recover, not attacking until the following day. At first all went in Dara's favour. He broke the centre of Aurangzeb's line and overran his artillery ; but both Aurangzeb and Murad showed the greatest bravery and coolness, tying their elephants' front legs so that they could not retreat. High above the battle they sat, while carnage raged around them. Then Dara committed his great mistake. He dismounted from his elephant to mount a horse and charge—none of these Mughuls

were deficient in courage—and his army, seeing the empty howdah, concluded he was killed and fled. Murad had been wounded, and Aurangzeb now took up the pursuit. He advanced to Agra, to find Dara had fled towards Delhi. Aurangzeb entered into correspondence with his father, but on advice that there was a plot to take his life did not accept the invitation to visit him in the fort. Muhammad his son was sent to lay siege to the fort, and soon took it by cutting off the water. Shahjahan was confined to the women's apartments, as he was thoroughly distrusted by Aurangzeb who had intercepted a letter from him to Dara proving his duplicity. Murad had apparently really believed his father was dead and was inclined to change his attitude, and he also resented Aurangzeb's way of treating him as if he was of no account. He now began to form an opposition. Dara meanwhile had not stopped at Delhi but fled towards Lahore, and the army of the brothers followed him. At Muttra Aurangzeb, with that dissimulation which is such an unpleasing feature in his character, affected to become reconciled with his brother and entertained him to a feast, where he plied him with drink and, when he became incapable, had him bound and carried away to captivity at Gwalior. After four years he attempted to escape, and Aurangzeb decided he was too dangerous alive. The son of the diwan he had murdered at Surat was instigated to accuse him, and he was found guilty and executed. On arrival in Delhi Aurangzeb was officially enthroned on the Peacock Throne, and Shahjahan's reign was over.

He had been Padishah for thirty-one years and lived until the beginning of 1666, when he was in his seventy-fifth year. He is said to have died in the Musamman Burj in the Fort at Agra gazing his last on the tomb of his beloved Mumtaz Mahal farther up the river.

Shahjahan the Magnificent carried on the traditions of the Great Mughuls. He was a mighty builder, and has left behind perhaps the most beautiful of all the monuments of that remarkable family. He had meant, it is said, to have been buried in a tomb, the exact copy of his wife's, across the river from the Taj, but, where that was white marble, his was to have been black. It is as well perhaps that the mean spirit of Aurangzeb impelled him to disregard his father's wishes, for his tomb is beside that of his beloved wife—one Taj is monument enough and it will not bear repetition, as Aurangzeb's own imitation at Aurangabad shows.

The Empire under Shahjahan

It is as a builder that Shahjahan is most famous, and something will be said about this later. As a ruler he saw the culmination of Mughul rule in India. The seeds of subsequent decay were present, but not very apparent, amid the magnificence and glitter of his court. A great historian has said, ' Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely.' This now was shown in the history of Mughul rule. Shahjahan had begun his reign with the slaughter of all the royal princes, and he was never averse from employing murder to remove possible danger, as evinced in the suggested murder of the Nizam Shah Murtaza II. The treatment of the Portuguese pirates of Hugli was largely brought on themselves by their own cruelty, and on the whole, and judged by the standards of the time, Shahjahan was a generous ruler. The employment of Hindus still continued ; but though Shahjahan was the son of a Rajput mother and grandmother he was orthodox, and had new Hindu temples demolished, notably at Benares. Akbar's divine era was given up and the prostration before the Padishah. There was also an encouragement of mass conversion of Hindus to Islam, though this was not confined to Hindus as the treatment of the Christian prisoners from Hugli showed. Yet Dara's study of Hindu religious teaching was not interfered with, and Shahjahan encouraged the new vernacular and used it himself. Sundar Das of Gwalior, the exponent of the Braj bhasa, was a court poet and given the title of Maha kaviraj. Another, Chintamani from near Cawnpore, who produced a vernacular version of the *Ramayana* was also favoured by Shahjahan. This does not savour of intolerance. The Jesuits of Agra, in the wave of indignation over the Portuguese of Hugli, lost their church which was demolished, as were other Christian churches elsewhere, but there appears to have been no objection to the holding of services or the performance of other rites like marriage and baptism of Christians, though proselytizing was almost certainly forbidden.

As a statesman Shahjahan was not far-seeing. He received the empire as a going concern, and though he lost Kandahar he gained large territories in the Deccan. His building projects cost enormous sums, and the estates of the nobles and the treasuries of the kings of the Deccan were indented on to pay for them. His efforts to conquer Transoxiana showed little appreciation of realities, and of the strength of Persia and the growing weakness

of the Mughul army, though he attempted to tighten up regulations dealing with the provision of troops by the mansabdars, and made the system accord more with the facts.

His supervision of the machinery of government was at first close, but it seems later to have got out of hand—indeed the theory by which the ultimate control was in the hands of one man was not capable of being carried out in fact. Towards the later part of his reign he seems to have recognized that some system of devolution of responsibility was necessary so that the subordinate governors might be better controlled—there is evidence that they did pretty much as they liked—and he set up his sons as viceroys in different parts of India—the greatest being Aurangzeb in the Deccan, while Shuja in Bengal certainly did a great deal to restore that part of the empire to order and prosperity. This system, however, had seeds of danger, as was shown eventually when the viceroy sons strove together for the supremacy. It appears that Shahjahan found the supervision of the empire too much for him and was content to let others take up the burden. He was no drunkard like his father, but sensual and easy-going in his later years when Mumtaz Mahal was dead. His son Aurangzeb, who tried to control everything himself, found it an impossible feat ; it broke him. Shahjahan did not try. His provincial governors were left to impose customs and imposts of their own, and monopolies were also in use. Indigo, the great staple of Gujarat, was a royal monopoly for a time, but this was broken by the foreign merchants' combination in a boycott of the stuff. His treatment of the Bundela chiefs was primarily an effort to restore order and put down abuses, though his cynical willingness to compound a felony in his dealings with Jhujhar Singh over the loot of Gondwana is not edifying.

It is not easy to estimate the prosperity of the people. Travellers speak of the cruelties of the provincial governors and their extortion. At the beginning of his reign Shahjahan tried to keep them in order. While the great building projects led to employment, much of it seems to have been forced labour and there was no free market. Famines occurred in the Deccan which caused very great distress and depopulation, though this was later remedied by the land settlement in Aurangzeb's second viceroyalty. The roads from Gujarat to Agra were certainly unsafe, as is attested by the letters of the various foreign travellers, but this was not universal. A famine in Lahore was met by setting up of public kitchens and free issues of food. Punishments

were cruel, mutilation being common, but it was a cruel age. The magnificence of the court was reflected in that of the provincial governors, but the common people had little share in this.

It is clear that the revenue assessment had been raised from Akbar's average of one-third of the produce value in cash to a pretty general one-half. The old system of measurement had given way in most cases to lump assessments by villages distributed by the headman. This of course led to tyranny, but if the assessment was refused then measuring parties were sent, and of course the village was responsible for their upkeep, so generally, except in very poor localities where sharing was the rule, the assessment was accepted. Efforts were made to increase and also improve cultivation and grow better crops. Bad or lazy cultivators were flogged, but advances were freely given in times of crop failure ; too great severity led to the cultivators running away and a resultant loss of revenue, so that explanations would be called for. From all this it would appear that as much as possible was screwed out of the cultivators, and that the position of the cultivator was much worse than in the time of Akbar.

We hear nothing of education except from inference. The Muslim with his mosque schools probably fared better than the Hindu, in whose case education was still very much the monopoly of the Brahman for the study of the sacred Sanskrit writings. There was, however, a large class of public servants necessary for the exercise of the revenue administration, and these seem to have obtained their education in their homes, either from their parents or from private tutors, as was the case in the nobles' families. These were largely Hindus, Kayasths of the clerkly caste, whose standard of education has been for long far in advance of the other classes. Persian was the language of administration and records, but the vernacular, especially Hindi, had spread largely, chiefly owing to the religious reformers like Kabir, Surdas and Tulsidas. Urdu developed in the Deccan as a literary vehicle, and was not in Shahjahan's time much used in the north as a literary form.

Architecture

It has been said that Shahjahan's style of architecture is more sensuous than that of his predecessors. He rebuilt the sandstone palaces in the fort of Agra and replaced them by marble, and marble is a distinctive element in his form of architecture. The

other development was in his use of ornamentation—not only the beautiful trellised marble traceries of the grills and balustrades around his courts and buildings, but the decoration of the façades of gateways, interiors and walls with beautiful designs of flowers, plants and animal life in *pietra dura*—that is, an inlay of semi-precious stones. This first appeared in Nur Jahan's beautiful tomb of her father, Itimad-ud-daula at Agra, but it was taken over by Shahjahan and used in all his great buildings, reaching its greatest beauty in the Taj, that 'dream in marble designed by Titans and finished by jewellers.'

But before speaking of this, something must be said about his other buildings. Curved arches and flowing lines now became the rule, as opposed to the rectangular style of the older Mughul buildings. They had used intricate stone carving for their decoration ; marble required something different. Stone carving had been necessary with the red sandstone background, but the beautiful grain of the marble polished until it attained a lovely sheen was almost sufficient in itself ; and if it had to be ornamented it must be with a new technique, *pietra dura* inlay, not a foreign importation as has been sometimes thought but an Indian product. The cutters came from Kanauj. The foliated arch introduced a new vista and completed the picture. Here Indian architecture, a compound of all the styles of the East from Asoka and Gujarat to Hellenistic beauty and Persian and even Byzantine craftmanship, reaches its highest point, a 'possession for ever.' But it was a glorification of a ruling race, and seems to have left untouched the susceptibilities of the masses. Beauty is in the eye of the beholder, and it is only now that Western art criticism is reintroducing the Indian to the glories of his own art.

It was in 1628 that Shahjahan began to replace the palaces in the fort at Agra, and the work went on even after he left for his great new city of Shahjahanpur, for the lovely Moti Masjid (Pearl Mosque), perhaps the most beautiful private chapel in the world, was not finished until 1654.

It is the Taj Mahal, however, which is the great glory of Agra, and indeed of Mughul architecture. Begun after the death of Mumtaz Mahal, in 1632, it was finished about 1654. Artists and craftsmen from all over India and the East were assembled, and the whole supervised by Ustad Isa, who seems to have come from Shiraz in Persia. The statement made by Father Manrique in his *Travels* that the design was that of a Venetian Geronimo Veroneo is apparently the result of a misunderstanding. It is

entirely Indian in its workmanship and design, and the *pietra dura* is not Florentine but originally Persian and carried out by Hindus from Kanauj. The constructor of the dome was Ismail Khan Rumi—from his name probably an expert from Constantinople. Its setting at a bend of the river-bank and its location on its broad terrace with four delicate white minarets at the corners, and with its lovely dome seeming to float in the air, all contribute to a perfect whole. Contrary to usual practice, it is placed at the end of the vista on a solid masonry foundation, instead of in the centre, but recently the foundations have sunk as the grouting of rubble, like the similar case of St. Paul's in London, has not stood up to the weight and the percolation of the water, and there was danger to the dome. It is hoped that the steps being taken will continue to preserve this lovely structure, which with the decay of the Mughul empire was allowed to become the prey of marauding bands insensible to beauty, until finally the genius of Lord Curzon restored it to its former glory.

The great mosque opposite the fort at Agra is another ornament of the time whose pleasing proportions are in a way even more satisfying than the great religious centre of the Empire, the Jami Masjid at Delhi, also the work of Shahjahan.

Shahjahanpur, the great fort built in the new city of Delhi, contains within it some of the most perfect examples of domestic architecture of Mughul times. The Diwan-i-Am (Hall of Public Audience) was a columned hall in a large court to which entrance is given by a gateway above which is the naubat khana, where the royal kettle drums were kept. In the Diwan-i-Am was the platform of marble on which the Peacock Throne was placed. The wall at the back is ornamented in *pietra dura* panels, one of which, among other panels of Indian provenance, is an Italian representation of Orpheus playing to the wild animals.

From this hall one proceeds to the more private apartments along the wall overlooking the river, the Diwan-i-Khas, or Hall of Private Audience, and a series of beautiful pavilions of marble ornamented with beautiful designs and lovely perforate marble screens, while water channels through the floor culminating here and there into fountains cool the air and add to the beauty with their musical murmur. The Moti Mahal (Pearl Palace), the Hira Mahal (Diamond Palace), and Rang Mahal (Painted Palace) with decorated roofs and delicate pillars, water flowing over flower designs which seem to wave and flicker as if in life, make the whole design a perfect piece of jewelled beauty. As the

Persian verse emblazoned round the cornice of the Diwan-i-Khas announces :

> If there's a Heaven on earth
> It is this, it is this, it is this.

Set in lovely gardens with flowing water and marble baths it must have been a dream of beauty, fit home for the Great Mughul.

Other buildings testify to Shahjahan's joy in architecture. Besides the two great mosques, that at Agra which is stated to have been built by Jahanara Begam and the fine great red sandstone edifice at Delhi which is the largest in India begun in 1644, and which took fourteen years to complete, elsewhere at Thatta in Sind the Jami mosque shows a different type of ornamentation, the glazed blue tiles of Sindhi type on a brick foundation. In Lahore this type of ornamentation was freely used by Shahjahan, but here the tiles are of Persian origin and of gorgeous colours, though much has been stripped during the Sikh and other risings. Wazir Khan's mosque is the most typical, and Ali Mardan Khan's tomb is in the same style. In the Fort at Lahore similar alterations to the domestic buildings were made as in the Agra Fort with the change from red sandstone to marble. In Ajmir the shores of the Anasagar Lake were beautified with marble pavilions of exquisite taste, while the mosque in the dargah of Shaikh Muin-ud-din Chisti was built by him, and he added to the beauties of Mughul taste in the gardens of Kashmir.

Something must be said here about the architecture of the Deccan. It was at Bijapur that this flourished, and in a style of its own, showing great engineering skill and cleverness of design, and owing little to Mughul influence. The buildings of the Adil Shahis were not of red sandstone or marble, but of a dark brown local stone. The Jami Masjid of Ali Adil Shah was built in 1565, and consists of a huge central hall divided by arches and pillars into five separate aisles. It is covered with plaster of a rich cream tint except for the central bay, which is ornamented with gorgeous patterns in colours and gold. The Mihtar Mahal, on the other hand, is the gateway to a mosque, and is decorated by exquisitely carved balconies and oriel windows flanked by two slender minarets. It has been called a miniature masterpiece (dated 1620), and is certainly influenced by Hindu architecture.

The Ibrahim Rauza, which is a group of buildings containing the tomb and mosque of Ibrahim II, about 1627, is a finely designed group with ornamentation of the Bijapur type and

skilful construction of the bulbous domes which are a feature of this style. Piers or arches rather than pillars are the supporting elements and slender minarets of a turret type. This style reached its apex in the tomb of Muhammad Adil Shah, the Gol Gumbaz, with its huge dome supported on eight intersecting arches or piers, one of the largest domes in existence, reminiscent of the dome of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople, and possibly deriving from it as the Adil Shahs claimed Turkish origins.

After Shahjahan Mughul architecture declined. It had reached perfection and nothing more could be done. Imitation was not the same as the perfect culmination of artistry and engineering skill.

Chapter XVIII

AURANGZEB
1659–1707

It was in July 1658 that Aurangzeb was officially enthroned in Delhi. He took the name of Abul Muzzaffar Muhuiddin Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur Alamgir Padishah Ghazi. Alamgir, World Holder, was his title, but it is convenient to refer to him under the name by which he had become known, Aurangzeb.

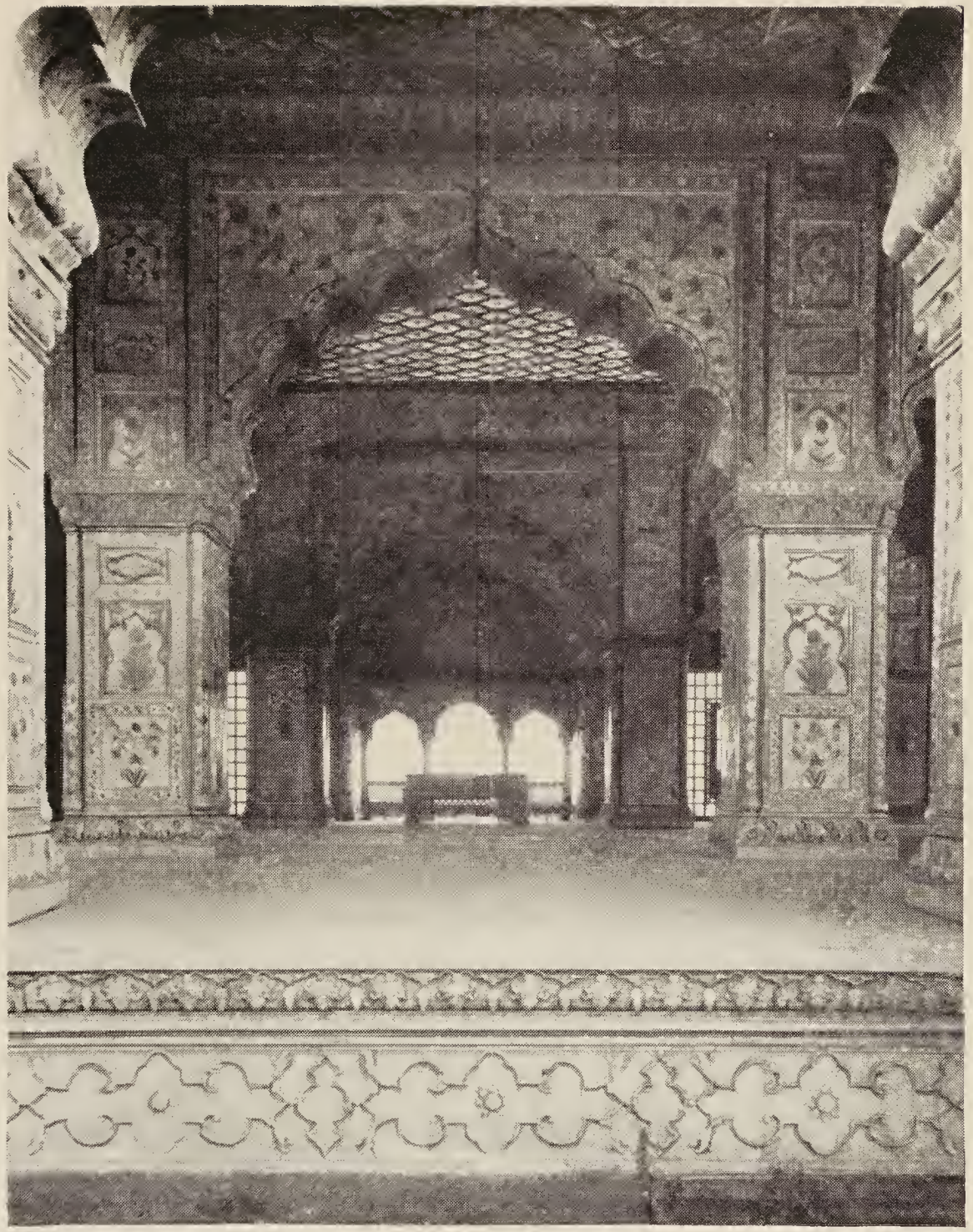
After settling with Murad he still had Dara in the Punjab and Shah Shuja in Bengal to deal with. Dara had reached Lahore, and his son Sulaiman Shikoh, who with Raja Jai Singh of Amber, had defeated Shuja near Benares in February, was now marching up country to join his father in the Punjab. Aurangzeb therefore was unable to follow after Dara immediately, but he dispatched Bahadur Khan to hold him while he dealt with Sulaiman Shikoh. But Sulaiman's troops began to desert, Jai Singh left him, and he found his way to the Punjab blocked by the imperial forces. He fled to the hills and was received and given asylum by the Raja of Garhwal, Prithvi Singh. Meanwhile Aurangzeb had entered into correspondence with Shuja, and promised him Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as an independent principality, though in any case neither trusted the other. He then took up the pursuit of Dara, who had now fled to Multan from Lahore. On the approach of Aurangzeb he retreated into Sind. His army was thinned by desertion during the progressive stages of his retreat or flight to the Rann of Cutch. Aurangzeb had been recalled by the threatening movements of Shuja, who had advanced up country, and by the end of the year had reached Khajwa, west of Allahabad, where Aurangzeb's eldest son, Muhammad Sultan, opposed him. The Emperor now joined him, and Mir Jumla also arrived from the Deccan, Shuja had only about half the number of troops that Aurangzeb had, notwithstanding the fact that Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Marwar on the eve of the battle had plundered the imperial baggage train and made off with 1,400 Rajputs to his own country. Aurangzeb by his coolness mastered the panic this gave rise to and advanced the next day, 14 January 1659, to attack Shuja. The latter saw that only desperate measures would give him any chance of success, and delivered a charge at once.

At first this was successful, and an advance on Aurangzeb's royal elephant threatened the Padishah, but his usual coolness prevailed, the assault was repulsed, and a general advance ordered. Shuja could not withstand it and his army was routed, Shuja escaping on a fast horse. Aurangzeb sent Muhammad Sultan and Mir Jumla to pursue him while he himself returned to deal with Dara.

That prince had been driven out of Sind and finally reached Ahmadabad, where the Governor, Shahnawaz Khan, joined him. He recruited a new army with the help of the royal treasure he found at Ahmadabad, and hearing that Aurangzeb was engaged with Shuja determined to make a dash on Agra. Jaswant Singh of Marwar now invited him to Ajmir, and promised to join him, March 1659, with his Rajputs, but Aurangzeb, as always a consumate diplomatist, won the Rajput over to his side, and Dara was left with a small army to oppose Aurangzeb. At Deorai, near Ajmir, his position was stormed and his army melted away while Dara, with a few hundreds of faithful troops, retreated to Ahmadabad, but was refused admittance. He fled to Sind pursued by the imperial forces under Jai Singh of Amber and Bahadur Khan. Here he was gradually cut off, his wife died of privation, and he was compelled to seek refuge with a Baluchi chief Malik Jivan, who delivered him to Bahadur Khan in June 1659.

He and his son Sipikr Shikoh were paraded through Delhi in ignominy, and when a riot against the traitor Malik Jiwan, whose life Dara had saved when sentenced to death by Shahjahan, broke out, this sympathy determined Aurangzeb to do away with him. He was accused of heresy and sentenced to death by the Ulama, and the sentence was carried out against him and his son. On his death his headless corpse was paraded through the streets of Delhi and buried in the tomb of Humayun.

Meanwhile in Bengal the campaign against Shuja lingered on. Muhammad Sultan felt his subordination to Mir Jumla, and entered into correspondence with his uncle, who promised him his daughter in marriage and the imperial throne. He deserted his troops and joined his uncle, but being without an army this accession was of little value. The war still went on. The imperialists were at a disadvantage in the waterlogged country of Bengal as they had no boats, and Shuja still held out. It was not until early 1660 that Mir Jumla could advance and cross the Ganges near Malda, which resulted in Shuja's flight to Dacca. Muhammad Sultan now decided that his uncle's cause was lost and reappeared in the imperial camp. He was arrested and Aurangzeb ordered



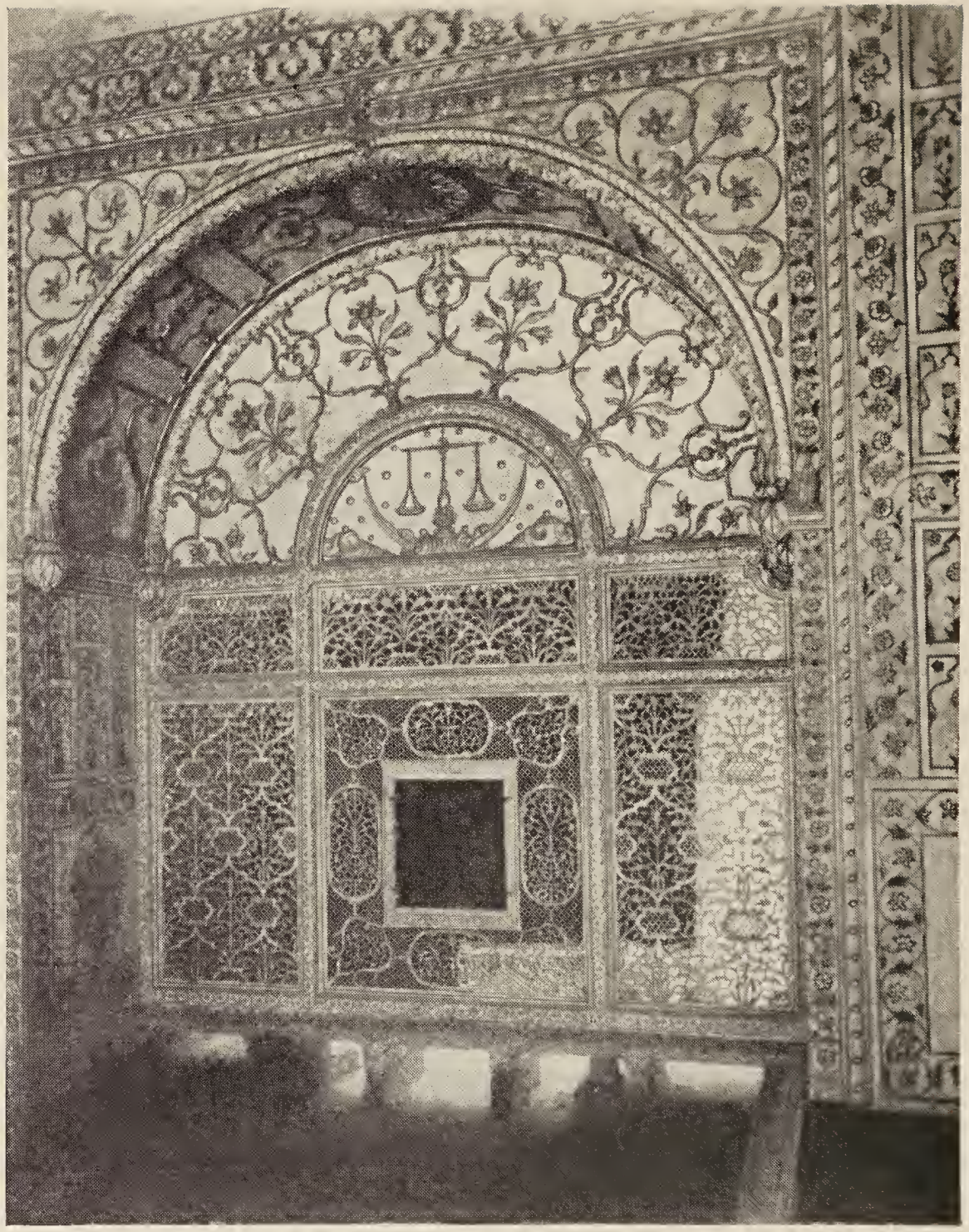


Plate 48 Delhi Fort *left* The Diwan-i-Khas ; *right* Screen in the Rang Mahal showing Scales of Justice and pietra dura ornamentation



Plate 49a
The Ibrahim Rauza,
Bijapur



Plate 49b
Wazir Khan's Mosque,
Lahore

his imprisonment, which lasted throughout his life. Shuja found no support in Dacca, and now embarked to take refuge with the Magh king of Arakan at Chittagong in May. He was well received, but after a time found his position impossible. The king demanded his eldest daughter in marriage, and Shuja could not brook such an alliance. He determined to seize the throne with his followers, and the Muslim adventurers in Chittagong. The plot leaked out, and Shuja with a few followers fled to the jungle after setting fire to the city. He was followed and killed. His daughters were taken into the king's harem, but were later starved to death on suspicion of a plot while his sons were hacked to death. Thus early in 1661, ended Shah Shuja, who might with a little better fortune have been Padishah of Hindustan.

About the same time Sulaiman Shikoh was handed over by the son of the Garhwal raja. Brought before the Emperor he begged that he might not be poisoned in the lingering manner of the time by the opium draughts which were mixed with the prisoners food. The Emperor—with no intention of carrying out his promise—solemnly swore that this would not be done. But the promise was not honoured, and in six months the prince was dead in Gwalior Fort, killed by the regular administration of this obnoxious beverage in May 1662. Thus all Aurangzeb's rivals were dead, and he could now begin to carry out his intentions for the government of India.

He ruled India for nearly fifty years. The first twenty-five were spent in north India, and the chief events were campaigns by his generals in Assam and Arakan, on the north-west frontier, and finally against Marwar and Mewar, estranged by his policy. The rest of his life was spent campaigning in the Deccan against the states of Bijapur and Golkunda and the Mahrattas. During this time he extended the empire to its greatest extent, and a combination of circumstances including his policy of strict insistence on the Islamic law led to its final break-up. When he had made away with all his rivals it appeared as if the empire was stronger than it had ever been—but this was a surface impression. The army had deteriorated, and from being the exemplars of new tactics, new arms, and a new spirit as in the time of Babur, had become set in the same routine which had led to their easy defeat of the Hindu armies in the beginning. It has been said with truth that the Mughuls who won India under Babur were ruddy men in boots, and those who lost it under Aurangzeb were pale persons in petticoats. The old vigour of the fighting men

from the steppes had gone, and luxury, ease, and wealth had destroyed the initiative and weakened the sinews of the once invincible Mughuls. After the reforms of Akbar no Mughul emperor had tried to maintain or improve the government machinery. They simply let it function until it ran down like a clock unwound.

Aurangzeb was capable of setting it going again, but an inbred streak of what some call fanaticism and others puritanism led him to acerberate instead of ameliorate the situation. He was ruthless in carrying out what he considered his duty, like so many who consider religion a matter of ritual and rules and not something to be lived, and he was above all things a follower of the strictest letter of the Islamic law. Thus he alienated his best fighting force, the Rajputs ; made the Sikhs his bitterest enemies, destroyed the trade of the Hindu merchants, and by breaking the buffer states of the Deccan left a void which the Mahrattas were only too ready to fill. His stern justice won no friends, and he was lacking in that great quality of human sympathy which had endeared his predecessors with all their faults to the people. It is interesting to compare him with Mary of England, who from a similar idea of religious duty burnt the Protestant martyrs, and who died having failed to make England Catholic. Both were sincere in their religious ideals, and both would sacrifice everything for their faith ; but one acted as a momentary barrier to the swelling tide of English expansion, and the other began the process of Mughul decay. That this decay was implicit in the system of government has been said before. The mistakes of Aurangzeb only hastened it, but his implacable spirit looked to the past and regarded as impious the inventions of the present, which in Europe were calling or had called a new world into being. It is interesting to speculate on what would have happened if the printing press, which had so much to do with the advance of Europe, had been introduced into India. Difficulties of script could have been surmounted. But at a time when literature, art and learning had opened a new world of imagination to the European nations, the rulers of India labelled art, music, and even poetry as irreligious and demoralizing and shut down a curtain of darkness on the mind. The tragedy of India was that while in the West the Renaissance was introducing a modern world, in India thought and government were still medieval. Under government encouragement trade and commerce and sea power expanded in the West, but in the East the Mughuls hampered commerce by their restrictions, hamstrung

trade by customs and imposts, and never even thought of sea power. The rise of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English merchants to a monopoly of the Eastern seas was due primarily to the fact that the idea of shipping as part of the duty of a ruler never entered the heads of these medieval monarchs, a century or more behind the times. This was the result of shutting themselves up in their sub-continent, and also in part a result of the very self-sufficiency which has always been an Indian characteristic.

Reforms and Changes

Aurangzeb was not long in showing what his policy was to be. Almost immediately after his enthronement in June 1659 he began to issue decrees abolishing many of the tolerant practices of the preceding reigns. These were of two kinds, the first to restore the orthodox principles of Islamic conduct and the others of a sumptuary or reformatory type. Thus he established public censors of morals called *muhtasibs* in each large city to see that the principles of the religion of Islam should be carried out in their entirety—punishing drinking and gambling and looseness of morals, and seeing that the usual prayers five times a day were observed and the Mohurram fast faithfully kept. Blasphemy and heresy also were to be carefully watched for and restrained. Such matters are of course outside the sphere of legal enforcement, and his orders were not carried out.

Drinking and smoking, the use of hemp, gambling, and dancing girls still continued, but in secret ; and the orders only led to hypocrisy. Another change was the discontinuance of the *kalima* on the coins lest it should be polluted by going through the hands of infidels. He also stopped the observance of the *Nau roz*, a Persian custom which the Mughuls had introduced and in connection with which certain scandals had arisen. Later he decided that music was against the law, and discharged all the musicians whose skill and reputation had been so great under his predecessors. But he retained the kettledrums in the Naubat Khana as part of the necessary state of a Mughul emperor. Later the official showing of himself to the people every morning at the *jharoka* or window in the fort was discontinued, as it was supposed to savour too much of the Hindu practice of *darshan*. Heretics, including Sufis, were put to death, as was Sarmad a Jew convert to Islam from Persia who had adopted the Sufi doctrines and who had favoured Dara ; a Christian friar who had become a

Muslim and then reverted to his former faith ; Shias for uttering *tabarra*, and finally the head of the Ismaili heretics of Ahmadabad, the Borahs, who was put to death and seven hundred of his followers with him. This led to further prosecutions for the faith.

His other reforms were more useful. He forbade *sati* in 1664. Owing to his repugnance to anything that savoured of undue ceremony he abolished the ceremony of presenting gifts on his birthday and other occasions. This had been a means of increasing the royal treasure, and at the same time relieving the governors of their ill-gotten gains. The abolition, though not undertaken for that purpose, was an act of justice, but it must have reduced the revenue. At the same time orders were issued for the discontinuance of illegal imposts. These had grown to an alarming extent, so much so that practically every activity was taxed. Chief among these was the internal customs tax which hindered trade and commerce. This was abolished, but it was difficult to enforce this in the various provinces of the empire. Another tax was the town octroi, a sale tax on articles brought in to the markets. He also abolished the tax on fairs and pilgrims, and even the pilgrim tax at Allahabad though imposed on Hindus, as such taxes were contrary to Islamic law. He paid the closest attention to the collection of the revenue, and his frequent *firmans* emphasized the need to create confidence in the minds of the cultivators, and called on his officers to destroy oppressors and disturbers of the peace. No cesses or perquisites were to be exacted by the revenue officials, and the most careful records were to be kept and forwarded to the Emperor for review. In a letter to his father he set forth his ideal of kingship. ' Kingship means the protection of the realm and the guardianship of the people.' He tried to carry out this ideal in strict accordance with the law of Islam. He certainly did not spare himself in what he thought best for the happiness of his people. The demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority, and the security of the state he claims were his objects. Impeccable sentiments, but success depended on the manner in which they were carried out. Of this he was the sole judge.

Relations with his Father

His treatment of his father was not kind. He had usurped the throne and never visited his father in his prison palace at Agra, but somewhat bitter letters were exchanged. His every

act was supervised, but he was left his jewels which he loved and his devoted daughter Jahanara Begam shared his captivity and ministered to his needs. It is said his favourite resort was the Musamman Burj from where he could see the Taj, and here he died in 1666 looking his last on the tomb of his beloved wife. His funeral ceremonies were scamped and his son was not present. Jahanara was allowed to live in Delhi, where she died in 1681. On her grave in the tomb of Nizam-ud-din Auliya is written, 'Let naught cover my grave save the green grass, for that is covering enough for the graves of the lowly.'

Assam

In Assam the Ahom king had joined with the Raja of Cooch Bihar, also of Mongoloid origin, to attack the Mughul territories of Kamrup. The war of succession was going on, and the Mughul officers were driven out and Gauhati occupied by the Ahoms. In 1660 Aurangzeb sent Mir Jumla to Bengal with instructions to recover Kamrup. He set out from Dacca and occupied Cooch Bihar, and then proceeded to Kamrup and in 1662 occupied the capital, having destroyed the Ahom fleet of boats on the Brahmaputra. Mir Jumla spent the rainy season in the capital, and his army suffered terribly from lack of supplies and from cholera and the attacks of the Ahoms. After the rains, when reinforcements arrived, the Ahoms were driven into the hills or made terms with the Mughuls. At the end of the year Mir Jumla, himself a dying man, made peace with the Raja, who ceded the western provinces, paid an indemnity, and agreed to send a daughter to the imperial ḥarem. Mir Jumla set off with the daughter, part of the indemnity, and a tribute of elephants, but died on the way to Dacca.

Four years later the Ahoms recovered what they had given up, and Gauhati as well. Raja Ram Singh of Amber, who was Governor of Bengal, had neither the troops nor the inclination to do anything, but in 1679, after he had been recalled, Gauhati was recovered by bribery, but lost after only two years when a new and warlike king succeeded to the Ahom kingdom. Thus Kamrup was finally lost. Cooch Bihar had also been recovered by its Raja, but Shaista Khan in 1664 reduced the Raja to submission and, later still, the major portion was annexed. Mir Jumla had been a faithful servant to Aurangzeb, and stood out among the generals of his time for his good qualities. He was beloved by his troops, as their steadfastness in the Assam campaign

testified, and he waged war with a humanity not often met with in those times.

Arakan

The murder of Shah Shuja, though a rebel, was excuse for an attack on the Magh kingdom of Arakan. Here a regular nest of pirates had been established. The Portuguese had founded a settlement at Chittagong some hundred years before, and they had gradually joined forces with the Burmese Magh kings, and by now had little or no connection with the authorities at Goa. They married the women of the country and founded a colony of their own, occupied in piratical raids on the coasts and rivers of lower Bengal. Here the Magh fleets, with their Portuguese and half-caste allies, raided and enslaved at their sweet will. These half-caste Feringhis, as they were called, were, says the French traveller Bernier, 'Christians only in name.' They descended on the Bengal coasts burning, robbing and enslaving the wretched people. It has been seen how their allies, the Portuguese, at Hugli had been dealt with by Shahjahan, but the power of the Arakanese and their allies was untouched. The treatment of Shah Shuja and his family was the final touch. Shah Shuja was a rebel but he was still one of the Mughul royal family, and behaviour such as this could not be tolerated.

Shaista Khan went systematically to work. First he built a fleet, and then advanced and took the island of Sandwip at the mouth of the Brahmaputra, a rallying place for the pirates in their raids where an imperial officer, who had deserted from the Mughul navy, had made common cause with them. This was in 1665. Next Shaista Khan tempted the Feringhis from their alliance with the Maghs. The time was opportune, for they had quarrelled with the ruler, and they sailed over to Shaista Khan with their fleet of forty-two vessels, their families, and their possessions. Now the attack on Chittagong could be made, and it was these Feringhis who bore the brunt and destroyed the Arakanese fleet. An army marched in support along the coast and Chittagong was captured, named Islamabad, and annexed to Bengal. This was the end of the Arakan power in 1666.

The North-West Frontier

The tribes on the frontier have always given trouble to the holders of India from the time of Alexander the Great onwards.

In Akbar's time Birbal had been killed in a campaign against the Yusufzais of the Swat and Bajaur. These tribes inhabited country where cultivation was sparse, and they lived on raiding the plains and robbing the caravans which took the merchandise of India through the passes, especially the Khyber. It was found convenient, as it has been in later times, to pay allowances—in reality bribes—to the chiefs to keep their tribesmen quiet. This, varied by punitive expeditions when the raids became too troublesome, had been the policy for long. Too untrustworthy for enlistment in the regular army and too individualistic to submit to discipline, there was no other way to keep them quiet. In 1667 the Yusufzais cut the Kashmir road above Attock and penetrated into Hazara. They were dealt with by three forces, the first of which defeated them in the field ; the second, under Shamsher Khan, entered their own country and burnt the crops and the villages, and finally Muhammad Amin Khan, the son of Mir Jumla, dealt with them so rigorously that they were quiet for some years.

In 1672, however, the Afridis rose under Akmal Khan, who proclaimed himself king and rallied the tribes. The Governor of Kabul, Muhammad Amin Khan, was at Peshawar and proceeded through the Khyber to his headquarters. At Ali Masjid he was surrounded and his army cut to pieces, ten thousand men, it is recorded, being slain ; and though the Governor escaped, his mother, wife and daughter were captured, together with twenty thousand men and countless booty. It was a disaster such as had not occurred in the history of Mughul rule. The Khattaks joined under the poet and warrior Khushal Khan, and the whole frontier was in a blaze. Mahabat Khan, the son of the old hero of Daulatabad, was sent to restore order. He had great experience of the frontier and was expected to restore the situation. He did not try to open the Khyber, but after an arrangement with the tribes reached Kabul by another route. Shujaat Khan, one of Aurangzeb's discoveries, a man of humble birth but of good reputation, was now sent to force the Khyber and subdue the tribes. With him was a large force of Rajputs under Jaswant Singh. He was not supported by the other commander and was defeated and killed in the Karapa Pass in 1674, though Jaswant Singh's Rajputs saved the army from a similar disaster to Ali Masjid. This necessitated Aurangzeb's own presence and he moved up to Hasan Abdal. Mahabat Khan was dismissed from the government of Kabul for lack of co-operation, and Aghar

Khan, an experienced Turki officer, was summoned from the Deccan. He was able to defeat the Mohmands but was himself wounded and defeated in the Khyber, though afterwards he did better. The Mughuls suffered several reverses, but gradually established posts in the tribal country, and Aurangzeb's diplomacy sowed dissensions between the confederates. By 1675 the Emperor was able to return to Delhi, leaving Amir Khan, the son of Khalilulla Khan, as Governor of Kabul. He was successful, by a mixture of subsidies, diplomacy and force, in keeping the passes open. Akmal Khan died and the Afridis made terms, while Khushal Khan, head of the Khattaks, was ultimately betrayed by his own son. Amir Khan continued to be governor until his death in 1698, and there was no more trouble on a large scale during his lifetime. But the rising had distracted attention from the Deccan where the Mahrattas were rising to power, and used up a large number of well-trained troops. It has also been suggested that as a result Pathan recruits were not to be trusted in the armies any more, and that they and the Afghans would have been useful in the Deccan. It is doubtful if any Pathans were ever sufficiently trustworthy to be used in the regular forces, and the Afghans themselves were still available. There was another reason for the weakening of the imperial army and this was Aurangzeb's attack on the religion of the Hindus, with its effects on the Rajputs who were still the flower of his armies.

Aurangzeb's Hindu Policy

Much of the success of the Mughul empire had been due to the tolerant attitude of the rulers.. Akbar, it will be remembered, had really tried to mould Muslim and Hindu into one people. He had failed, but his policy of using the Rajputs as helpers in his administration, and especially his wars, had been a great success. Jahangir had continued this policy, and Shahjahan, though a more orthodox Muslim, had maintained the policy of conciliation of the Rajput chiefs. Aurangzeb saw things differently. He felt quite genuinely that his faith demanded that he should carry out the old Arabic conceptions of an Islamic ruler's duty—to spread the faith and make war on infidels. The fact that soon the Arab conquerors had let these injunctions be more honoured in the breach than the observance was lost sight of, and he determined to enforce the letter of the law, not only against

the Hindus but also against Muslim heretics, the Shia states of the Deccan.

The destruction of infidel places of worship had always been a result of Muslim conquest. On the site of King Solomon's temple at Jerusalem had risen a mosque, the Dome of the Rock, but the demolition of the Jewish temple had taken place under the Romans centuries before, while the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was left untouched, as was the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem; but at Istanbul the great Church of the Holy Wisdom, Hagia Sophia, had become a mosque, and in India the earlier invaders had been great iconoclasts. But toleration was general, and even Aurangzeb had begun his reign with a firman that he would only forbid new erections. This policy soon changed—why is not clear. Aurangzeb was certainly not the man to be influenced by advisers, religious or otherwise. Like so many deeply religious men he was one-ideaed—set upon the propagation of the faith exactly as Mary of England had been, or Charles the Fifth of Spain. Like them he acted from the very best motives.

The temple at Somnath (Patan), so often destroyed, was once more razed to the ground. At Benares the temple of Visvanath was pulled down and on its site the mosque, which still dominates the river-side, was built. At Mathura the temple of Keshava Rai suffered the same fate, and the name Mathura changed to Islamabad. Finally in 1680 the temples in the Rajput city of Amber were destroyed—the capital of those Rajputs who had served the Mughuls most faithfully from the start. This was not only bigotry run riot, it was the height of political folly. But this was not all. An effort was made to replace the Hindu officials, especially in the revenue department. This could not be carried out as there were not the Muslims to take their places. Customs duty or octroi was levied at 5 per cent from Hindus but only half that from Muslims, and later Muslims were exempted altogether. A definite effort was made to obtain conversions, and many resulted. The Hindu religious fairs were forbidden, and finally all were forbidden to ride in palanquins or on elephants or horses of any value, and none were to bear arms. This was not applied to the Rajputs, but naturally they felt it.

The supremest act of folly, however, was the imposition of the *jiziya* on all non-Muslims in 1679. This tax went back to the early Arab conquests of the seventh century. Islamic law imposed the duty of religious war or *jihad* against non-believers, but the

' people of the book,' Christians and Jews, were spared on paying this tax. It is explained as an alternative to military service, but this does not apply to India where military service was never universal. It had been imposed by the early Muslim conquerors, but was finally abolished by Akbar. Even the Rajputs were not exempted and it was they who resented it forcibly, as will be seen later. But other risings resulted from this and from the destruction of temples.

Risings

The Jats round Agra were the first to take arms. They were especially resentful of the destruction of the temple of Keshava Rai, and in 1669 rose under Gokla of Tilpat and killed the oppressive governor. They were suppressed and their leader hewn in pieces, but they were to cause trouble again. A rising at Narnaul, near Delhi, due to a quarrel between a soldier of the revenue collector and a follower of the Satnami sect of peasants, usually law-abiding persons who had a unitarian faith, led to fighting and the destruction of mosques by the Satnamis. They were defeated ultimately in 1672 by a regular expedition, but communal feelings had been permanently aroused.

The Sikhs

Nanak, the founder of the Sikhs in the beginning of the sixteenth century, had aimed at a synthesis of Hinduism and Islam, with a belief in one God and a rejection of caste and idol worship. His was a purely religious teaching and fellowship. The Sikhs were mostly recruited from the Jats and thus had a fellow-feeling for Hindus. The successors of Nanak, who died in 1538 in Humayun's time, called Gurus or teachers, remained heads of a purely religious body until Arjun the fifth Guru (1581–1606), who consolidated the sect with a regular system of contributions and a centre at Amritzar. It was here that the first Sikh temple was built for the *Adi Granth Sahib*, the holy book of the Sikhs, which was now completed by the addition of hymns from many sources from both North and South India, from Kabir and his followers, and Maratha sources among others. Arjun gave offence to Jahangir by aiding Khusru and was executed in 1606. His son and successor, the next Guru Har Govind (1606–45), organized them for war, and they came into collision with the imperial power. An expedition sent by Shahjahan was

defeated near Amritzar, and hostilities went on, until Har Govind was driven into the hills where he died. He was followed as Guru by Har Rai (1645–61), and after his sons had disputed the succession Har Kishan succeeded. He died in 1664 and there was then a disputed succession. Finally Tej Bahadur, the youngest son of Har Govind, who had fought under Raja Ram Singh of Amber in Assam, gained the support of the majority.

It was Tej Bahadur with whom Aurangzeb came into conflict. He ordered the Sikh temples to be destroyed and the Sikh collectors to be expelled from the cities throughout India, where they collected the offerings of the followers of the Guru. Tej Bahadur objected and encouraged resistance and was sent to Delhi. He was offered the choice of accepting Islam or taking the consequences of his rebellion, and on his refusal was tortured and finally beheaded in 1675. Arjun had been executed because he refused to pay the fine of two lakhs imposed for helping Khusru and Tej Bahadur for rebellion, torture being part of the punishment and not a refinement of cruelty specially used against the Sikhs. But the exaction of the strict letter of the law finally alienated the Sikhs. His son Govind Singh, the next Guru, the tenth, not only meant to avenge his father's death, but realized that the whole Sikh way of life was threatened.

It was Govind Singh who organized the Sikhs into a military confederation. He invented a ceremony of initiation with the ritual drinking of water consecrated by a dagger. Caste was finally abrogated so as to knit them closer together into the Khalsa or body of the Sikhs. They wore distinctive badges, the five Ks : kanghi (comb), kach (a kind of shorts), kard (an iron bangle), kesh (long hair), and kirpan (sword). The Guru became a military leader and not only a religious teacher. From his hill stronghold at Anandpur he waged war with the hill rajas as a means of training his followers. He now preached war against Islam and the Mughuls. The Sikhs, who were mostly Jats though some Muslims joined, were closely knit together by loyalty to their Guru and military training. Long years of warfare with the hill rajas from Kashmir to as far east as Garhwal, and with the Mughul forces, taught them cohesion and fellowship. Engrossed as Aurangzeb was with other concerns and other wars, the struggle was entrusted to local commanders. Govind Singh was besieged at Anandpur five times, but was generally successful ; finally, however, he had to flee to the plains of the Punjab. Eventually Aurangzeb promised him a safe conduct to the Deccan to meet him, but died

before the meeting could take place. He took the side of Bahadur Shah in the war of succession on Aurangzeb's death in 1707, and accompanied him in his expedition to the Deccan against Kam Bakhsh, where he settled at Nander on the Godaveri, and where he was killed by an Afghan assassin in the year 1708. Before his death he had announced that there should be no more Gurus. The Sikhs under various leaders continued to attack the Mughul governors in the Punjab and the west of the Ganges Doab. The next incident was the rise of a Sikh territorial power in the Punjab, but that was a later development.

Aurangzeb and the Rajputs

The death of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Marwar on the North-west frontier at the end of 1678 marked the beginning of Aurangzeb's new policy as regards the Rajputs. Up to now they had been left to rule their territories as hereditary princes, and at the same time were knit into the Mughul administrative machine by being given grades as mansabdars and utilized as administrative officers throughout the empire. This policy had worked very well, but with the death of Jaswant Singh without issue Aurangzeb determined the time had come to incorporate Marwar in the imperial system as a province of the empire. To one with a severely logical mind like Aurangzeb, it possibly seemed the right thing to do. He seems completely without any power to judge of the results of his actions as long as they seemed right to him. This, of course, was absolutism *in excelsis*, and it is the kind of reasoning which has so often led to trouble in India. Troops were set moving and the whole country occupied. The Rajput fighting men were with the Maharaja on the frontier, and to give a sort of cover to his actions Aurangzeb made Indra Singh, a grandnephew of the dead prince, titular Raja. He had to pay for this to the tune of thirty-six lakhs of rupees. He was a partisan of the Mughuls and had no influence among the Rathors. Aurangzeb had moved down to Ajmir to superintend this, and when the occupation seemed successful he returned to Delhi in 1679.

But one of Jaswant Singh's wives had given birth to a posthumous son. Aurangzeb was not prepared for this, as it might upset his settlement, and he directed that the child and his mother should be brought to Delhi. He also now issued the decree imposing the *jiziya* on all non-Muslims, including the Rajputs, encouraged, perhaps, by his success in annexing Marwar. Mean-

while Aurangzeb ordered that the infant should be taken to the imperial palace and there brought up. There was no idea of recognizing him as the future ruler of Marwar. The Rathors under Durga Das, the son of Maharaja Jaswant Singh's minister, Askaran, determined to rescue him. They took him from the Maharaja's palace in Delhi, and while one band sold their lives dearly in stopping pursuit, the rest with the ranis rode off towards Marwar. Three times did a portion of the gallant band turn and hold back the pursuers until Durga Das and the escort had shaken off all pursuit and reached Jodhpur in safety with the young prince.

Aurangzeb announced that the child was an imposter, and that the real Ajit was in his harem. This was actually the son of a milkman, who was given the name of Muhamadi Raj, which has been held to indicate that the intention was to bring up Ajit Singh as a Muslim.

Aurangzeb now proceeded to Ajmir once more. Indra Singh was removed from his titular position and Marwar administered as a province from Ajmir and later Gujarat. Muhammad Akbar, his fourth and favourite son, was sent in command of the operations to reduce Marwar with Tahavvur Khan the Governor of Ajmir to advise him. There could be little resistance. The towns were sacked, temples razed to the ground, and fire and sword devasted the country. But Durga Das and the infant Ajit were still free among the hills and fastnesses of Rajputana, and the heroic Rathors still carried on a guerilla warfare, after a defeat in the open country near Pushkar at the beginning of operations.

Mewar was the next to be attacked. The Rana had certainly given cause as he had carried off a Rajput princess destined to be the bride of Aurangzeb himself, who had appealed to her chieftain to save her honour. Raj Singh attacked the imperial escort which was taking her to the Emperor, and carried the lady off to Udaipur where he married her himself. Raj Singh refused to pay the *jiziya* for his state, and gave asylum to Durga Das and the young Ajit and his mother, who was his kinswoman.

Aurangzeb himself proceeded against Mewar, and the Rana had to leave the low country to the Mughuls, who destroyed crops, villages, towns and temples. Udaipur was occupied and Chitor once more captured. In 1680 the Rana was defeated in the hills. Prince Akbar was left in command at Chitor and Aurangzeb returned to Ajmir. While the Rajputs could be defeated in the open country where the well-served artillery of the Mughuls gave them a great advantage, it was a different matter to hold down

both Mewar and Marwar while Rana Raj Singh held the Aravallis separating the two states. The Rajputs did not give in, and guerilla warfare continued to boil up here and there into full-scale engagements. The Mughul camp at Chitor was raided, and shortly after Akbar himself was defeated. The Mughul posts were continually being attacked, supplies cut off, and small parties exterminated. Finally Aurangzeb transferred Akbar to Marwar and sent his third son Azam to Chitor. A plan of attack was devised against the Rajput stronghold of the Aravallis. Muazzam the second prince was given command of a force to advance from the north, while Azam was to converge from the east and Akbar from the west. But it failed, as the attacks from east and west did not materialize. Akbar was already in communication with the Rajputs. The initiative seems to have come from Durga Das and Rana Raj Singh, who pointed out that Aurangzeb's policy was jeopardizing the empire. Tahavvur Khan was the go-between, and when Akbar advanced towards the Jhilwara pass leading to the stronghold of the Rajputs in the Aravallis, the negotiations went on with a promise of support of both the states of Marwar and Mewar, Rathors and Sisodias, to make Akbar emperor and attack Aurangzeb at Ajmir, where he had very few troops.

The death of Rana Raj Singh delayed things, but his son Jai Singh, who succeeded, continued the negotiations, which culminated in Akbar declaring that his father had forfeited the throne and proclaiming himself Emperor in early 1681. The allies then marched on Ajmir, where Aurangzeb was almost unprotected. But Akbar was no general, and wasted time on the way, and Muazzam hurried to reinforce his father. Aurangzeb himself was not idle. First he devoted his attention to Tahavvur Khan. Akbar had advanced to the neighbourhood of Doraha, and preparations were made for the attack on the following day. Aurangzeb got a message sent to Tahavvur Khan, promising him pardon if he deserted and threatening his family if he did not. Without a word the minister left the camp, and in his haste tried to penetrate armed into the Emperor's presence. He was killed by the guards.

Having thus removed the brains of the movement, Aurangzeb turned his attention to the sword. It is said he contrived that a letter congratulating Akbar on tempting the Rajputs to their destruction should fall into Durga Das's hands. This trick of a false letter is continually turning up in Mughul history, and whether it was employed on this occasion or not the fact remains

that the Rajputs discovered Tahavvur Khan's desertion, and being unable to get admittance to Akbar, their suspicions were confirmed and they rode off with all their forces, after looting Akbar's baggage. The Mughul troops seeing this, and never having been enthusiastic over the project, also deserted. Thus Akbar found himself with only a small guard and had to follow his allies. The danger to Aurangzeb had melted away overnight. The Rajputs felt they were in honour bound to give asylum to Akbar, and conveyed him and some of his family in safety out of the country, though Muazzam ranged the country with the Mughul forces in pursuit. Finally, after four months of harried flight, he made his way to Sambhuji, the son of Sivaji, in the Deccan.

The war in Rajputana dragged on, but finally peace was made in 1684. The Rana ceded to the empire three pargannahs in lieu of *jiziya*, and he was recognized as Rana with a mansabdari rank of 5,000 horse, and the Mughuls left Mewar.

Marwar, however, was still occupied and a state of guerrilla war went on for the next thirty years, which was a constant drain on the empire's resources. Amber kept to its policy of supporting the imperial connection, though in Amber itself the iconoclastic zeal of Aurangzeb had destroyed no less than sixty-six temples.

The Rajput war had a fatal effect on the future of the Mughul domination over India. Not only was it a constant drain on men and resources, but one of the chief recruiting grounds for first-class fighting men was cut off, and the history of the wars in the Deccan which we shall now recount shows what was the effect of this.

The Deccan

Aurangzeb's chief danger in the Deccan was from the Mahrattas, but he first determined to deal with Bijapur and Golkunda. It has been said that this was mistaken policy, and the Deccan kingdoms were a bulwark against the Mahratta power. They stretched right across India and between them the Mahrattas might have been crushed.

But speculations of this type lead one nowhere, and if they had not fallen to Aurangzeb they would have before long succumbed to Mahratta spoliation. That they could not stand against the Mahrattas was shown by Sivaji's campaign in the Carnatic in 1674. The real loss was their administration, which the Mughuls did not succeed in replacing.

Before the campaigns of Aurangzeb against the kingdoms of

the Deccan are described it is necessary to review the growth of the Mahrattas under Sivaji.

The Mahrattas

Something has already been said about Shahji Bhonsla, the father of Sivaji. Shahji had held land from the Nizam Shahs of Ahmadnagar. When the Ahmadnagar kingdom was defeated by Shah Jahan he had been allowed to take service with the Adil Shahs, where he rose to great power. His conquests in the Carnatic were held by him nominally for Bijapur, while Sivaji was given the small territory round Poona, Shahji's original holding.

The Mahratta people were the inhabitants of the western ghats and the lowlands west of them—hardy cultivators living a rough life and accustomed to hardship. Their chiefs, holders of little hill forts in that difficult country that borders the Deccan plateau, were the mercenary leaders of contingents who served the Deccan kingdoms when Brahmans rose to power in the revenue departments of the states which sprung up from the Bahmani kingdom. It was in this school that soldier and official learnt their business, while the common people were knit together by a religious faith which was democratic rather than Brahman in its essence.

Sivaji was born in 1627 in one of these hill forts and brought up by his mother Jijabai, a woman of great force of character, who had been practically discarded by Shahji when he married another and younger woman and went to the Carnatic. He did, however, appoint a guardian in the person of Daduji Kondadev, who looked after his interests and guided the young Sivaji with discretion. Sivaji's mother was another great influence, and directed his thoughts to the great saints and heroes of Hinduism, and undoubtedly his early upbringing had a great influence on his development. Whether he set out to restore the glories of Hindu history is another question. He was, like all great men, an opportunist, who shaped his ideals to his means and whose horizon widened as new vistas opened up in front of him. He began by strengthening his hold on his father's original jagir round Poona. He was twenty years of age and Daduji had died in 1647. Bijapur suffered from the illness of the Adil Shah Muhammad, and later from disputed succession, and he was able to reduce many forts and consolidate his position in his father's old jagir, which he regarded as his own, and remitted no revenue



Plate 50a The Head of Aurangzeb, from Johnson's Album No. 57, India Office Library



Plate 50b Portrait of Sivaji, from the Manucci Codex in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



Plate 51 The Moti Masjid, Delhi Fort

to Bijapur. To bring pressure on him the authorities in Bijapur imprisoned his father Shahji, who appealed to Shahjahan, and the Adil Shah Ali II, fearing the result, restored him to his Carnatic holding. When Aurangzeb was viceroy of the Deccan in 1657, Sivaji pushed his raids farther afield as far as Junnar. Nasiri Khan, Aurangzeb's general, defeated him, however, and when Aurangzeb made terms with Bijapur and was called away by the war of succession, Sivaji too was admitted to the treaty. He then turned against Bijapur and started on the conquest of the Konkan, seizing Kalyani the key fortress. This spurred the Bijapur government to action, and an expedition under Afzal Khan was dispatched against him as he was extending his conquests to the southern Konkan.

The story of the encounter between Sivaji and Afzal Khan has been variously represented. It appears that Sivaji was ready to treat if this could be arranged, and an interview between the two was arranged at which they were to meet, armed only with a dagger and accompanied by one attendant, near the fortress of Partabgarh, where Sivaji had retired before the invasion of the Bijapur forces. It has been said that Afzal Khan had determined to kill Sivaji at the interview. If this is so it is hard to explain why he had not arranged for his forces to be ready to move to his assistance, and why he was unprotected by any body armour.

Sivaji wore armour under his outer clothes, and in his hand the *waghnakh*, or tiger's claws, steel hooks or claws, and a dagger hidden in his sleeve, the *bichu* (scorpion). They met, and during the ceremonial embrace Sivaji with the claws attached to his left hand ripped up the stomach of Afzal Khan, and plunged his dagger into him while the stroke of the general was turned by his hidden armour. Another account says that Afzal insulted him, and Sivaji replied by calling him son of a cook (his father was superintendent of the royal kitchens), and Afzal then grappled with him and in the struggle Sivaji prevailed. Then a signal was given and the Mahrattas from their hiding places poured on the unready Bijapur army and routed them. This was in 1659, and Sivaji continued to attack Bijapur territory. He seized the strong fort of Panhala, but lost it again when Ali II Adil Shah proceeded himself against him and made common cause with the imperial viceroy Shaista Khan in 1660. He could not stand against this alliance, and not only lost Panhala but Poona and the key fort of Chakan in the north. In the following year he lost Kalyani also, but extended his power in the Konkan. The sub-

sequent fighting was somewhat inconclusive, but in 1663 Sivaji in one of the audacious raids which were characteristic of him and the Mahrattas, not only made his way with a small band in the disguise of a wedding procession into Poona, but penetrated into Shaista Khan's harem in Sivaji's own house, killed his son and several others, including six of the women and wounded the viceroy himself, with very small losses to himself. This episode, coupled with Sivaji's sack of Surat, when only the English, French and Dutch factories made any successful resistance, led to the recall of Shaista Khan. Prince Muazzam now succeeded as Viceroy.

Shahji had been an intermediary in arranging a truce between the Mahrattas and Ali Adil Shah in 1661, and this left Sivaji free to concentrate against the Mughuls. When Shahji died in 1664 Sivaji assumed the title of Raja and exercised the kingly perogative of striking coins—another insult to the Mughuls. From his chief stronghold at Raigarh he continued his raids, and finally roused the wrath of Aurangzeb by interference with the pilgrim ships to Mecca. This and the sack of Surat combined to cause a determined effort to be made against the ' Mountain Rat,' as Aurangzeb later referred to him. Muazzam was incompetent and open to bribes, and Raja Jai Singh of Amber was sent to take the place of Raja Jaswant Singh, whose slackness was held to have been the cause for the surprise at Poona, where Shaista Khan had so narrowly escaped death. Dilir Khan was associated with him, but Jai Singh was the leading figure.

In 1665 a large Mughul army entered Sivaji's own territory and laid siege to the fort of Purandar and threatened Raigarh, Sivaji's stronghold itself. The Mountain Rat could make no head against this display of force. His success so far had been due largely to no determined and planned campaign being made against him by the Mughul power, uninterrupted by bribes, dissension, or incompetence. He was reduced to making appeals to Jai Singh on the grounds of their common Hindu origin. Jai Singh was primarily a noble of the Mughul court. He was not only a good general but a cultured gentleman, a diplomatist and scholar, with a knowledge of Persian as well as Sanskrit, and even Turki. A treaty was concluded at Purandar, by which Sivaji surrendered twenty-three forts and only kept twelve. While Sivaji himself was excused from becoming part of the imperial organization, his young son Sambhuji was to become a mansabdar with a jagir and 5,000 *sawar*. Part of the Konkar and the Deccan

uplands were to be held on payment of a sum of forty lakhs of *huns* in thirteen yearly instalments, and he was to assist in the campaign against Bijapur. Finally, he was allowed to extract *chauth* from Bijapur. This appearance of the practice of *chauth*, which was afterwards to reach such great proportions, is strange, and it is unlikely that the Mughuls realized what it entailed. Here at length was a settlement on the lines of the arrangements with the Rajputs, by which this enemy of the imperial power was enlisted as part thereof.

It has been claimed that Sivaji, even at this time, had ideas of leading a Hindu revolution against Muslim ascendancy, but this is rather to attribute to him ideas from modern times. He was an opportunist and his next action seems to confirm this. Raja Jai Singh had been urging him to visit Aurangzeb's court, and in 1666 he consented on the personal safe-conduct of the Raja and his son Ram Singh. The visit was not a success. Sivaji expected to be treated with greater consideration than to be received as a mere dependant. He broke into angry remonstrances quite unsuited to the ceremonious durbar of a Mughul emperor, and his feelings were so strong that he is reported to have been so worked up that he fainted. When he recovered he protested in the strongest terms at his treatment ; his protest was considered to be presumptious, and he was placed in custody in the house of Ram Singh. The Rajput felt his honour had been infringed when his safe conduct was thus broken, and when Sivaji's requests to be allowed to depart were refused. Thus he may almost be said to have connived at the escape of Sivaji and Sambhuji in baskets of sweetmeats borne on the backs of porters. He made his way by a circuitous route to Raigarh.

Thus was missed an opportunity of conciliating this doughty opponent of the Mughuls, and from henceforth Sivaji recognized that it was war to the death. The treaty of Purandar was abrogated, and he set to work to recover what he had lost. Raja Jai Singh was recalled and died on his way back. Muazzam was sent back as viceroy and soon made peace, and Sivaji was allowed to keep the forts he had recovered, and was given the title of raja which his ancestors had held from the Nizam Shahs.

He now busied himself for three years in organizing his kingdom. He had compounded with both Bijapur and Golkunda for an annual payment instead of *chauth*. The new Kutb Shah Abul Hasan was in the hands of two Brahman ministers, and there was no trouble from that quarter. He reformed the administra-

tion and abolished the custom of hereditary ministers. All his officials were paid in cash, and the jagir system, which was to prove the ruin of the Mughul empire, found no follower in Sivaji. He organized a proper civil service, and his revenue demand was less than that of the Mughuls or the Deccan kingdoms, being only two-fifths of the produce. He paid special attention to the army, and organized it into battalions and brigades where all were paid monthly by the treasury. During the rainy season they remained in barracks and drew rations. When on service they were expected to live off the country, a thing which these hardy Mahrattas were well accustomed to do. The cavalry was mounted on hardy ponies, which were means of transport for mounted infantry rather than chargers for the cut and thrust of cavalry charges. He organized a fleet as well which was able to compete with the Mughul armadas, though not against the well-armed and well-manned European vessels. The Abyssinian Sidis of Janjira, admirals first of the Bijapur and then of the Mughul fleet, were the objects of his attacks, but held their own pretty well in the long run.

In 1670 he renewed his raids, having organized the state under his personal control. The next step was another attack on Surat, the Mughuls' chief port, but he failed to take the English factory which was defended by a few men only. It was plunder he was after and his economic ideas were faulty, for he destroyed trade along the coast by these raids and Surat ceased to be a great trading centre. The English had already established themselves at Bombay, and the attacks of the Mahrattas were soon to render all hopes of trade on this coast idle.

His raids on Mughul territory continued and he captured many forts. Muazzam and his general Dilir Khan did not agree, and raids by the Mahrattas penetrated into Khandesh and Berar and defeated Mughul armies. Bahadur Khan was sent by Aurangzeb as governor of the Deccan in 1672, but he could do little to stop the Mahrattas who raided far and wide, and exacted *chauth* from all the lands they raided. Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur died in 1672 and was succeeded by a minor. This laid Bijapur open, and Sivaji in 1673 regained Panhala and sacked Hubli and the English factory there, while the fleet captured Karwar and Ankola.

The war with Bijapur went on with varying success, and an arrangement was made with Bahadur Khan by which he kept quiet as long as Sivaji did not attack Mughul territory. Mean-

while Sivaji had failed to capture the Bijapur fort of Ponda near Goa and returned to Raigarh, his chief fort, where he had a coronation in 1674 as chhatrapati (Lord of the Umbrella), and assumed the position of a Kshratiya on the ground of a doubtful descent from a Rajput family.

The Carnatic Campaign

War between the Mughuls and Bijapur gave Sivaji his opportunity, and he was able to continue his efforts to recover the Konkan and the forts he had lost. Dissension in Bijapur enabled him to recover Panhala and other forts, and he now determined to put in a claim to his father's holdings in the Carnatic which had been granted to his half-brother Vyankoji. He obtained the permission of Golkunda to pass his troops through its territory in 1677, and formed an alliance with Abul Hasan and his Brahman ministers to divide the Bijapur fiefs in the Carnatic. He obtained the surrender of the strong fort of Jinji near Madras and captured Vellore. He had called on his brother to give up a two-thirds' share of his territory on the grounds that they were Shahji's own possessions. This was of course incorrect. Shahji held them from Bijapur and they were regranted to Vyankoji, and the latter was naturally reluctant to give them up. He therefore fought for them but was defeated by Sivaji, and an agreement was reached. The whole of these fiefs were occupied, and the other Carnatic possessions of Bijapur compelled to pay *chauth*. It was a remarkable campaign—no less than seven hundred miles from his own country. For eighteen months he pursued a course of uninterrupted success, finally leaving the land held by his father under the nominal rule of Vyankoji, but held by a series of forts under his own commanders. This was in 1677–78.

An agreement with Bahadur Khan, the imperial viceroy, had ensured that the Mughuls would not attack his rear, and for this and his other failures Aurangzeb recalled Bahadur Khan and sent Dilir Khan once more to the scene of his old campaigns. Dilir Khan now joined with Bijapur in attacking Golkunda, the ally of Sivaji. He had little success, and now Dilir Khan invaded the kingdom of his ally on the pretext that the young king's sister Padshah Begam, who had been promised in marriage to Prince Azam, had not been sent to court. This was most unpopular in Bijapur and her handing over was refused. Dilir Khan therefore

marched on Bijapur, and though the princess, in order to avoid war, asked to be handed over and was sent to the Mughul camp, Dilir Khan continued his march. Bijapur then appealed to Sivaji for help. Sivaji was on his return from the successful operations in the Carnatic, and had added other territories in Mysore to his dominions. He sent Sambhuji his son to relieve Bijapur, and succeeded in cutting the communications of the Mughul army and raided the country behind them, even plundering Aurangabad itself. His attempt to relieve the pressure on Bijapur failed however, as the siege was continued. The regent Masud Khan sent urgently for help, and Sivaji at last set his forces in motion to this end. Then came the news that his dissolute son Sambhuji, who had been under restraint at Panhala owing to his attempt on the chastity of a Brahman's wife, had escaped and joined Dilir Khan. He was well received, and given the mansab of seven thousand horse and recognized as Raja of the Mahrattas. This was a severe shock to Sivaji who let the army march on without him, with the result that they suffered a serious defeat. The Peshwa, however, wrought such havoc with Dilir Khan's communications that he was compelled to raise the siege. Aurangzeb now ordered Sambhuji to be sent to court, but Dilir Khan let him escape, and he returned to his father, who imprisoned him in Panhala once more.

Sivaji had not carried out his agreement to give a share of his Carnatic conquests to the Kutb Shah, and now demanded and received from Bijapur in return for his help all his conquests in the Carnatic, and also the conquests in Mysore including Bellary and the country round Bangalore, while Vyankoji held Tanjore as his vassal.

This was the climax of his career. He held the Konkan, the country between the western Ghats and the sea, as well as Karwar south of this. Goa was held by the Portuguese, and he had failed to take Janjira from the Abyssinian Sidis, while Bombay and Salsette were held by the East India Company ; but elsewhere his rule was undisputed. Eastward he held the high table-land of the Deccan, including Poona and Kolhapur ; on the Tungabadra Koppal and Bellary, and south Kolar and Bangalore, and the surrounding districts in Mysore. On the east Jinji and Vellore had been captured from Bijapur, and south of these the district of Tanjore was held by his brother Vyankoji as his vassal. A line of forts across from east to west were the connecting link. He had united all the diverse peoples who make up the Mahrattas,

but it was a personal dominion. His last years were embittered by his disappointment in his son Sambhuji, and the intrigues of his wife Soyara Bai to obtain the succession for her son Raja Ram. He died in 1680 aged only fifty-two.

Sivaji's Aims and Character

Sivaji has become a national character among Hindus, but the ideas of restoring Hindu supremacy in India attributed to him by modern writers are an attempt to read into his actions more than they will bear. He was an attractive personality, and seems to bring in a breath of fresh air after the tortuous policies of the Mughul court. It is no wonder that he fainted in the air of the royal Durbar at Agra. He seems to have been powerfully influenced by his upbringing by a religious-minded mother and a careful tutor in the recesses of the Mahratta country. What influence the Hindu religious revival, which centred round Pandharpur, and the worship of Vithoba associated with the names of many a Hindu saint, Kabir and Tukaram the religious poet of the Mahrattas, Namdev and Ram Das, had on his ideals is uncertain. The worship of Vithoba (Krishna) was the *bakhti* or personal worship, which started about 1228 at Pandharpur on the Bhima and was a people's movement, with leaders from the humble castes, malis, porters, leather workers and goldsmiths. Namdev (1270–1350) was a tailor. Pandharpur became a centre of Mahratta culture, and supplied clerks and officials to the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, and here were trained the later officials of the Mahratta kingdom.

Sivaji plotted out an administration for his kingdom which had the merits of practicability, but ultimately it depended entirely on one man, the ruler. His council, the Ashta Pradhan, was entirely advisory, and the Peshwa was merely the head of an executive service, not the chief minister. His administration centred round the forts by which he held his widely scattered districts. These forts, under a commander called a havildar, were the centres of the surrounding districts. He paid special attention to the revenue, but the state really lived on the proceeds of his raids and the system of *chauth* recognized by Bijapur by the payment of a fixed sum. This forced contribution was of course no stable foundation for the revenue of an established state, and the system was economically defective. Had Sivaji lived he might have put the whole system of administration on proper

foundations, but he died and left a disputed succession and there was no real development, for the Mahratta leaders pursued the policy of raid and plunder to their own ultimate detriment.

What sort of a man was Sivaji personally? He was a great military leader, as his remarkable campaign in the Carnatic showed, but of course he was helped by the Mughuls' troubles on the North-West Frontier and with the Rajputs. He was further helped by the jealousies and dissensions of his opponents. Much of the seeming dissimulation and sharp dealing of his policy is explained by this. He was religious in a sense—a result of his upbringing—and there was a time apparently when he contemplated becoming a recluse. His behaviour to the conquered was much above the standards of the day, and even his Muslim opponents acknowledge his good treatment of women and children who fell into his hands. His personal life was free from those irregularities which, except for his great opponent Aurangzeb, seem almost the custom of the great of those times. He was not above the standards of the time in diplomatic relations—if indeed there were any standards but those of might—and his murder of Afzal Khan would take a lot of explaining away—indeed it has become almost a communal question; and the raid into the harem of Shaista Khan, while a dare-devil act, led to the killing of six defenceless women. His relations with the English factories shows that he knew how to bargain and how conveniently to forget obligations, but on the whole his was a character we can admire. He certainly struck the first great blow at the Mughul Empire, but his rise was not the cause of its fall, only a symptom of its decay.

When he died the intrigues of Soyara Bai resulted in the enthronement of her son Raja Ram at Raigarh, but Sambhuji was supported by the army and seized the fort, putting the ambitious lady to death on the charge that she had poisoned Sivaji. He became maharaja in 1680. It was at this time that the fugitive Prince Akbar took refuge with him and was saluted as Emperor. This led to the personal intervention of Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb in the Deccan

The cause of Aurangzeb's intervention was the flight of the Prince Akbar to the Mahrattas, and the failure of his generals to deal with them, and also his determination to put an end to the kingdoms of the Deccan. He had intended to do this in the days

of his second viceroyalty in 1657, but had to give up his intentions owing to the need for going north and maintaining his claims to the throne when Shahjahan became ill in 1658. He had been occupied ever since, and for twenty-two years his generals had been left with forces insufficient to achieve anything much. This had led to the need to win by intrigue what they were unable to do by arms, and the result was disastrous, for it led to weakening of standards and a propensity to accept bribes which became natural by exercise. The continual interference of the Emperor with every detail of the administration, as his letters show, led to the strangling of such initiative as the declining efficiency of the Mughul governors still retained. Aurangzeb had no ideas about the necessity of retaining the Deccan kingdoms as buffers against the Mahrattas. It is a question whether they were capable of still acting in this character. However, that may be, they were Shia states and, in the eyes of Aurangzeb, heretics. This had influenced him in his earlier attacks upon them, and there is evidence that it still influenced him.

While the danger from Prince Akbar remained Aurangzeb had to direct his attention to the Mahrattas. His first plan was a blockade, as much to prevent Akbar from gaining strength as to attack the Mahrattas. Kalyani in the north of the Konkan was occupied early in 1682. The Nasik district was another centre of invasion, and Ramsej was besieged for six months. Shah Alam was posted near Ahmadnagar, and Azam and a force placed to cut off communications with Bijapur. It was a sound plan, or would have been against other enemies than the elusive Mahrattas. The Emperor became suspicious of his sons and generals, and in 1683 recalled them all.

Sambhuji wasted his resources in a war with the Portuguese invading their territory, but it led to nothing. Sambhuji now gave himself up to amusement while his officers intrigued against him and each other, and many joined the Muslims. Another campaign was started in the autumn of 1683, and Shah Alam led a large army through Belgaum towards Goa. Other forces were stationed to watch the exits from the Mahratta country. At first he had a great measure of success, but his treacherous attempt to seize Goa turned the Portuguese against him, and they cut off his sea-supply route. Lack of supplies followed by disease destroyed a great part of his army, and he had to retreat to Ahmadnagar having effected little. Elsewhere, however, the Mughuls were more successful, capturing many Mahratta strongholds and

winning to their side many Mahratta leaders disgusted with the behaviour of Sambhuji.

Bijapur

Ali Adil Shah died in 1672. His son Sikandar was a child of five, and the nobles were more occupied in forwarding their own interests than those of the state. Khavas Khan the regent made what was regarded as a shameful peace with the Mughuls and was assassinated. Abdul Karim Khan was the next to hold the office, and found great difficulty in dealing with Sivaji and the Mughuls. Dilir Khan the Mughul governor forced him to promise to marry the Padshah Begam to Azam. He died in 1678, and Masud Khan took up the difficult task of preserving Bijapur from both Mahratta and Mughul. We have already seen how the marriage of the lady was resented by the Bijapuris and how Dilir Khan laid siege to Bijapur, causing the Bijapuris to turn to Sivaji for aid, which was given and led finally to Dilir Khan giving up the siege in 1679. The aid given by Sivaji led to more territory being lost to Bijapur, for Masud Khan had to recognize his conquests round Bellary and all he had won in the Carnatic.

In 1684 Masud Khan gave up the hopeless task of trying to save Bijapur and resigned. The end was not far off. The following year the siege of Bijapur began under the command of Bahadur Khan, now Khan Jahan, and with Prince Azam in supreme command. It was a slow affair. The large army made the question of supply difficult, and Bijapur was not completely invested, so that supplies to the garrison and reinforcements from the Mahrattas and from Golkunda were able to enter. Azam was so hard up for supplies that Aurangzeb had to send a force under Ghazi-ud-din, entitled Firoz Jang, to convoy them to him. Finally in July 1686, fifteen months after the siege had first begun, Aurangzeb himself appeared on the scene. The place was now encircled and no supplies could enter. Hunger did what the Mughul army had failed to do, and at the end of September Sikandar came to Aurangzeb to surrender. This was the end of Bijapur, for it did not long survive its former glory and is now a ruin. Its territories became part of the Mughul empire, and its prince a dependent on Aurangzeb's charity.

Golkunda

The ruler of Golkunda, Abul Hasan, who had succeeded in 1672, spent his time in the pursuit of pleasure. Golkunda was

ruled by a Brahman minister, Madanna, who was in league with the Mahrattas. They even made a secret pact with Sivaji to divide up the Bijapur territories, but the death of Sivaji prevented further action, and Sivaji played each against the other in his war with the Mughuls, drawing much of his sinews of war from the consolidated tribute in lieu of *chauth* he levied from both.

Golkunda had assisted Bijapur and Shah Alam was sent in command of an army to deal with the Kutb Shah. He captured Hyderabad in the autumn of 1685, and thus was in possession of the capital. But Abul Hasan retired to the stronghold of Golkunda. Muazzam was recalled in 1686 to join in the siege of Bijapur. It was not till the beginning of 1687 that Aurangzeb himself came to deal with the last of the Deccan kingdoms. The Brahman minister had been killed in a rising and the garrison prepared to fight to the last. Muazzam (Shah Alam) was found out in a treasonable correspondence with Abul Hasan, and was disgraced and imprisoned with all his family for seven years. This illustrates the divided councils of the Mughuls. The siege of Golkunda sheds a last dying light on the kingdoms of the Deccan, for nothing became Abul Hasan so well as this his final struggle, nor indeed does anything show so clearly the depths to which Mughul tactics had descended. The hero was a Persian soldier of fortune, Abdur Razzak, who defended the fortress with the utmost gallantry. The Mughul army, as always, suffered from lack of supplies, from the weather, and from disease, but Aurangzeb was inflexible in his resolve. After an eight months' siege Golkunda fell, not to assault but to treachery. The Mughuls were admitted, and Abdur Razzak with a few followers fought to the last until stricken by seventy wounds. The king showed a dignity little expected of him. Seated in his durbar hall he calmly waited for the enemy to appear. He was treated with courtesy and sent to join Sikandar in his captivity.

Thus the two kingdoms fell. They brought much booty to Aurangzeb, but the expenses of the campaign were large and the losses of material and men very heavy. The two sieges betrayed the weaknesses of the Mughul army. Their engineers were inefficient, and generally their mines did more damage to their own side than to the enemy. The huge multitudes of followers of all kinds who accompanied the forces were the cause of disease and famine, not only in the country round but in the camp itself. Finally dissension, intrigue, disloyalty and treachery were every-

where. The Deccan had taken a sad toll of the Mughuls. It had entirely corrupted them.

After the fall of these kingdoms Aurangzeb proceeded to occupy the territories they had held: Adoni, Raichur and Bangalore in modern Mysore as well as Bankapura and Belgaum further south, and Wandiwash and Conjeevaram in the Carnatic, fell within the next year.

Meanwhile, Prince Akbar, losing all hope of any aid from the Mahrattas, sailed in an English ship to Muscat, where he was detained by the ruler but finally got away to Persia in 1688. The great coup was, however, the capture of Sambhuji, who was kidnapped by the surprise attack of an enterprising Muslim officer, Mukarrab Khan, at Sangameshwar, and in the raid was taken his minister, Kavi Kalash, who was a Kanyakubja Brahman, and as a foreigner was unpopular. They were taken before Aurangzeb and treated with ignominy and insult which caused Shambhuji to retaliate in kind. He, along with his minister, was then put to death with torture, being regarded not as a monarch but as a bandit. Sambhuji was a drunken libertine, and he had killed his stepmother Soyara Bai in a similar way, and thus caused division throughout his kingdom, for her relations rebelled and his officers intrigued against him.

Raja Ram was now made maharaja, but the kingdom of Sivaji was already fading away, and its place was being taken by those Mahratta leaders whom the carelessness and neglect of Sambhuji had brought to the front.

The Mughuls for the time being hunted Rajaram till he escaped to Jinji, the strong fortress in the Carnatic. Raigarh, the old capital of Sivaji, was captured and the family of Sivaji and Sambhuji with it. Shahu, his son of seven years, was held in Aurangzeb's power, being given the nominal rank of a magnate of 7,000 horse.

Hostilities in the Deccan

The destruction of the two kingdoms had indeed made things more difficult for the Mughuls than ever before. They had represented some form of government, and had interposed some obstacles to the wider extension of Mahratta inroads. Now their administrative arrangements had ceased, their armies had disintegrated or joined the Mahratta powers, and it was left to the Mughuls to fill the void. The next few years were occupied

in the efforts made to achieve the occupation of the Deccan lands.

The different members of the Mahratta Council now assumed command and split their forces, waging war throughout the Deccan and Carnatic, and raiding into the more settled Mughul territories of Malwa, Gondwana, and even Bundelkand. Ramchandra Bavdekar was the chief commander in the Mahratta country proper, while Prahlad Niraji, the Pratinidhir or regent of Rajaram, was in charge of the Carnatic, while Rajaram was safe in Jinji. The Carnatic had been disturbed by Sivaji's campaign, and now the Mahrattas and local Hindu chiefs set up as independent rulers.

Zulfikar Khan the Mughul commander in the Carnatic tried to capture Jinji in 1690 but failed. The war lingered on till Mahratta reinforcements under Dhana Jadav and Santaji Ghorpare arrived in 1692, when Ali Mardan Khan the Governor of Conjeeveram was defeated and captured by Santaji, and the other cut off communications of the Mughul army besieging Jinji. Kam Bakhsh, the child of Aurangzeb's most beloved concubine, was in nominal command. He was induced by rumours of Aurangzeb's death to enter into treasonable correspondence with Rajaram for Mahratta aid in an attempt to seize the throne. This came to the ears of Zulfikar Khan and his father Asad Khan, and retreat was decided on and effected with considerable loss. Kam Baksh was sent under guard to his father. The army retreated to Wandiwash, losing heavily on the way. In 1694 the Mughuls set out once more and obliged the Raja of Tangore, Shahji II, to make peace.

Then Zulfikar Khan once more laid siege to Jinji, but half-heartedly under a secret arrangement with Rajaram. In 1695 the arrival of Mahratta reinforcements caused him to raise the pretence of a siege. In 1697, spurred on by the Emperor's commands, he determined to attack Jinji in earnest. Dissensions among the Mahratta commanders helped him, but he himself did not support his commanders, and was in secret correspondence with Rajaram still. Finally in 1698 he had to act. He sent warning to Rajaram, who was able to escape and then the fortress was captured.

War in the west went on with varying fortune. In 1696 Mahratta recovery after the disaster of Sambhuji was signalized by the complete defeat and capture of Sharza Khan, the old Bijapur minister, with all his family and baggage near Satara.

The important forts of Torna, Raigarh and Partabgarh, the keys of the Mahratta country, were also regained. Santaji held the hill Mahadev and attacked the Mughuls occupying the Satara district which Aurangzeb had reinforced after the disaster to Sharza Khan. Santaji and Dhana also made raids into the Dharwar and Belgaum districts. Panhala had been besieged by the Mughuls for a long time since its recovery by the Mahrattas, but in 1693 Dhana, who had returned from his attacks on the Mughuls in the Carnatic, attacked and destroyed the siege works of the Mughuls under Bidar Bakht and Firoz Jang. There was no pitched battle, but countless raids and threats of raids. In 1695 news reached Aurangzeb that Santaji was convoying his great store of plunder to his base in north-west Mysore, and he sent a force under Kasim Khan to cut him off. This force contained many of the highest officers of the Mughul army. Kasim Khan was feasting without any of those military precautions which had once been second nature with the Mughul army, and the Mahrattas fell upon him and destroyed a large part of the army, and the rest took refuge in a little fort too small to contain them all. The result was that Kasim Khan took his own life in despair and the Mughuls surrendered. They were stripped of all their possessions, horses and equipment, and, as the Mahrattas had no intern-

ment facilities, set free on a promise of two million rupees ransom. This was a sign of the falling Mughul fortunes, but dissension arose among the Mahrattas themselves. Santaji was an imperious and difficult commander, and was jealous of Dhana Jadav. In fact, actual war had broken out between the two in the Carnatic in 1696. The war was continued in the west when he returned in 1697. His overbearing spirit disgusted his followers, and even his great military genius could not save him and he was deserted by most and defeated by Dhana. Near his fortress on the Mahadev hill he was overtaken by an assassin and killed.

Rajaram, who had made his way to Satara when Jinji was threatened, tried to raid Berar, but was intercepted by Prince Bidar Bakht near Parenda in 1699 and driven back. Rajaram died in 1700 and left a disputed succession. His senior wife, Tara Bai, got her son enthroned as Sivaji III, while another wife put forward her son as Sambhuji II. Thus the Mahrattas were divided in their allegiance, but now the possession of a single leader was not necessary, for the Mahrattas and their different leaders all over the Deccan and in the south were so many additional kingdoms for the Mughuls to conquer. The task proved

beyond their powers. The empire had held together for many years by the very absence of enemies to attack it. Now when the administrative machinery of Bijapur and Golkunda had been obliterated there was nothing to take its place but the local patriotism of the soil, and the raids of the Mahrattas. The Mughul officers were not given enough troops to maintain themselves, and had to eke out their painful resources by bribery and intrigue. They even paid *chauth* to the Mahrattas. There was no longer that loyalty to the Padishah which had been the real binding cement of the empire, and each governor began to have visions of a principality of his own. Had not Sivaji carved one out? Why might not they? Indeed, this example was the most fatal legacy Sivaji left behind him. And so loyalty having failed, the Emperor found that if he wanted a thing done he must do it himself.

And this he painfully set himself to do; to reduce one by one the Mahratta fortresses, whither they were able to retreat when attacked in overwhelming numbers. Block up their bolt holes, and the rats would be exterminated.

The Final Campaign

In 1699 Aurangzeb began his final effort. He was now an old man of over eighty—a great age to go campaigning in the fastnesses of the Konkan. He had made a composition with Marwar by recognizing Ajit Singh's title to some districts in 1698, though Durga Das did not submit until seven years later, so Marwar still caused trouble. The Jats around Muttra had given continuous trouble, and in 1688 had plundered Akbar's tomb at Sikandra outside Agra, and even burned the bones of that great man. Prince Bidar Bakht was entrusted with this, and was more successful, Rajaram the leader being slain and their strongholds taken.

Shah Alam had been released from restraint in 1685 and sent to control the Punjab and Kabul. There were rebellions in Allahabad and Bundelkand, which were a sign of the times though finally adjusted.

Shujaat Khan, the Governor of Jodhpur, came to an understanding with the Rajputs of Marwar by paying them a kind of *chauth*, though maintaining his forces in a position of readiness. On his death in 1701 hostilities were renewed, and Jodhpur was recovered with Marwar by Ajit Singh in 1707. Aurangzeb's last

campaign against the Mahrattas lasted for seven years from 1699 to 1705. He laid siege to the chief forts one by one, but only one had to be taken by force; the others—Satara, Panhala, Khelna or Vishalgarh and Raigarh among them—were surrendered by the treachery of their commanders and the bribes of the besiegers.

In 1703 Aurangzeb attempted to foist Shahu, the son of Sambhuji, who had been held prisoner since the capture of his family, on the Mahrattas as their king and a subordinate of the Emperor's. The young man had refused a suggestion to become a Muslim, and the plan, which was put through by Kam Bakhsh, did not find favour with the Mahratta leaders, who felt they were strong enough to stand on their own in spite of Aurangzeb's successes in the Konkan.

The Berads, a tribe of aboriginal origin, who had caused great trouble by their habits of night attacks and their raids on baggage and convoys, were next attacked in their stronghold at Wakhinkhera between the Bhima and the Krishna east of Bijapur, where many of the families of the leading Mahrattas had taken refuge. The siege began early in 1705, and the Mughuls could make no progress against the daily attacks of the besieged upon their siege works. A Mahratta force under Dhana Yadav managed to rescue their families from within the fort. The Mughul army in its turn was besieged until Nasrat Jang with reinforcements captured some commanding features, and Pidia the Berah leader stole away by night with all his men, leaving an empty fort to be occupied by the enemy.

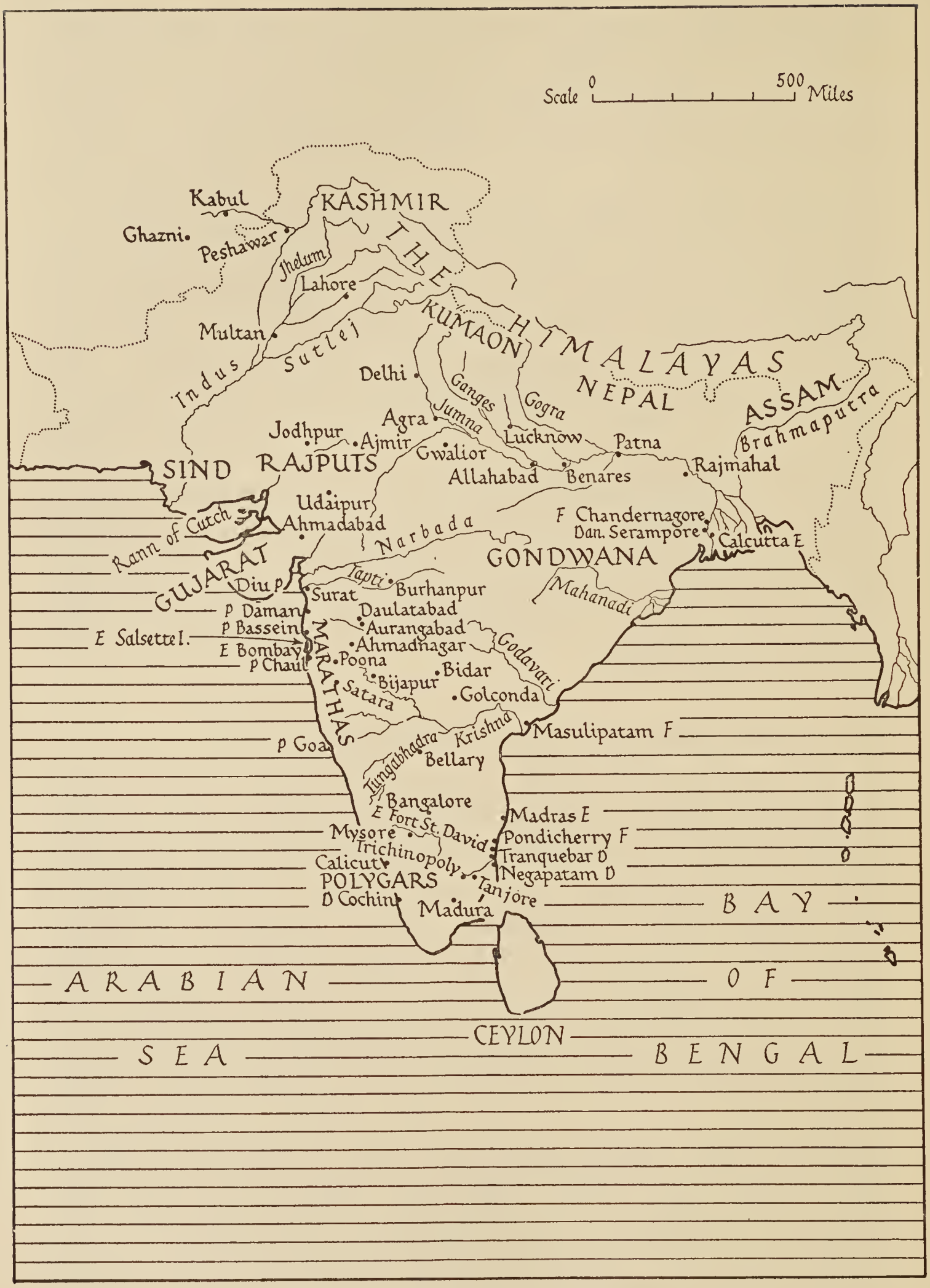
And here at last the aged Emperor had to accept defeat, but from illness not from the enemy. His illness caused consternation, for he was the only man who could give confidence to the Mughuls in their feeling of isolation in the midst of an hostile land. On his recovery he recognized that for him this was the end of his efforts, and led his army back to Ahmadnagar, which he reached early in 1706.

The march was harassed by the Mahrattas, who cut off his supplies and killed those who straggled, breaking off the action when the rearguard turned to fight. Thus constantly harassed, the army made its slow and painful way back to its base, leaving a bare and broken land behind it, and the Mahrattas triumphant. It was no concern of theirs that the land was ruined—they could still raid and plunder, but it was a death blow to the empire, which was deprived of its revenues, not only in the former Bijapur

and Golkunda territories, but even in the older settled country right up to the Narbada. A contemporary writer testifies that the yearly loss in the Mughul armies was one hundred thousand men and over three hundred thousand transport animals, while in the Deccan between 1702 and 1705 over two million people died of plague and famine. The imperial camp at Ahmadnagar was not safe, and the Mahrattas threatened it and were only driven off after a hard and difficult resistance. Baroda in Gujarat was sacked by Dhana Jadav in this same year. Raids were also made towards Khandesh, and the imperial convoys cut off. In the camp itself the tragedy of Aurengzeb's own life was re-enacted. The contestants were Azam and Kam Bakhsh, and Azam's designs to kill the latter and seize the throne were so evident that the aged Emperor was constrained to separate them and send Kam Bakhsh to govern the Bijapur territories and Azam was ordered to go to Malwa as governor. The Emperor now eighty-nine years old was becoming weaker and weaker, and on March 3, 1707, the indomitable old man died. One cannot help admiring him for his steadfastness and courage. Wrongheaded he may have been, but he was every inch a king.

The Revenue System in the Time of Aurangzeb

The decline of the empire may be attributed to many causes. Perhaps the chief is that the momentum given to the state by Akbar's reforms had run down. Apart from the fact that luxury and licence had caused a great degeneration in the personnel of the Mughul army of occupation, and its ranks were no longer filled by new recruits from over the passes in the west, while the Rajputs and Afghans who had been its greatest mainstay had been alienated by the change in the direction of policy, there had taken place a change in revenue administration which had far-reaching effects. The method of revenue assessment consolidated under Akbar had been fair and well administrated, but in succeeding reigns changes had taken place. During Aurangzeb's time villages were almost universally assessed in a lump sum, which led to injustice in apportionment. There was not any very great pressure on the land, and as has been said the difficulty was to get tenants to cultivate at all—certainly to cultivate inferior land or to break new land. Unfairness in the incidence of taxation made the position worse. But in the reign of Aurangzeb the practice of farming out revenue collection came into use. In



Map 16 Aurangzeb's India, 1707

E English F French D Dutch Dan. Danish P Portuguese

Bengal this farming system became fixed, and father handed down the right of collecting a fixed revenue to his son—the first appearance of the permanent settlement, though of course different governors, in spite of Aurangzeb's injunction against additional cesses, did in fact impose them, and the imperial revenue department (for the lands were mostly state lands) did adjust the demand to increases in prosperity in the same way. Elsewhere in the north the farming system spread, though the demand was not fixed as in Bengal, but the right to collect revenue was becoming hereditary. Thus as had happened before, during the early Delhi sultanates, the farming of the revenue led to the break-up of the empire, when the right was handed down from father to son, and the right to collect revenue for the empire led to the retention of the revenue when the empire became incapable of collecting it, and so caused the rise of families who were independent in fact if not yet in name. The absence of the Emperor in the Deccan for twenty-two years, and his concentration of all administrative powers in his own hands, strengthened this tendency. Thus arose the *talukas* of Oudh, while the revolt of the Rajput chiefs and of the Mahrattas had the same effect—the splitting up of the empire. In the Deccan the administration of the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkunda when these two were destroyed was not succeeded by a properly articulated system of imperial collection. Indeed the governors who could collect and remit any revenue from the devastated and broken lands had to pay a fourth to the Mahrattas or lose the whole. Thus with the death of Aurangzeb the empire was already on the verge of dissolution. It was only his indomitable resolution which had kept it going.

Art and Literature

The puritan Emperor was no patron of art. Poets and poetry were not supported by the court, though Raja Jai Singh of Amber was a cultivated prince whose patronage of Behari Lal is recorded. Behari Lal was a Hindi poet whose *Satsai*, which was written in 1662, is famous, though it is obscure and needs an army of commentators to explain the references in its independent couplets. Naturally Hindi poetry was not encouraged by the Emperor, but Sivaji encouraged Bhusan Tripathi who wrote poems in his praise.

Urdu poetry was patronized in the Deccan at the courts of Bijapur and Golkunda. Wali, born in 1668 in Aurangabad,

wrote *ghazals* in this form. He visited Delhi, and a school of poets grew up there to continue this new development.

Aurangzeb himself was a cultivated scholar and a calligraphist of merit, but he believed such accomplishments as poetry, art and music were distractions from the living of the religious life. He had a collection of jurisprudence made, the *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri*, but would not have an official history of his reign. The *Muntakhab-i-Alamgiri* by Muhammad Hashim, known as Khawfi Khan, which covers the whole reign in detail, was composed secretly. Several collections of his letters exist which deal with a variety of subjects and form a valuable commentary on his acts.

The *Diwan-i-Makhfi* were the Persian poems attributed to the princess Zeb-un-Nissa, written when imprisoned in the fort of Salimgarh at Delhi for her sympathy with Prince Akbar. This lady was a successor of those cultured princesses of which the Mughul court possessed so many.

Music died with the order of the Emperor to 'bury it deep,' and from this has sprung that prostitution of music, which is only now winning back its place as one of the great arts.

There are portraits of Aurangzeb, but he was no great patron of painting and he destroyed the wall paintings in the palaces of Bijapur. Architecture had reached its zenith in the preceding reign. Aurangzeb added nothing to it save the Moti Masjid in the Fort of Delhi, the last gem of Mughul architecture. The imitation of the Taj which covered the tomb of his wife near Aurangabad shows how architecture had deteriorated by 1679, the date of its erection. The Badshahi Mosque in Lahore is, however, a fine building, with its three white marble domes and flanked by four minarets, unfortunately destroyed by an earthquake in 1840. It is plainer than the edifices of the preceding reign, but has a dignity of its own. The other monument of Aurangzeb's time is the mosque at Benares, which owes much of its grace to its dominating position above the river-bank.*

* This has since collapsed.

Chapter XIX

THE BREAK-UP OF THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

The death of Aurangzeb was the signal for the rapid disintegration of Mughul supremacy throughout India. The causes of the decay had long been at work, but the personality of the Emperor had held the state together and given it an appearance of reality. When he died there ensued all the more rapid decay as if his hand alone had held the state together—which was in fact the case. His death was the occasion of a struggle for the spoils. His sons engaged in a fratricidal strife which still further weakened the state, and the Mahrattas and the Rajputs were left free to develop their claims to independence. Less than twenty years after Aurangzeb's death the empire had ceased to extend over the south and the Deccan, while the great nobles were setting up as independent rulers in the very heart of Hindustan itself.

War of Succession

As was now usual on the demise of the crown, the sons of the dead Emperor came to blows among themselves. Aurangzeb was eighty-nine when he died, and his eldest surviving son was already an old man. His eldest son Muhammad Sultan, it will be remembered, had died in prison, and Muazzam, who had been given the title of Shah Alam, also had been imprisoned for suspicious correspondence with Golkunda, and kept in close arrest till 1685 when he was appointed governor of the Punjab and Kabul. Azam, the third son, had been appointed Governor of Malwa. Akbar, the fourth son, had died in exile after his rebellion, and Kam Bakhsh, the youngest son of his old age and of his beloved mistress Udaipuri, had been appointed to Bijapur. Apparently the Emperor had had some idea of dividing up the empire.

The news of Aurangzeb's death set his sons marching for the centre of power. Shah Alam set out at once from Jamrud in the Khyber to Agra, and on the march assumed the title of Bahadur Shah. Azam also made for Agra and the treasury, the invariable objective of every claimant and a necessity for success. He was, however, outstripped by Bahadur Shah's son, Azim-ush-Shan,

Governor of Bihar and Bengal, who got there first. Azam, who had also assumed the imperial title, at last marched for Agra. The brothers met near Jajau after Azam had crossed the Chambal and effected a junction with his son Bidar Bakht, who might have occupied Agra had he been allowed to push on, but the jealousy of his father had forbidden this. The advance guard under Bidar Bakht attacked that of Bahadur Shah under his son Azim and won a momentary success, but he was not reinforced by his father, while Bahadur Shah supported Azim. The artillery of the elder son was much superior, and the battle ended in the death first of Bidar Bakht and then of Azam, who came up to aid too late. Zulfikar Khan, the son of Aurangzeb's minister Asad Khan, fled while Jai Singh of Amber made his submission to Bahadur. Aurangzeb had died at the beginning of March, and the battle between the brothers was fought in June.

Then Bahadur Shah turned to Rajputana. Ajit Singh of Marwar had never submitted to Aurangzeb, and he took advantage of his death to reoccupy his capital Jodhpur. The Emperor made over the succession to Amber to Bijai Singh and advanced to attack Ajit Singh at Jodhpur. The Raja was defeated and submitted, and was appointed to the command of 3,500 horse and received the title of maharaja. Thus for a time all seemed calm. Kam Bakhsh, however, had assumed the title of Emperor in Bijapur, and had been preparing to dispute the throne with Bahadur Shah, and refused his offers though he asked only for a nominal recognition of his supremacy. Though he was a man of forty-five he displayed the reckless folly of a child, and alienated all his followers by his suspicions and cruelty. His followers melted away, and he could only raise a mere three hundred and fifty men when finally met by the imperial forces near Hyderabad in January 1709, when he was defeated and killed.

Thus Bahadur Shah was left supreme, or as supreme as the Mahrattas, the Rajputs and the Sikhs would allow him to be. Next the other claimant to Amber, Raja Jai Singh, joined with the Maharana Amar Singh of Mewar and Ajit Singh of Marwar and Durga Das to shake off Mughul supremacy. They drove the Mughuls out of Jodhpur once again and recovered Amber. Bahadur once more proceeded to Ajmir to deal with this dangerous revolt, but no sooner did he arrive there than news of a serious Sikh rising in the Punjab was brought to him, and he had to accept the position in Rajputana.

The Sikhs

Govind Singh, the last guru, had gone with Bahadur to the Deccan and had been assassinated there in 1708. The Sikh leaders produced a man whom they proclaimed to be Govind and sent him to the Punjab to take advantage of the decline of the Mughul power. His name was Banda and he proved a successful general. He was able to raise a large force, and finally defeated and killed Wazir Khan the Governor of Sirhind. Then followed a massacre of the people and general outrage. This rebellion rose to such proportions that it called for the Emperor's attention when Lahore itself was threatened. The Sikhs crossed the Jumna into the north of the present United Provinces, but finally had to retreat before the Mughul power, now mobilized, to Lohgarh, a fort in the Ambala district, where in a pitched battle they were driven from their defences and suffered heavily. Banda, however, escaped to carry on the struggle and time and again raided the Punjab plains, and finally on the death of Bahadur Shah recovered Lohgarh.

Bahadur was seventy years old and tired out. He was unable to undertake the needed reforms, and his Shia leanings complicated matters and nearly led to a riot in Lahore. But he did not persist, and indeed wanted nothing so much as peace. His health failed and he died in February 1712. This led to the usual contest for the throne by his sons, Muizz-ud-din called Jahandar Shah the eldest, Azim-ush-Shan the most promising, Rafi-ush-Shan, and Jahan Shah. The nobles had split into parties, the Turanian party mostly from Transoxiana in origin, the Iranis, and the Hindustanis. The first and last were Sunnis, the Iranis Shias, though not all Shias were of this party, notably the Sayyids of Barha who belonged to the Hindustani party. Azim acted at once by seizing the royal camp, but then either through a misreading of the situation or because he despised his brothers took no further action, while Zulfikar Khan, the son of Asad Khan, formed a cabal to bring him down. The three princes collected troops and besieged Azim in his camp. Zulfikar Khan managed to detach many of his followers, and in an assault on the camp Azim's elephant was wounded and rushed into the Ravi, where mount and rider disappeared ingloriously in a quicksand. Zulfikar Khan declared for Jahandar Shah, and the other two brothers were killed in attempts to unseat him, made independently and without much forethought. Thus Jahandar Shah became Emperor

in June 1712. Though Farrukhsiyar, the son of Azim-ush-Shan, was reported to be preparing to advance on Delhi, Jahandar made no real preparations to resist him but gave himself over to drunken debauchery with a disreputable mistress who aimed at making herself the power behind the throne. Zulfikar Khan executed and imprisoned his rivals, and had Muhammad Karim, the eldest son of Azim, put to death.

While the Emperor indulged in the lowest pleasures in Delhi and Zulfikar Khan was busy removing his enemies, Farrukhsiyar obtained a much-needed accession in strength in the persons of two members of the famous family of the Sayyids of Barha, north of Meerut, a family which had been famous as fighting men since Akbar's days. These were Hasan Ali, afterwards known as Abdulla Khan Kutb-ul-Mulk, and Husain Ali, later created Amir ul-umara Firuz Jang. They had been commanders of 4,000 under Aurangzeb, and Azim favoured them when Bahadur Shah had dismissed them, making them his agents in Bihar and Allahabad. Husain Ali supported Farrukhsiyar at Patna and his brother at Allahabad seized the royal treasure which was on its way from Bengal to Delhi. The Rajputs of Bhojpur now joined the cause of Farrukhsiyar, and in September he was strong enough to leave Patna and advance on Agra. He was met at Khajuha by Jahandar's son Azz-ud-din, a weak and useless creature who had been sent to bar his way. The latter, however, did not wait to be attacked and fled to Agra, leaving his equipment and stores and treasure to fall into Farrukhsiyar's hands. Jahandar at last took alarm and marched to Agra, where his son had arrived. He was also joined by Churaman the Jat. His army was in confusion, and could only be persuaded to march by the distribution of all the treasures of Delhi, even the gold ornament of the palaces built with such loving care by Shahjahan. He then advanced to block the passage of the Jumna at Samugarh, where Farrukhsiyar arrived in early January 1713. When Sayyid Abdulla crossed above the town the imperial army retired to the shelter of the walls of Agra. In the ensuing battle the imperial army did better than might have been expected, and Sayyid Husain Ali was wounded and left for dead. Muhammad Khan Bangash attacked the enemy's right wing, and after a desperate struggle the imperial forces on that wing took to flight. The imperial artillery did great execution, and Sayyid Abdulla Khan lost all but two hundred of his own supporters from Barha. Then Churaman the Jat, who was nominally on Jahandar's side, fell

on the baggage in the rear of Jahandar. Zulfikar with the untouched reserves did nothing to support the front line, where a charge would probably have won the day. Then Abdulla Khan made an attack on the rear, and this, with Churaman's plundering of the baggage and a charge from the rear by Abdulla on Jahandar's centre, spread confusion in the imperial army, where the Turani nobles stood aloof. Jahandar fled in his mistress's howdah to Agra, and then in disguise made his way to Delhi. Zulfikar Khan with his 25,000 men intact withdrew, and the next day made his way to Delhi. Jahandar on his arrival appealed to Asad Khan for help, and, misled by the promises of both the minister and his son Zulfikar Khan, committed himself to their protection, which took the form of imprisonment in the fort.

Meanwhile Farrukhsiyar had been enthroned as Emperor at Agra. He was joined by many of the nobles, and received overtures of support from Zulfikar Khan and Asad Khan, who put Jahandar Shah to death at his orders. Now the party intrigues recommenced. The new Emperor's personal advisers were Ubaidulla, given the title of Mir Jumla, and Khwaja Asim, Khan Dauran, who were jealous of the Sayyid brothers, and above all wished to prevent an agreement between Zulfikar Khan and Asad Khan and them. These two were induced to give themselves up when Farrukhsiyar entered Delhi, which had been occupied by Sayyid Abdulla. They were received with presents, and Asad Khan dismissed with honour, but Zulfikar Khan was reproached for his murders and hostility and strangled by the royal slaves. Then their houses and possessions were seized and their families arrested, though Asad Khan was allowed to live in beggary till he died at eighty-eight three years later.

Then came the distribution of rewards. The Sayyid brothers were given titles and the provinces of Multan and Bihar, while Abdulla Khan Kutb-ul-Mulk became minister. Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, the leader of the Turani faction, whose abstention before Agra had been one of the causes of Farrukhsiyar's victory, was rewarded by high office, and his cousin Chin Kilij Khan, entitled Nizam-ul-Mulk and made viceroy of the Deccan. Mir Jumla was given Bengal and appointed as his deputy Murshid Kuli Khan, who was given the title Jafar Khan Nasiri.

Farrukhsiyar or his advisers determined to make his position secure by the common expedient of blinding or executing his possible rivals. Azz-ud-din was blinded, and even the younger brother of Farrukhsiyar suffered this fate. Sabha Chand, Zulfikar

Khan's revenue officer, had his tongue cut out, and other cruel acts created a reign of terror in the capital. The Emperor was weak, fickle and untrustworthy, and incapable of forming an opinion, and at the mercy of the last adviser. His personal courtiers like Mir Jumla were hostile to the Sayyid brothers, and were continually poisoning the Emperor's ears against them.

It was resolved that Husain Ali should proceed against Ajit Singh of Marwar and reduce him to submission. At the same time Farrukhsiyar secretly encouraged the Rathor to resist him. But the Sayyid was a good general, and soon drove Ajit Singh out of Ajmir and overran Marwar and advanced on Jodhpur. This resulted in Ajit Singh's submission. He engaged to send his son Abhai Singh to court, and to give a daughter in marriage to Farrukhsiyar. On his return to Delhi, Husain Ali found proof of Farrukhsiyar's correspondence with Ajit Singh, and of the enmity of Mir Jumla and the Khan Dauran, who had been appointed to offices, which duplicated the offices he and his brother Abdulla held. The two brothers offered to resign, but Farrukhsiyar became frightened, and a sort of peace was patched up with the transfer of Mir Jumla to Bihar and the appointment of Husain Ali to the Deccan. But Farrukhsiyar was incapable of keeping any engagement he had entered into, and he wrote to Daud Khan the Governor of Burhanpur to attack him. He was foolish enough to do so, and paid for his temerity with his defeat and death in 1715. For a time the dissensions were settled, and Farrukhsiyar now married with great pomp the daughter of Ajit Singh of Marwar.

It was in the same year that Banda the Sikh leader was finally defeated and captured by Abdus Samad Khan, the Governor of Lahore. The campaign began in 1713, and Sadhaura and Lohgarh were captured and Banda driven into the hills. He soon resumed his raids on the plains, and a concentration of Mughul forces finally drove him and his followers to Gurdaspur, which was closely invested. After a brave resistance the Sikhs were compelled by hunger to surrender. Banda and the remnants of his followers were ignominiously taken in procession through the streets of Delhi, and on their scornful refusal to accept Islam were cruelly done to death before the populace. Banda and his little son were cut to pieces shortly after. This was the end of the Sikh rising, and no acknowledged leader was forthcoming for some time.

Farrukhsiyar spent the time in plotting to remove the Sayyids,

but he was so untrustworthy that no-one would believe his protestations or support his designs. Ratan Chand, the financial officer of Sayyid Abdulla, was corrupt and reintroduced the ruinous practice of farming out the revenue to the highest bidder ; and Farrukhsiyar, influenced chiefly by a desire to bring Abdulla into disrepute, appointed an officer of the administration under Aurangzeb to reform the abuses. This man, Inayatulla Kashmiri, began by reimposing the *iiziya* in the best Aurangzeb tradition—it had been abolished on Farrukhsiyar's accession—and attempted to resume undue assignments ; but Abdulla intervened to prevent this reform. Attempts were made to induce leading men like Sarbuland Khan to take the lead against the Sayyids. Nizam-ul-Mulk, notwithstanding his ousting from the Deccan, and Maharaja Ajit Singh who was similarily approached, would have nothing to do with the plots. Mir Jumla and the Khan Dauran also went over to the Sayyid brothers. These overtures however alarmed Sayyid Abdulla, and at the end of 1718 he advised his brother to return from the Deccan. The immediate occasion was the recall of Mir Jumla by Farrukhsiyar from Lahore, though when he arrived in Delhi he went over to the Sayyids. Husain Ali realized that Farrukhsiyar could not be trusted. To assist him came a force of Mahrattas under the Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath. This alliance was ultimately to be fatal to the empire, but the Sayyids, fearful of their position, did not look to the future. The Mahratta support was bought at a big price, including the right to a *chauth* of the Deccan revenue and other allotments, the recognition of Sivaji's territories as belonging to Shahu, and of course the pay of the troops.

The Mahrattas in Delhi

The Emperor had already showed his habitual pusillanimity by making submission to Abdulla. When Husain Ali drew near he behaved even more abjectly, raised the Sayyids to the rank of 8,000 *sawar*, and granted their every request. In February Husain Ali had an interview in which the Emperor even exchanged turbans with him. All the time he was still conspiring against them, and at last they determined to act.

Murder of Farrukhsiyar

In February 1719 while Sayyid Abdulla occupied the fort, Husain Ali marched into the city with over thirty thousand men

and artillery. The Mahrattas took station at the gates of the royal palace. Maharaja Ajit Singh had already assisted Abdulla in occupying the fort and palace. There was a scene of mutual recrimination between Abdulla and Farrukhsiyar. The next day street fighting broke out between the Mahrattas and some of the Mughul nobles. Farrukhsiyar had taken refuge in the harem, but the rioting in the city determined Hasan Ali that he must be killed, and he instructed his brother to take the necessary steps. The harem was forced and Rafi-ud-darajat, son of Rafi-ush-shan, was brought out and placed on the seat of empire, the Peacock Throne. Farrukhsiyar was seized where he cowered among his women and dragged before Abdulla, who had him immediately blinded. Two months later he was strangled. It cannot be said that his death was uncalled for, though the method of its execution was brutal, but the Sayyids felt that either he or they must perish. Rafi-ud-darajat was ill with consumption, and was never more than a puppet emperor. He was deposed in June and died soon after. His brother Rafi-ud-daula was placed on the throne, with the title of Shahjahan II. Meanwhile in Agra, Nikusiyar, the son of Muhammad Akbar, had been proclaimed emperor. After settling affairs in Delhi and removing the possible danger from Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was sent as Governor of Malwa, Husain Ali marched to Agra after dismissing the Mahrattas with their treaty confirmed, and after a short siege captured the fort and imprisoned the pretender. But opposition to the Sayyid brothers was now growing, and Raja Jai Singh of Amber took up arms. The two brothers marched to Fatehpur Sikri with the Emperor, who died in their camp. He was little more than a prisoner. After concealing his death for more than a week they chose Raushan Akhtar, son of Jahanshah, as emperor under the title of Muhammad Shah in September 1719.

Muhammad Shah

The position of the empire was indeed declining when Muhammad Shah ascended the throne under the protection of the two dictators. Though they were supreme in Delhi, opposition to them was growing, for they were no statesmen, only successful soldiers, and their administration had been mere opportunism. Now the disintegration of the empire became apparent, and various powerful nobles held practically independent power over large parts of the country—Jafar Khan in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa

was practically independent, Maharaja Ajit Singh held Gujarat and Ajmir as well as Jodhpur. In the Deccan Sayyid Husain Ali Khan was the absentee viceroy, but Nizam-ul-Mulk in Malwa cast envious eyes on his old viceroyalty. The Mahrattas under the new organization of the Peshwas, who ruled in fact for Shahu, were an independent power. In Allahabad Chabela Ram Nagar was in rebellion, and when he died his nephew Girdhar had to be bought off with the province of Oudh. Thus the general outlook was threatening enough, when Nizam-ul-Mulk at last threw off the mask, or was compelled to take action when he was recalled. He accordingly invaded Khandesh and took Asirgarh and Burhanpur. At Khandwa he met and defeated an army the Sayyids had dispatched to deal with him, including several of their clansmen from Barha. Finally in August 1720 he defeated Alim Ali Khan, the Governor of the Deccan for his uncle Sayyid Husain Ali, who was killed in Berar in battle, and his head sent to the Emperor as a rebel. Thus Nizam-ul-Mulk re-established himself as viceroy of the Deccan. The news caused the Sayyids great dismay, but finally they resolved to proceed against Nizam-ul-Mulk. Abdulla was left to hold Delhi and the north, while Husain Ali, taking the Emperor with him, set out against Nizam-ul-Mulk. But the sands of the Sayyid's domination were running out, and a conspiracy of both Turanian and Irani nobles and some Sayyids was formed to remove Husain Ali.

He was assassinated by a follower of Muhammad Amin Khan in camp on the march towards Agra in October 1720. Sayyid Abdulla, who had left the army to go back to Delhi, received the news and hurried on to Delhi, where Ibrahim, brother of Rafi-ud-darajat and Rafi-ud-daula, was proclaimed emperor. Meanwhile Muhammad Shah had appointed Muhammad Amin Khan minister and raised him and Khan Dauran to the command of eight thousand horse, while Kamaruddin Khan, son of Amin, was raised to seven thousand, and Sayyid Muhammad Amin, another of the conspirators, was given the title of Saadat Khan and the rank of five thousand *sawar*. By the middle of November the Emperor reached the vicinity of Delhi, and Abdulla marched to Bilochpur near Hasanpur to meet him. The troops of Abdulla, with the exception of the tried warriors of Barha, were mostly raw recruits and the imperial artillery decided the day. Abdulla was taken prisoner and Ratan Chand, the corrupt finance minister who had been captured when Husain Ali was assassinated, was executed on the battlefield.

Maharaja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur refused at first to recognize the change and was deprived of his governments of Gujarat and Ajmir, but refused to conform. Hearing of the approach of Nizam-ul-Mulk, however, he made submission and retained Ajmir, while Gujarat was given up. Nizam-ul-Mulk had determined to become the leading power in the state, and entered into an agreement with the Mahrattas to allow them free play in the provinces north of the Deccan. He then marched to Delhi and was made minister, Muhammad Amin having died at the end of January 1722. He was soon able to add Gujarat to his dominions as the Mughul governor Haidar Kuli Khan proved incapable to the point of madness, and Nizam-ul-Mulk had to proceed there to eject him. Saadat Khan, Governor of Agra, now given the title of Burhan-ul-Mulk, was given Oudh as well. Abdulla Khan, who had been imprisoned since his fall, was poisoned by the Emperor's orders as likely to become a focus of unrest.

The Jats

Churaman and his Jats had long given trouble, plundering impartially, and now killed the Deputy-Governor of Agra. Raja Jai Singh of Amber was entrusted with the task of dealing with him and given the governorship of Agra, ousting Saadat Khan. Badan Singh, Churaman's nephew, joined him and Churaman was besieged in Thun. Churaman took poison and Thun was taken. Badan Singh was rewarded by being recognized as Raja of Dig, from whence afterwards sprung Bhartpur State.

Nizam-ul-Mulk on his return to Delhi found his authority had waned. The Emperor paid no attention to his advice, and listened to younger and less serious courtiers. Nizam-ul-Mulk saw that there was no scope for him in Delhi and left without permission for his viceroyalty. His enemies persuaded the Emperor that this was an act of rebellion, and he instructed Mubariz Khan the Governor of Hyderabad to attack him. Nizam-ul-Mulk, who learnt that his office of minister had been given to his cousin Kamar-ud-din Khan, marched to Aurangabad the capital of the Deccan, which he reached in the summer of 1724. Here he had news of the preparations of Mubariz Khan. They met at Shakarkhelda in Berar in October, and Mubariz Khan was defeated and killed and his head sent as that of a rebel to the Emperor, who dared not come into the open and conferred the title of Asaf Jah upon the victor. This battle was the

turning-point, and from now on Hyderabad became in all but name an independent state.

The Mahrattas

It is now time to turn to the progress of the Mahratta state. On the death of Rajaram in 1700, his widow Tara Bai, a determined woman, put herself forward as regent on behalf of her infant son Sivaji. She recovered Poona and Chakan, the old fief of Sivaji, from the Mughuls. Bahadur Shah determined to release Shahu, Sivaji's grandson, who had been brought up in the Mughul camp after Sambhuji's capture and execution in 1689, and was twenty-six years old in 1707 when he was put forward as the Mahratta leader. This was with the intention of dividing the Mahrattas, and it succeeded as Tara Bai refused to recognize him. Shahu was given as an imperial fief Gujarat, Tanjore and Gondwana, and the usual dues of *chauth* and *sardesmukhi* over the Deccan provinces of Khandesh, Berar, Aurangabad, Hyderabad, Bijapur and Bidar. He reached Satara in early 1708 and was crowned. Tara Bai held Panhala, the strong fortress near Kolhapur, but this was captured by Shahu. However this success did not last and Shahu's power was confined to the vicinity of Satara. The Mahrattas were divided. Tara Bai was displaced by another widow, Rajas Bai, who pushed the claims of her own son Sambhuji, while the Mahratta chieftains fought for their own hands.

This was the situation when a remarkable man made his appearance in Balaji Vishwanath, a Chitpavan Brahman. His father was one of the *deshmukhs* or revenue officers, a hereditary office, and he took service with the Senapati at Satara, but later fell out of favour when Chandra Sen became Senapati, and was protected by Shahu under whom he rose to posts of responsibility. Finally he was made Peshwa when the existing Peshwa was captured by Kanhoji Angria, the hereditary admiral of the Mahrattas and professional pirate who was taking a hand in land warfare against Shahu. Diplomacy rather than arms settled this affair and Angria was recognized as admiral. He released the ex-Peshwa, and was confirmed in some of his conquests and assisted in his perennial warfare with the Sidi, the Arab admiral of the Mughuls. Balaji on his return put down raiding with a strong hand. The Mahratta cabinet of eight was restored, but now the Peshwa became the chief minister and aimed at forming

a confederacy of the great Mahratta chiefs. It was a new idea to suit the situation, but was not easy to put into execution, because power became centred in the Peshwa and the Mahratta chiefs were jealous of Brahman rule. Balaji had an ideal : it was to restore the Mahratta kingdom held by Sivaji and become entirely independent of the Mughuls.

He was helped by the difficulties of the empire, now visibly beginning to break up. In 1716 Sayyid Husain Ali, Viceroy of the Deccan, was defeated by Khande Rao, and he opened negotiations with the Mahrattas, impelled thereto by the plotting of Farrukhsiyar against him and his brother, and the need to strengthen himself. The terms of the agreement negotiated with Balaji were the confirmation of the right to exact *chauth* and *sardesmukhi* from the Deccan provinces and from Mysore, Trichinopoly and Tanjore as well. The independence of Shahu in Sivaji's old dominions was recognized and other recent conquests acknowledged. For this Shahu would pay a million rupees as tribute for his kingdom, and 10 per cent of the proceeds of the *sardesmukhi*, and in return for the *chauth* should maintain fifteen thousand horse for the Emperor's forces. This was forced on Farrukhsiyar by the march on Delhi of Husain Ali and Balaji with a large force of Mahrattas, which ended in the blinding and death of the Emperor as already related. The new Emperor Muhammad Shah confirmed the agreement and Balaji returned in triumph to Satara, where he died in 1720. He was a great man, and the refounder of Mahratta power. *Chauth* and *sardesmukhi* were collected by Mahratta agents stationed in the various provinces, who spread Mahratta influence far and wide without the necessity of engaging in the government of large tracts of country. The money was shared with the great Mahratta chieftains, who thus had an interest in maintaining the agency and the Peshwa its head and brains. Judged from an economic point of view the scheme was of course faulty, for no return was made from the Mahrattas for these forced contributions, and they took no share in the normal duties of seeing that good government for the people was maintained. Balaji was succeeded as Peshwa by his son Baji Rao, and thus the office became hereditary.

Baji Rao was a soldier trained in the hard school of war, and he cherished a plan of driving the Mughuls from the land, and declared that the Mahratta flag should fly ' from the Krishna to Attock.' His first objective was Malwa, and in 1724 he began his inroads. The Rajputs assisted him, and Malhar Rao Holkar and

Ranoji Sindhia (the founders of the states of Indore and Gwalior) now became prominent. Damaji Gaikwar was another who spread his raids into Gujarat, succeeded by his nephew Pilaji Gaikwar. Far and wide were their raids pushed. The results have been described by a historian *: 'Nothing was to be seen but perpetual skirmishing, murder, and robbery in open day, caravans pillaged even when strongly escorted, and villages burning and deserted.'

When Nizam-ul-Mulk retired to the Deccan in 1723, Shahu sent Baji Rao to help him against Mubariz Khan and he fought in the battle of Shakarkhelda, but this was an unnatural alliance, and in 1726 Nizam-ul-Mulk joined with Sambhuji of Kolhapur in an attack on Shahu and reduced him to great straits, from which he was rescued by Baji Rao who finally surrounded the Nizam at Palkhed and made him sue for peace in 1728. The treaty of Mungi-Shevgaon which resulted was a triumph for Baji Rao. The right of *chauth* and *sardesmukhi* was acknowledged and arrears were to be paid, while the Mahratta agents were to be restored. Shahu's position was acknowledged, though Sambhuji was not given up to the victors, but two years later Sambhuji was decisively defeated and by the treaty of Warna reduced to impotence. A conspiracy by the Senapati Trimbak Rao Dabhade, the rival of Baji Rao in Gujarat, led to a campaign in which Baji Rao came to terms with Abhai Singh of Marwar who had murdered his father Maharaja Ajit Singh, and had been appointed to rid Gujarat of the Mahrattas. He then marched against the Senapati and Pilaji Gaikwar whom he defeated, thus establishing himself without a rival. The Senapati was killed and the Gaikwars took the lead in Gujarat, though Abhai Singh murdered Pilaji later.

To return to the north and affairs there, matters in the capital were going from bad to worse. The minister Raushan-ud-daula was discovered to have embezzled twenty million rupees of public money, and Khan Dauran became minister. Another officer was found to have accumulated a similar sum, mostly by bribes from holders of crown lands. Sarbuland Khan, who as Governor of Gujarat had resisted Mahratta incursions with success and when superseded by Abhai Singh had defeated him, finally accepted the situation and returned to Delhi, but was arrested and imprisoned, though later given the governorship of Allahabad. He was in essence a loyal servant of the state but was disliked by Khan Dauran, which accounted for his treatment. There was

* Grant Duff, 1, 366

now no inducement to remain loyal for those who did not appreciate loyalty, and this accounts in part for the further break-up of the empire.

The Bangash Nawabs

Muhammad Khan Bangash was an Afghan soldier who had begun in the reign of Farrukhsiyar to establish himself in territory of which his fort of Farrukhabad was the centre. He was Governor of Allahabad in 1725 and was ordered to proceed against the Bundelas, a Rajput confederacy which occupied Bundelkand and numbered 120,000 horse and foot. In the first two years of his operations he had considerable success, but an invasion of Mahrattas in 1729 stopped his further progress, and he had to promise to leave Bundelkand alone for the future. In 1732 when Governor of Malwa he was unable to stop the advance of Baji Rao. The Mahrattas were now carrying out the policy of attacking the heart of the empire, and were welcomed by the Rajputs in Bundelkand, where a Mahratta officer Govind Pant Kher was appointed by Baji Rao. Raja Jai Singh who had succeeded Muhammad Khan Bangash as Governor of Malwa, either from a recognition of the hopelessness of the position when no help came from Delhi, or because he sympathized with the objects of the Mahrattas, actually appointed Baji Rao Deputy-Governor of Malwa. This had the effect of enlarging their field and they began to make raids into the Doab.

It was Nizam-ul-Mulk who had suggested the plan of attacks on Malwa to Baji Rao in order to protect his own territories, but the inroads of the Mahrattas were becoming so serious that a stand was determined on and Nizam-ul-Mulk asked for help. A plan of campaign was drawn up, and in the spring of 1737 the minister Khan Dauran and Kamar-ud-din, both in command of large forces, started a drive, while Burhan-ul-Mulk attacked and defeated Holkar and drove him to Gwalior, then advanced to Dholpur to attack the Peshwa. The jealousy of Khan Dauran however spoilt the plan, and Baji was able to avoid them both and make a sudden dash on Delhi—not as a serious advance but as an earnest of what he was capable of. He was allowed to withdraw unmolested, as Khan Dauran was afraid that Nizam-ul-Mulk might gain the credit of cutting him off, and he hastened to come to an agreement confirming him as Governor of Malwa and promising an annual contribution. But in 1738 Baji Rao

and the Nizam met in Bhopal, with no decisive result, until the Nizam had to retreat because his lines of communication were cut by the Mahratta light horse. Harassed by constant attacks and short of supplies he continued his slow retreat, and finally at Sironji signed another agreement by which he undertook to obtain Malwa in full possession for the Peshwa, and all the land between the Narbada and the Chambal, and five million rupees. Thus the great campaign of the Nizam came to an inglorious end. He had preferred to save himself rather than the empire—though perhaps he realized that it was too late to do the latter.

Nadir Shah

Persia had fallen on evil days with the decline of the Safavi dynasty. Mahmud Khan Ghilzai of Kandahar defeated Tahmasp II and occupied Isfahan in 1722. From this Persia was rescued in 1729 by Nadir Kuli, a Turk of Khorasan, who expelled the Ghilzais. In 1736 he ascended the throne himself and took the title of Nadir Shah. He resolved to take revenge on the Ghilzais, and sent an ambassador to Muhammad Shah asking him to order the Governor of Kabul not to permit any Ghilzai to escape to that province.

With the criminal procrastination which is the usual sign of a power in decline nothing was done, and when the siege of Kandahar began many Ghilzais escaped into Kabul. Nadir Shah demanded an explanation from Delhi, but no answer was returned. When Kandahar fell in 1738 Nadir Shah marched on Ghazni, which he took, and then Kabul surrendered after a short siege. The Governor was defeated at Jamrud in the Khyber and Peshawar captured. The Shah pushed on to Lahore, defeated the Governor, and from there wrote to Muhammad Shah, reproaching him for his neglect of his letters, and announcing that he proposed to come and punish his evil counsellors. The court had never believed that Nadir Shah would have the temerity to invade India nor, having invaded it, to succeed, such was their complacency in their power, or ignorance of their weakness.

The clash took place on 24 February 1739 near Karnal, and was precipitated by the desire of Burhan-ul-Mulk to regain his baggage, which had been cut off by the Persians. The battle was thus joined without any definite plan, with Burhan-ul-Mulk riding with his troops to the rescue of his baggage train, followed by the Khan Dauran and the Emperor and Nizam-ul-Mulk with the main

body somewhere in the rear. The imperial army numbered two hundred thousand horse and infantry, and had five thousand guns. The Persian force was much smaller, all mounted and all fighting men. Burhan-ul-Mulk's effort to recover his baggage was defeated and he himself—not apparently unwillingly—taken prisoner. The Khan Dauran was mortally wounded, and then Nadir Shah fell upon the main body. The result was slaughter, and the Emperor retreated into his entrenchments and negotiations took place. Burhan-ul-Mulk became the go-between, and urged the retention of Muhammad Shah on the throne, and the Shah's departure from India with a ransom of twenty million rupees. Nizam-ul-Mulk, however, was given the title of Amirulamara, which Burhan-ul-Mulk had hoped for, and the latter changed his advice, and in his jealousy urged the conqueror to wait until he had entered Delhi. The great nobles were no longer faithful, and Nadir Shah in an interview with Muhammad Shah told him that only the Khan Dauran and two others had been loyal to him. No Rajput contingent had joined the imperial army, and the famous Sayyids of Barha no longer led the van.

Nadir Shah entered Delhi, and the *khutba* was recited in his name in all the mosques. As the result of a dispute between some of his men and shopkeepers over prices there was a small riot. Rumours spread, as they still do in Delhi, and Nadir Shah was said to be dead. Any Persians found in small groups were attacked and murdered. Nadir Shah himself was stoned and shot at. This was too much. Nine hundred Persians had been killed, and the last outrage inflamed his wrath and he ordered his troops to restore order and take revenge. More emphasis was put on the latter part, and a systematic massacre of the citizens of Delhi followed. It is said that thirty thousand were killed in a bloody purge that lasted from morning till night. It was not a case of the troops getting out of hand, for discipline in his army was strict. Muhammad Shah begged that the slaughter should be stayed, and Nadir Shah issued the necessary orders and the plundering and killing stopped at once. Much of the city had been delivered to the flames. Now came the reckoning. The treasures of the imperial palace were seized, including the famous Peacock Throne, jewels and gold and silver to an enormous amount. The nobles too all had to contribute. Burhan-ul-Mulk had died after handing over thirty-three million rupees. His nephew, Mirza Muhammad Mukim, who had been given the title of Safdar Jang, though in Oudh, paid in money and in kind another twenty million.

Other nobles had to contribute similar sums, including the estates of Khan Dauran and Nizam-ul-Mulk, the former, it is said, amounting to fifty million, while Nizam-ul-Mulk and Kamar-ud-din paid thirty million in jewels and other treasure. The wealthy merchants too had to pay, and torture extracted their share from the reluctant. Sarbuland Khan was the collector. But this was not all. All territory west of the Indus, including Sind, was annexed. The Shah warned Muhammad before he left of the ambitions of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and advised him to reform his administration. In the middle of May he left Delhi.

He had struck a blow which precipitated the fall of the already tottering empire. But neither emperor nor nobles had learnt anything, unless it was that the empire could not last, and that India must be divided into independent principalities—in itself no solution for the decay which now became obvious. In Oudh Safdar Jang had succeeded his uncle and father-in-law Burhan-ul-Mulk, and this was confirmed by an imperial firman. The Punjab descended on the same hereditary principle to Zakariya Khan, the son of Khan Dauran, who had so signally failed to defend it against Nadir Shah. In Bengal, Jafar Khan, the deputy of the imperial ministers who remained in Delhi, died in 1726, and was succeeded by his son-in-law Shuja-ud-din Muhammad Khan, known as Shuja-ud-daula, as the Deputy of Khan Dauran. When he died in 1739 his son Sarfaraz Khan succeeded. Sarfaraz Khan, who held the title of Ala-ud-daula, was not strong enough to hold Bengal, and Aliwardi Khan Mahabat Jang, the Deputy of Bihar, who had private injuries to avenge, with the support of the court, who were promised the treasure of Shuja-ud-daula, marched against him in 1740. By a mixture of treachery, deceit, and force Ala-ud-daula was defeated and killed, and his capital of Murshidabad, founded by Murshid Kuli Khan Jafar Khan, was occupied. Thus Aliwardi Khan became viceroy of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

In the Deccan and the south the imperial possessions were similarly lost. Baji Rao, the Peshwa, died in 1740. The members of the Mahratta confederacy were now taking permanent form, Damaji Gaikwar in Gujarat, Ranoji Sindhia in Malwa, Malhar Rao Holkar in the present Indore state, and Raghuji Bhonsla, the Governor of Berar for the Peshwa, soon after Baji's death established himself at Nagpur. He was opposed to Balaji Rao, Baji Rao's son, the new Peshwa. He was away in the Carnatic when Baji Rao died, fighting Dost Ali, the Nawab of Arcot, whom he defeated

and killed, and also took Trichinopoly from Chanda Sahib, the son-in-law of Dost Ali, who was taken prisoner. Meanwhile Nizam-ul-Mulk's second son, Nasir Jang, whom he had left as deputy in the Deccan, began to misbehave and his father had to proceed against him. His expostulations proving of no avail he had to resort to arms, and Nasir Jang was taken prisoner after a battle in 1741. The Nizam then turned his attention to the Carnatic, where, 1743–4, he drove the Mahrattas out and took Arcot and Trichinopoly, turning out the successor of Dost Ali from Arcot and putting his own representative in his place. The Mahrattas of Tanjore, descendants of Vyankoji, were forced to pay a ransom. Thus the Nizam had restored his prestige in the South.

Before this the Mahrattas had appeared in Bengal, taking advantage of the fighting between Aliwardi Khan and the Governor of Orissa, and in 1742 Raghuji Bhonsla sent Bhaskar Pant to attack Bengal. Aliwardi Khan was worsted at first, but ultimately succeeded in driving them out. The following year, however, Raghuji himself appeared to collect the *chauth* from Bengal. Now, however, the Peshwa intervened, having been promised the *chauth* of Bihar and Malwa by the Emperor, and Bhonsla retreated, pursued by Aliwardi Khan and Balaji, who defeated him and drove him out. Thus one way or another the Mahrattas had gained Malwa definitely and pushed their collectors into yet another province. Jai Singh of Amber now died after a rule of forty-four years, faithful on the whole to the empire. His astronomical studies are well known, and his observatories at Delhi and Ajmir are interesting reminders that science was the hobby of at least one ruler of the times.

The Rohillas

Ali Muhammad Khan, said by some to have been a converted Hindu, but more probably not, had been brought up by an Afghan officer and taken service with the Governor of Katehr, where Moradabad had taken the place of Sambhal and Budaun as the chief town. He rose by degrees in the disturbed conditions of the times, and as a result of his services in the attack on the Sayyid brothers was given the title of Nawab and assignments of land. He surrounded himself with Afghans, and when Nadir Shah attacked Kandahar large numbers of Afghans fled to India, many of whom took service with Ali Muhammad. They were known as ' men of the hills,' or Rohillas. He gradually ceased remitting

the revenues of his lands, and killed the commandant of Moradabad, a Hindu who was deputed by Kamarud-din-Khan, the minister and absentee Governor of Katehr, to make an enquiry. The minister took no action, but Safdar Jang of Oudh, who was a near neighbour, advised the Emperor of Ali Muhammad's intention of setting up as an independent ruler. Muhammad Shah himself set out in 1745 to deal with him, and was joined by Raja Nawal Rai with Safdar Jang's forces from Oudh, and Kaim Khan the Bangash from Farrukhabad. Ali Muhammad was compelled to submit, and was kept under open arrest. He was later to come into prominence once more.

Ahmad Shah Abdali

The death of Nadir Shah after acts of cruelty which showed his mind was unhinged, and led to his assassination, occurred in 1747. With him Persia as a great power also collapsed. One of his principal officers was an Afghan who had been captured at Herat. He was a member of the Abdali or Durani tribe of Afghans, and on Nadir Shah's death established himself as king of Afghanistan with the help of some of the famous Kizilbashis and his own tribe. A quarrel with Shah Nawaz Khan, Governor of the Punjab, turned his attention to India. He invaded the Punjab with 30,000 horse and seized Lahore, and then marched on Delhi. The attack was premature, and his forces insufficient, for after he had sacked Sirhind he was met by the imperial forces, including Safdar Jang, with the Oudh contingent and his own Persian troops, and also some Rajput contingents, the whole under the nominal command of Prince Ahmad. The imperial army threw up elaborate entrenchments and took no offensive action, while Kamar-ud-din the minister was killed by a chance shot in his tent. At this the Rajputs decamped, but Safdar Jang and Muin-ul-Mulk, the minister's son, showed resolution. When Ahmad Shah attacked they held firm, and finally Safdar Jang and his Persians advanced steadily. An explosion in the Afghan munition train led to great confusion and flight, but the Abdali held his ground till night and then retreated. No pursuit was ordered, and he got back to Afghanistan without further loss in 1748. Muhammad Shah was dying and sent urgent messages to his son, who arrived too late to see his father alive. He was then enthroned as Ahmad Shah. Nizam-ul-Mulk died very soon after and Safdar Jang became minister.

Ahmad Shah of Delhi

Ahmad Shah was not the man to arrest the decline of the Mughul empire. Even if he had been experienced, trustworthy, and a man of character it would have been too late. He was none of these, but a worthless young man, with no strength of character, steeped in vicious habits. The struggle for power by the various viceroys continued. Nizam-ul-Mulk was succeeded in the Deccan by Nasir Jang, his second son. In Katehr Ali Muhammad Khan, who had escaped from custody during the Abdali invasion, returned to Moradabad, and had soon regained his power. On his death soon after his son, Sadulla Khan, succeeded, and his father-in-law Hafiz Rahmat Khan acted as regent. He defeated the Governor sent from Delhi, and Safdar Jang then directed Kaim Khan Bangash to march against him from Farrukhabad, hoping that both these dangerous upstarts would exhaust themselves by fighting against each other. Kaim Khan besieged Budaun but was defeated and killed by the Rohillas.

Now Safdar Jang carried out the rest of his plan, and in company with the Emperor attacked the Bangash capital of Farrukhabad and broke the power of the Afghans for a time, exacting a tribute of six million rupees and annexing a large part of their territory which was put under Raja Nawal Rai, Safdar Jang's minister. The following year, however, Ahmad Khan Bangash, the brother of Kaim Khan, defeated Raja Nawal Rai and killed him in a surprise irruption into his camp. Ahmad Khan then advanced to meet Safdar Jang who hurried back on receipt of the news, only to be defeated in his turn and compelled to retreat to Delhi. The Afghans invaded Oudh and entered Lucknow but were driven out. Ahmad Khan failed to take the fort at Allahabad but burnt and plundered the town. Matters were serious, and Safdar Jang determined to call in the Mahrattas to serve his own ends, and without a thought of the ill-service he was doing to the empire. Oblivious of this, and only thinking of his own interests, he called in Malhar Rao Holkar and Jai Appa Sindhia, as well as the Jats under Suraj Mal. Ahmad Khan immediately retreated to Farrukhabad, and then to the fort on the Ganges now known as Fatehgarh. Many of his troops had deserted him and he called on the Rohillas for aid. Mindful of recent events they were slow in responding, but ultimately arrived. The result was a complete victory for the Mahrattas, and the Afghans were beaten and fled to the foot of the Kumaon hills.

The Mahrattas stayed in Rohilkand, as it may now be called, all through 1751 and were given much of the Farrukhabad territory. Thus the Mahrattas were settled well in the empire's home territory.

Affairs in Rajputana showed a similar tendency for Mahratta help to be invoked. Bakht Singh was fighting his nephew Ram Singh, son of the dead Maharaja of Marwar Abhai Singh, and Saadat Khan Zulfikar Jang, the Governor of Ajmir, supported Bakht Singh. Ram Singh obtained the help of Khande Rao, the son of Malhar Rao Holkar. Zulfikar Jang's behaviour was an extraordinary mixture of self-confidence and hesitation. He attacked the Jats on his way, was beaten by Suraj Mal, then proposed to retire to Delhi but was persuaded to march on with the Jats who had beaten him. Finally Bakht Singh refused to tolerate the despised Jats in his army, and Suraj Mal retired. When the two armies met Zulfikar Jang showed such boastful folly as caused his forces great loss, then in a flurry of fright and indecision entered into negotiations with Ram Singh, deaf to the expostulations of Bakht Singh who withdrew, as did Khande Rao. Zulfikar Jang obtained money and supplies from Ram Singh but did nothing to carry out his mission, and hurried off to Delhi expecting to be made minister in place of Safdar Jang. There he began with prayers and ended with violence. He lost his rank, his property, and his title of Amir-ul-umara which was given to Ghazi-ud-din Khan, the eldest son of Nizam-ul-Mulk. This is a typical incident of the plots and tergiversation which passed for statesmanship among the now degenerate Mughul officers. The Emperor wished to get rid of Safdar Jang and sent for Nasir Jang, but the order came to the ears of the minister who countermanded it. In his absence, however, his nephew Muzaffar Jang laid claim to the viceroyalty. He was invited by Husain Dost Khan, known as Chanda Sahib, to invade the Carnatic. Dupleix, the French representative, had now begun to play these rulers off one against the other. In the war that ensued Nasir Jang was assassinated by one of his own men in 1750 and Muzzaffar Jang hailed by the French as viceroy, but he too was shortly after killed, and Bussy, the French agent in the Deccan, put in his place the third son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, Salabat Jang. But now Ghazi-ud-din Firuz Jang, the eldest son, intervened, and persuaded the Emperor to allow him to proceed to the Deccan to push his own claims.

The matter was postponed by another irruption of Ahmad Shah the Abdali. He had already invaded the Punjab in 1749,

but had been bought off by Muin-ul Mulk the Governor. Now in 1752 he appeared once more and there was some fighting, but the Governor had hopes of keeping him at bay or, at the worst, inducing him to withdraw. He had, however, sent a demand to Delhi for the handing over of the Punjab, and such was the fear of him in Delhi that Ahmad Shah did not wait for the arrival of Safdar Jang from Oudh whom he had sent for, and who was on his way with a Mahratta force under Holkar, but gave up the Punjab without further ado. Ahmad Shah Abdali returned to his country, leaving Muin-ud-din to govern it for him. When Safdar Jang arrived he found he was too late and had brought the Mahrattas on a bootless errand, for which notwithstanding they had to be paid. It was now that Ghazi-ud-din renewed his demand, and offered to settle Holkar's claims and use him in his new adventure. A firman was issued making him viceroy of the Deccan, and in the early summer of 1752 Ghazi-ud-din and Holkar set out from Delhi. The Peshwa Balaji Rao also promised his support, as he was afraid of the French support of Salabat Jang. The latter with his French troops defeated him before Ghazi-ud-din and Holkar could arrive, but lack of payment for the troops caused him to withdraw. In the autumn of 1752 Ghazi-ud-din and Holkar joined the Peshwa. The combined armies presented a difficult problem for Salabat Jang, but it was solved by the death of Ghazi-ud-din by poison administered, it is said, by his stepmother, and Salabat Jang was left undisturbed.

Efforts to get rid of Safdar Jang continued, and the son of Ghazi-ud-din, Shibab-ud-din, who was given his father's titles of Ghazi-ud-din Firuz Jang, now began to play a part in the troubled politics of Delhi. Civil war broke out between Safdar Jang and Firuz Jang in the capital itself. Safdar Jang, to give the lie to the idea that he wanted the throne, proclaimed a figurehead as emperor. Suraj Mal the Jat raja joined Safdar Jang and Najib Khan : the Rohillas, ever enemies of Oudh, joined Firuz Jang. Plundering and confused fighting went on in the streets of Delhi and its neighbourhood for six months, without much result to either side. Peace was patched up and Safdar Jang went off to Oudh. Firuz Jang had called in the aid of Holkar and Jai Appa Sindhia, who now arrived and were turned on the Jats. When they found that artillery was needed to reduce their forts, Firuz Jang asked for the imperial heavy guns, but the Emperor refused and moved with his troops to Sikandra to keep an eye on the war. Khande Rao, the son of Holkar, was killed in a fight with

the Jats, and Holkar determined to stand no more nonsense and marched on the imperial camp. The Emperor fled to Delhi, leaving his army and his ladies to face the Mahrattas. The ladies were treated better than the troops, who were disarmed and dismounted and their horses taken. Firuz Jang and Holkar then marched on Delhi, and in June 1754 the worthless, cowardly Ahmad Shah was deposed and Aziz-ud-din, son of Jahandar Shah, proclaimed emperor as Alamgir II.

A little later Ahmad Shah and his mother, who had much to do with the court intrigues, were both blinded. Firuz Jang then, with his usual recklessness, determined to recover the Punjab, where Muin-ud-din had died and was succeeded by an infant son, and his widow who tried to be strong and only succeeded in driving the people to rebellion. On the way his picked troops mutinied on the usual excuse—non-payment of their dues. They seized Firuz Jang and treated him with great disrespect, and threatened him with death. This so infuriated him that when he escaped he set the rest of the army on them and massacred them with the help of Najib Khan and his Rohillas. He then entered the Punjab again and set up a governor. All this was little better than an invitation to Ahmad Shah to intervene. The result was the overrunning of the Punjab and the second sack of Delhi by the Abdali in 1757. He remained in Delhi for over a month and coins were struck in his name. Firuz Jang had made abject submission, and now took advantage of the opportunity to pay off old scores. He offered to extract tribute from Oudh where Jalal-ud-din Haidar, entitled Shuja-ud-daula, the son of Safdar Jang who died in 1754, was now in control. An expedition with two imperial princes and some Durani horse was dispatched against him, and Ahmad Bangash joined in as well. Sadulla Khan, the Rohilla from Aonla, joined Shuja-ud-daula near the border of Oudh and Rohilkand at Sandi. The two armies faced each other and a clash seemed imminent, when Mahratta support for Shuja-ud-daula drew near. This led to a settlement and a contribution of a lakh of rupees was promised for the Abdali. The contribution was actually never made.

Meanwhile Ahmad Shah Abdali was engaged in reducing the Jat forts, and a detachment sent to Muttra obtained doubtful glory by massacring a multitude of pilgrims. An outbreak of disease in his army and the unaccustomed heat now caused his return to Afghanistan. He made the Rohilla Najib Khan Amir-ul-umara and conferred on him the title of Najib-ud-daula, thus

showing that he was the conqueror and so capable of conferring titles.

This was a challenge to Firuz Jang, who now made Ahmad Khan Bangash his Amir-ul-umara. He then called Holkar and Raghunath Rao, Balaji's brother to his aid and marched on Delhi. After a siege of some weeks Najib-ud-daula bribed Holkar to let him through, and retired to his fort near Saharanpur, leaving Delhi and the Emperor's person to Firuz Jang. Prince Ali Gauhar managed to escape to Vithal Rao, the Mahratta commander who had remained in the vicinity of Delhi, and finally made his way to Lucknow, where he was received by Shuja-ud-daula who suggested he should make an attempt to recover Bengal, and the prince went on to Allahabad. Bengal had been in the hands of Aliwardi Khan for many years, and he had been in continual conflict with Rajhuji Bhonsla and his generals. In 1751 he had to cede Orissa to protect Bengal and Bihar from the imposition of *chauth*. He died in 1756 and was succeeded by his grandson Siraj-ud-daula. The victory of Clive at Plassey in 1757, however, changed the situation and made the East India Company in effect supreme in Bengal. The following year Ali Gauhar and Muhammad Kuli Khan, the Oudh Governor of Allahabad, invaded Bihar, but had to withdraw when the Bengal forces, supported by Clive and 450 Europeans and 2,500 Sepoys, moved up early in 1759.

The Mahrattas under Dattaji Sindhia now determined to deal with Najib-ud-daula and besieged his fort in 1759, while another contingent drove the Rohilkand Rohillas into the hills. Shuja-ud-daula now moved to Najib's assistance. The news that Ahmad Shah Abdali had recovered the Punjab caused Sindhia to draw off to meet this new threat.

Firuz Jang now regarded the Emperor as his enemy owing to his support of Najib-ud-daula, and had him murdered. A grandson of Kam Bakhsh was proclaimed emperor as Shahjahan III in November of 1759.

The action of Firuz Jang in calling in the Mahrattas against Muslims, and the behaviour of the Mahrattas, who were believed to be aiming at the destruction of the remnants of the Mughul empire, had aroused widespread distrust, and overtures were made to Ahmad Shah Abdali. Raghunath Rao had occupied the Punjab in 1758 and Jankoji Sindhia had appointed Sabaji Bhonsla as governor. This decided Ahmad Shah Abdali, and in the middle of 1759 he drove the Mahrattas out. The Rohillas,

under Sadulla Khan and Hafiz Rahman Khan and Najib-ud-daula, joined him, together with the Bangash Nawab Ahmad Khan. Firuz Jang fled to the Jats. Dattaji Sindhia was defeated and slain, and Delhi occupied in 1760. Holkar also was defeated in the Doab and fled with a few survivors. The Peshwa realized the seriousness of the position, and sent his son Vishwas Rao and a large army, under Sadasiva Bhao his cousin, to oppose the Abdali. A Rajput contingent joined them on the march and Suraj Mal sent thirty thousand men ; but Firuz Jang repented of his actions and he and Suraj Mal withdrew to Ballabgarh. Shuja-ud-daula at last realized that it was a Hindu attempt to seize control, and now decided to join Ahmad Shah Abdali. Thus Hindu and Muslim once more disputed the mastery of Hindustan.

Ahmad Shah and his allies were at Anupshahr, and the Mahrattas occupied Delhi, where they deposed Shahjahan III and put another figurehead Javan Bakht, son of Ali Gauhar, on the throne. In October the Mahrattas marched to Sirhind to cut off Ahmad Shah's communications, and were followed by the Afghans and their allies to Panipat, where the Mahrattas entrenched themselves having now adopted the tactics of the Mughul field armies. This was due to their possession of heavy artillery under Ibrahim Khan Gardi, one of those who had been trained by the French general Bussy. The numbers on both sides did not differ materially in respect of fighting troops, but there were large numbers of followers among the Mahrattas and among the Indian contingents to Ahmad Shah's army.

The Mahrattas now let themselves be shut up in Panipat town after failing to prevent the enemy's passage of the flooded Jumna. Negotiations went on in the way usual in these times when battles were won more often by diplomacy than fighting. Shuja-ud-daula was still somewhat lukewarm, and would have welcomed a compact by which the Mahrattas were allowed to retire, but Najib-ud-daula used his influence the other way. The Bhao Sahib realized the dangerous position in which he was placed, but his desire for some arrangement was negatived by Raghunath Rao in Poona. And so the two armies remained each in their fortified camp, with some eight miles of no-man's-land between them where continual skirmishing went on.

The Mahrattas were in sore straits for food. Though Govind Pant from Bundelkand was raiding the Afghans' supplies, the Abdali refused to relax his grip and the famine in the Mahratta

camp grew daily worse. To this was added a severe epidemic due to the crowded quarters and lack of all sanitary services. The other Mahratta leaders like Sindhia and Holkar had always been against this inactive defence which precluded the use of the Mahratta's chief arm, the cavalry and their hereditary tactics.

At last there was nothing for it but to attack. The Bhao wrote to Shuja-ud-daula, with whom he was still in communication. 'The cup is now full to the brim and cannot hold another drop.' Shuja-ud-daula immediately rode off to Ahmad Shah and told him that this meant an attack. The Mahrattas now in the early morning light were seen advancing. The sepoys of Ibrahim Gardi Khan, after their artillery had failed to do much execution, charged the Rohillas with fixed bayonets and pressed them back, exposing the centre and the Durani horse. The Bhao at once charged them with his picked body of cavalry and broke the centre. On the left Najib-ud-daula was more successful against Sindhia. The Durani centre still fought on, though some took to flight, and Ahmad Shah calmly waited for the moment to throw in his reserves. He reinforced the centre with ten thousand of his horse and ordered them to charge. At the same time the left under Najib-ud-daula and Pasand Khan was to charge the Mahratta centre on the flank. The counter-attack took place in the early afternoon, and the battle had been on since dawn. The Mahrattas had had no food or drink and were worn out, but still resisted furiously. Vishwas Rao was wounded, but the Bhao continued to fight gallantly. Suddenly the Mahrattas broke and fled. Holkar succeeded in riding off, but Jankoji Sindhia and Ibrahim Khan were taken and killed. The Bhao, when he saw that all was lost, charged into the thickest of the foe and died fighting. The pursuit and slaughter went on all night with no quarter given. Panipat was taken the next morning and all the males put to the sword, while the women and children—for they were all with the army—were divided up as slaves. The body of Vishwas Rao, whose beauty even in death was a wonder to the rough Afghans, was cremated with Hindu rites owing to the intervention of Shuja-ud-daula, as was the headless corpse of the Bhao.

Panipat was the grave of Mahratta ambitions for the conquest of India. The blow was too much for the Peshwa, who had advanced as far as Bilsa in support. He retreated to Poona, where he died the following year. Holkar and Damaji Gaikwar escaped in time, and Mahadaji Sindhia sorely wounded with Nana



Map 17 India after Panipat, 1760

Farnavis, managed to survive. It is estimated that 100,000 Mahrattas were killed in the fight or the massacre or cut off by peasants as they tried to make their way home ; for the Mahrattas were not loved. The Mahratta dreams of empire were for ever broken, and the power of the Peshwa suffered a blow from which they never recovered. One result was the emergence of the Mahratta states of Sindhia, Holkar, the Gaikwar, and the Bhonslas, which we shall treat of later.

Ahmad Shah was the conqueror, not the Mughul empire, and the victory of Panipat did nothing to arrest the decline of the Mughul power. Indeed, it may be said to have hastened it. Before he left Delhi, which he plundered once more, and where his men were on the brink of mutiny, he proclaimed the accession of Ali Gauhar as emperor under the title of Shah Alam, with Shuja-ud-daula as wazir. Ghaziuddin Firuz Jang, who had been responsible to some extent for the trouble by his invitation of the Mahrattas to Delhi, disappeared from official life after doing all the harm of which he was capable to the imperial cause. Though they lingered on as puppet kings, and were the excuse for many treaties and divisions of power, the Mughul empire may be said to have ended, as the dream of a Mahratta empire ended, at Panipat.

Chapter XX

THE BRITISH PERIOD

The power of the Mughuls in India had been based on land armies. They had never held the Indian seas nor did they possess a fleet or appreciate the importance of sea power. In the west, however, the sea had become the important element, and a great expansion of exploration and adventure had begun in the latter part of the fifteenth century, which had the greatest possible influence on the history of the world. The closing of the routes of trade by the land ways which resulted from the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453, or rather their excessive exploitation of the possibilities of taxes and restraint on trade, led to a search for other ways of access to the East and its spices—so important for the dietetic habits of the western world. The Ottoman Turks stopped the direct route through the Mediterranean and Red Sea, and thus turned attention to other approaches. Columbus it must always be remembered hoped to reach the Indies when he incidentially discovered the Bahamas in 1492. But it was not the Spanish but the Portuguese who opened the sea route to India.

The Portuguese and India

It was in 1418 that the first step which was to bring the Portuguese to Goa was taken when Prince Henry of Portugal, called the Navigator, son of a daughter of John of Gaunt, set up his observatory near Cape St. Vincent and started the training and voyages of seamen which gradually pushed the Portuguese discoveries down the west coast of Africa on the route to India. By the time of his death in 1460 they had reached as far as the Cape Verde Islands and Sierra Leone. He had trained a race of deep-sea sailors, and his experiments had evolved ships which could face the farthest voyages and the heaviest seas. John II of Portugal continued his designs, and at last Bartholomew Diaz in his voyage of 1486–88 rounded the southern cape and reached the Indian Ocean. The sea route to India was now open. But Columbus' discovery of the American continent had brought

Spain into the picture, and there were disputes between Portugal and Spain over the monopoly of the seas. Pope Alexander VI was appealed to, and by the treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 the famous line was drawn from the south of Greenland, west of the Azores and cutting through Brazil, which gave the western seas to Spain and the eastern to Portugal. Manoel, the next king, sent out Vasco da Gama with four ships in 1497 to pursue the adventure. In May 1498 he made land just north of Calicut, ruled over by the Zamorin, a Hindu prince who received him in a friendly spirit. Vasco's return to Lisbon the following year with reports of the rich trade available led to the dispatch of another and a stronger fleet under Pedro Cabral, with whom went Bartholomew Diaz. Cabral was not a good ambassador, and misunderstandings arose with the Zamorin in which some Portuguese were killed, and in revenge Cabral destroyed the boats and killed some hundreds of unfortunate fishermen and bombarded the town, before moving off to Cochin, where he loaded a rich cargo and then slipped out to sea to avoid the Zamorin, who sent a flotilla to attack him. The native ships had of course no chance against the big sea-going Portuguese caravels with their cannon and manœuvrability, but boarding had to be guarded against. Da Gama went out again in 1502 and betrayed the cruelty which is such a blemish on his character. He felt he had a religious duty to extirpate all Muslims, and seized and destroyed with all aboard a pilgrim ship from Jeddah. He attacked Calicut and bombarded it and gave another exhibition of frightfulness before sailing to Cannanore.

The Portuguese had been started on their sea adventure by a crusading spirit against the Moors, who had been driven out of the Iberian Peninsula after the Christian population had undergone forcible conversion and subjection to Islam. Their religious zeal was directed against the Muslims and their policy was to attack them wherever they could be found. Thus when they landed in the Hindu south of India they demanded everywhere the expulsion of the Muslim Arab merchants, a policy at once satisfactory to their trade and their crusading zeal. The Zamorin's revenues were based on custom dues from the Arab traders, and he refused to expel them. Thus arose the Portuguese alliance with the Raja of Cochin, who was not only an enemy of the Zamorin but had a better harbour for shipping. At first a mere handful of men were left in Cochin when the ships sailed back to Portugal, and one such company had a terrible experience of

a siege by the Zamorin. Affonso d'Albuquerque, arriving in 1503, drove the Zamorin from before Cochin and built a fort and arranged a treaty between the Zamorin and the Raja of Cochin. Then he sailed back to Lisbon, leaving only a hundred men to hold the fort. Yet with only a few thousands of the Cochin troops the gallant Duarte Pacheco held out against about 60,000 of the Zamorin's forces. It was not till the following year that a fleet came out and relieved him and a treaty was arranged. As a result of these experiences and Albuquerque's advice, it was resolved to make a permanent settlement and in 1505 the first governor or viceroy was sent out in the person of Francisco d'Almeida, who was accompanied by a large fleet and a force of 1,500 soldiers. He considerably strengthened the fort at Cochin and built another at Cannanore, thus consolidating the position of the Portuguese on the Malabar coast.

It will be noticed that this first contact between Europeans and India from the sea was not on the coasts of the Mughul empire. Had it been there it is practically certain that it would not have been allowed to take root as it did farther south. But it was not only in the seas around the Malabar coast that the Portuguese were prominent. They realized the advantages of sea power, and determined to use it to its full extent. The Arab or Moplah traders of the west coast were early marked out by them for extermination both as competitors in trade and enemies of the Cross. The Portuguese had many memories of Muslim domination to avenge, and were convinced that all Islamic powers were their natural enemies. The trade from the west coast of India to the Red Sea and up to Suez and thence across Egypt to the Mediterranean was an old trade and brought much profit to the middlemen, the Mameluke sultans of Egypt and the Venetians, the great carriers of the Mediterranean. Now the Portuguese were interfering with this at its starting point. It was not long before the Venetians realized the danger to their monopoly. The loss was not theirs alone. Egypt by its customs and transit dues drew a great profit from this traffic, and they did not really need the Venetian warning of the danger to take steps. The results of this we have already seen in connection with the history of Gujarat, but it may be recapitulated here. A fleet under Affonso d'Albuquerque left Portugal in 1506 and proceeded to attack the trade routes from Suez to India. He sailed to Socotra and built a fort there to block the exit from the Red Sea, and then proceeded to Ormuz to do the same for the Persian Gulf. He attacked

the port and compelled the ruler to agree to a treaty and left a garrison there.

Meanwhile the Egyptian fleet which had been built at Suez proceeded to Indian waters, where aid was expected from the Sultan of Gujarat, Bahadur, and even from the Zamorin. It met and defeated off Chaul a small squadron of Portuguese vessels under Lourenco d'Almeida, the viceroy's son, in 1508, when the commander was killed. His father early the following year met the Egyptian fleet off Diu and thoroughly defeated them. Returning to Cochin he found Albuquerque, who had been appointed to succeed him, and after some delay handed over to the new arrival.

It was Albuquerque who settled what was to be the character of Portuguese policy in Indian waters. He realized that a secure base was essential, and Cochin was not secure as it was under the control of the raja. His choice fell on Goa, which was an island possessing an excellent harbour. This brought him into rivalry with the Muslim power, for Goa had been recently occupied by the Sultan of Bijapur. A large fleet was assembled and the place captured in 1510, but he was unable to resist the attack of Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur and was driven out. However, he returned at the end of the year, and this time the Portuguese stayed. He set to work to attract trade to the port, and was successful. Recognizing that Portugal was a little kingdom and could not supply all the reinforcements he needed, he encouraged his men to marry Indian women and thus raise a population bound by birth to the place. His next step was to obtain a base in the Malay archipelago from where the much-valued spices came, and in 1511 he captured Malacca. Then he determined to forestall any danger from the Red Sea and sailed there in 1513 ; but he was not successful and failed to take Aden. He secured the Portuguese possession of Ormuz in face of Shah Ismail Safavi's claims. On his return he died in 1515 just before his ship reached Goa, and there he is buried.

Albuquerque was the man who really established the Portuguese power in the Indian seas. He left his advice to his king to ' close the gates of the Straits ' as the means of preserving that power. He left Portugal with a permanent base for her ships in Indian waters, almost impregnable to attack and quite unassailable as long as she held the Indian seas. From this base she could control the coastwise trade and the sea trade as well, and here ships could not only be built but refitted and equipped. It

was not, however, till 1530 that the seat of government was removed from Cochin to Goa, when Nunho da Cunha was governor.

In the Red Sea the danger was now from the Turks, who had occupied Egypt in 1517. The Portuguese had missed their opportunity of getting possession of Aden in 1516 and it never recurred. The Turks however, as Sunnis, were not interested in the affairs of the Shia Adil Shahis, but Bahadur of Gujarat was a Sunni, and the ports of his kingdom—Surat, Diu and Bassein—were threatened by the Portuguese. Attempts had already been made to obtain a footing on the coast of Gujarat, but Da Cunha succeeded finally in 1534 in obtaining the cession of the island of Bassein. Now, threatened by Humayun, Bahadur offered Diu in return for their support. A fort was built at Diu, but the small force of fifty horse and a hundred musketeers given in exchange were of little use to Bahadur, while the preoccupations of Humayun elsewhere removed the danger from that quarter. Bahadur considered that he had not received a fair return, and soon realized he had handed over his sea trade to the control of the Portuguese. Relations became strained, and, as has been already described, culminated in the death of Bahadur by drowning when he paid a visit to Da Cunha on board his ship at Diu. Undoubtedly there was double dealing on both sides. Bahadur had appealed to the Turks for aid, and a Turkish armada of 72 ships sailed from Suez and besieged the fort at Diu in 1538, instead of seeking out the Portuguese fleet on the seas. All their superiority in numbers, however, could not overcome the heroic resistance of the much smaller Portuguese garrison, and they failed to take the fort and finally withdrew. In the years that followed there were other land attacks on the Portuguese trading centres, and Goa itself was attacked by a joint expedition of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar in 1570 without success. Akbar's meeting with the Portuguese has already been mentioned. An arrangement was arrived at by which the ladies of Akbar's court were enabled to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Then followed the Jesuit missions to his court, the first in 1580.

The Portuguese power by now had spread over the coasts of Ceylon, up the Gulf to Muscat, and to the Moluccas in the east, while Macao in China became a Portuguese settlement. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Portuguese controlled the Indian Ocean, the Bay of Bengal, the Persian Gulf and the Arabian sea. Ceylon was controlled from Colombo, where a fort had been built as early as 1518, and soon the whole of the coast

with its rich cinnamon trade came under their control. The king of Ceylon accepted Christianity in 1556 owing to the missionary zeal of Francisco Xavier, who came out to Goa as Papal Nuncio in 1542 and made Goa a centre of Jesuit activities. But the Jesuits were intolerant and soon had, by their extreme religious policy, estranged all the Sinhalese. Negapatam and St. Thomé on the Coromandel coast became Portuguese stations, and they extended to Chittagong and Hugli and even to Syriam in Burma. The important coast, however, was the western, and the settlements at Chittagong, in Pegu, and Bengal were left pretty much to themselves.

It was for a hundred years that the Portuguese held a monopoly of the eastern trade, and it was their policy of refraining from embarking on land ventures which enabled the small country to retain it. Yet for all this, the drain on Portugal's resources by the Indian demands was great, and in the long run could not be maintained, for there were the claims of her great colony in the west, Brazil, as well. Finally in 1580 Philip II of Spain acquired Portugal, and as a result Portugal became an object of attack from Spain's enemies in Europe.

But besides the drain on Portuguese manpower by the demands from the east, demands which the small country could not satisfy, there were other reasons for the Portuguese decay. Perhaps the chief of these was the excessive control which the Catholic Church exercised on political affairs and the ill-advised policy of the ecclesiastics. At first under Albuquerque Hindu worship had been tolerated, though Muslims were regarded as enemies. In 1560 however the Inquisition was established in Goa, and twenty years before this all Hindu temples were destroyed. Albuquerque had made no attempt to interfere with local customs except that of sati, but the Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits were not so politic, and established a policy of ecclesiastical interference with the civil power which was one of the causes of the decline of the Portuguese power, owing to its intolerance and want of sympathy. The mixed marriages encouraged by Albuquerque had also led to a breed of half-castes whose mothers were not of the class who might be expected to produce a virile and strong-minded progeny, while the recruits from Portugal were more and more the off-scourings of the jails or pressed personnel. The result was the emergence of ruffians like the Feringhis of Chittagong and elsewhere. The demands of the Church led to money being spent on churches, ceremonies and ritual which did not strengthen the

bulwarks or allow proper provision for the necessary expenses of government. Intellectual apathy succeeded to the enterprise the earlier settlers had shown. The great literary figure of Goa was Luiz de Camoens, the great epic poet of Portugal, who in his *Lusiads* recounts the exploits of the earlier heroes, of Vasco da Gama and of Lourenzo d'Almeida. He came out in 1553 and distinguished himself as a soldier.

It was in 1552 that the Jesuit St. Francis Xavier died. This was the zenith of Goa's fame, and no-one disputed the mastery of the seas with her, though the fear of the Turkish fleet remained a menace for some time. With the change of rulers, however, there came a change in Portugal's political situation as a European power. She became a part of Spain, and Spain's enemies became hers. Chief among these enemies were the Dutch of the revolted Netherlands. They were supported, albeit lukewarmly, by Elizabeth of England, and in 1584 came that rupture of relations between Spain and England which led to the dispatch of the Armada. In 1586 Sir Francis Drake seized Portuguese ships returned from the Indies, and brought the rich spoil back to England. The hunt was on. Magellan in 1519–21 had shown that the Spice Isles could be approached from the West, and Drake had driven this home by his voyage round the world in 1577–80. The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 opened the seas to all.

The Dutch in India

The first Dutch fleet sailed to the Malay Archipelago in 1595, and soon there was great competition for the trade to the Spice Islands. A united Dutch East India Company was formed in 1602 to consolidate the competing interests. The Dutch did not try to compete with the Portuguese in Indian waters, but centred their activities in the Moluccas, where they gradually displaced the Portuguese. The important step was the settlement at Batavia in Java in 1618, and their power not only in Java but throughout the archipelago continually expanded. They did establish trading posts in India, namely at Pulicat on the Coromandel coast, and later factories at Chinsura in Bengal and at Surat where they competed directly with the Portuguese and English, and at Bandar Abbas in the Persian Gulf. Having established themselves in the archipelago they now turned their attention to Indian waters and began by blockading Goa from the sea in 1636. They

also attacked the Portuguese monopoly of the cinnamon trade in Ceylon and established a station there and entered into relations with the king against the Portuguese. Finally the capture of Malacca in 1641 decided the struggle in favour of the Dutch. Portugal had again become independent of Spain in 1640, but the warfare in the east did not cease, and Colombo was captured from the Portuguese in 1656, and they were finally expelled from Ceylon in 1658, while Negapatam on the Coromandel coast was captured by the Dutch in the same year and became Dutch headquarters on the east coast a few years after. Cochin and the other Portuguese stations on the Malabar coast were taken not long after, but no attack was made on Goa and the ports on the west coast, and trade there by the Portuguese was not interfered with.

The Dutch governor-general was supreme with little interference from the home government, and conducted his government from Batavia, which was the centre of power. This accounts for the small part that the Dutch took in Indian affairs proper. The Portuguese had been the first on the scene in Indian waters, and had gained their success by the intelligent use of sea power, by improvements in the art of navigation and shipbuilding. They had no territorial demands, and so did not awake the jealousy of the Mughul empire. The Dutch did not fall behind the Portuguese as sailors or shipbuilders, indeed they showed from the start a great superiority. Their chief interest, however, was in the eastern seas of the Malay Archipelago, and the result of their wars with the Portuguese was to open the Indian trade to others. They had ideas of colonization but not on Indian shores. Their colonization was confined to the island of Java and also to Ceylon, where they established themselves firmly.

The East India Company

England came later to eastern waters, not because she was later than others in the development of seamanship, but because she had other things to occupy her. It was the Tudors who were the real founders of England's navy, with the improvements in shipbuilding and naval gunnery that they encouraged, but it was the merchant adventurers who made the seamen. The fisheries of Newfoundland began by giving practice in a hard school of deep-sea navigation, and this led to the search for the

north-eastern passage to Cathay, which in turn led to trade in the White Sea and Muscovy. Then other voyages to find the north-west passage culminating in Drake's great circumnavigation showed the way, and the defeat of the Spanish Armada dissipated once for all the legend of Spanish naval supremacy. The first voyage east was that of James Lancaster in 1591 to Penang, and in 1596 another expedition went east. These preliminary reconnaissances paved the way for the setting up of a company to raise money to equip a trading expedition to India and the Spice Islands. Thus arose the East India Company, which was given a charter and a monopoly of trade on 31st December 1600. The various members subscribed to raise the necessary money, at first for single voyages, and the profits were divided proportionately.

The first voyages were to the Malay Archipelago, Java, Sumatra and the Moluccas. As a result of these voyages there was a change in method. The broadcloths and merchandise from England were not suitable for this trade, which required Indian cotton fabrics and opium. It was obvious that a centre on the Indian coast was needed. The Portuguese were in control of Malabar, the obvious place, and thus an entrepôt in Mughul territory became essential. Hence the dispatch of William Hawkins, who arrived in Agra in 1609. The Portuguese by their agents resisted his embassy, and he obtained no promise, though he was welcomed by Jahangir and became a companion of his carousals. But the desired permission to trade at Surat was refused. He left Agra without success in 1611, and was picked up by a British squadron under Sir Henry Middleton. What could not be obtained by diplomacy was now gained by a display of what sea power meant. Sir Henry Middleton blockaded the Red Sea by cruising around the Bab-el-Mandeb and stopping the Indian ships which were forced to exchange their Indian wares with his ships' lading and pay a heavy viaticum as well. This lesson had the required effect, and the next expedition was allowed to trade. The Portuguese who tried to interfere were driven off, and in 1613 Jahangir sent a firman allowing a factory to be established at Surat. The Portuguese then tried to bring pressure to bear by seizing a Surat vessel, and the Mughul governor proceeded to lay siege to Daman, the Portuguese fort. Nicholas Downton with four ships now reached Surat, and his aid was demanded against the Portuguese, but there was peace in Europe and he felt he could not intervene, until the Portuguese viceroy solved his difficulties by attacking him

in his anchorage in Swally Hole, near the mouth of the Tapti, and got well beaten for his trouble.

An account has already been given of the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to Jahangir from 1615 to 1618. Though he failed to negotiate a regular treaty, he obtained firmans from Prince Khurram, the viceroy of Gujarat, which considerably improved the prospects of the English factory at Surat. Thus Surat became the headquarters of the Company's trade with stations at Broach, Ahmadabad and Agra. In the Persian Gulf also rivalry with the Portuguese developed. Here the Portuguese held Ormuz and levied customs on the silks coming from Persia, and seeking an alternative trade route to that through Turkey, the enemy of Persia. But the Portuguese played their cards badly, and Shah Abbas was enraged against them when they attacked his towns. He dispatched a force to capture Ormuz and constrained an English squadron of ships to assist. After a siege Ormuz was captured, and as a reward the Company was given the grant of half the customs of the port and freedom from dues themselves. This was a very considerable concession indeed.

In the Spice Islands the Company was not so successful, and found the opposition of the Dutch a great obstacle. In 1619 the two companies came to an agreement to form an allied squadron of ten Dutch and ten English ships to keep the Portuguese out. English agents were also admitted into the Dutch settlements and trade was to be shared. The agreement did not work, however, and repeated quarrels and disputes took place culminating in the breakdown of the agreement. The English company found they were being dragged into a regular war against the Portuguese when their chief objective was trade. It was already decided to withdraw the English factors when the massacre of Amboyna, where in 1623 ten of the English merchants were accused of a project to seize the fort, condemned, tortured and executed, put an end to the uneasy partnership. Attempts were made by the home governments to end the breach, but they failed, and a separate English factory was established at Bantam, the original English settlement in 1628, where the local raja did not love the Dutch. In reality the Dutch had won in the archipelago, and the Company was unable to compete and was thrown back upon its Indian interests.

Gradually relations were established with the Portuguese, and in 1635 Methwold, the president of Surat, signed an agreement with the Portuguese viceroy which was confirmed in the treaty

in 1642 between England and Portugal. In 1654 Cromwell obtained the admission of English traders into all Portuguese stations in Indian waters. The wars between the Dutch and the English in Europe confirmed this tendency for friendship with Portugal, and for a time Cromwell's victories and the supremacy of English sea power under Blake kept the Dutch in check. The chief objects of trade in India were cotton goods for trade with the archipelago in exchange for spices, and for the Persian Gulf, while the Agra factory sent down indigo from Bayana (Biana), which was shipped to England. In 1611 the first factory was set up on the Coromandel coast at Masulipatam under a grant from the king of Golkunda, and in 1634 the sultan granted freedom from all dues to the Company. In 1639 the local Hindu ruler granted the town of Madraspatam near the Portuguese station of St. Thomé. Here they became the owners of the land on payment of a small annual sum, and were allowed to fortify the place. Mir Jumla, the general of Golkunda, conquered the surrounding country in 1647 and confirmed the grant, and finally the annual payment was fixed at 1,200 *pagodas*. Thus started Madras, the first English possession, as distinct from a factory, in India. From here trade was opened up in Bengal with the establishment of a factory at Hugli in 1651, and then at Patna and Kazimbazar.

Political changes in England threatened the very existence of the Company, and the Civil War nearly ruined it. Cromwell however in 1657 granted a new charter, and at the Restoration Charles II restored and enlarged its powers, and the grant of Bombay to the Company for a small annual rent was the beginning of great expansion. Bombay came to Charles as part of the dowery of his Portuguese wife, Catherine of Braganza. It was made over to the Company in 1668 with full rights of administration, justice and coinage. Thus it was the Company's own territory even more than Madras, as Madras was held from an Indian ruler and the grant could be revoked. Sir Josiah Child, a director of the Company, had a great influence on the policy and development of the Company at this time. He insisted that the Company's servants must be men of education and intelligence, able to undertake administration in addition to control of the trading activities of the Company. The incursions of the Mahrattas and the continual warfare made the Company's territory an oasis of peace in a troubled land, and this added to the wealth and strength of the settlements.

It was the threat of the Mahrattas and the Mughuls to the security of the Company's settlements which led to the strong policy recommended by Sir Josiah, whose influence among the directors was paramount until his death in 1699. The Sidi, the Mughul admiral, held Janjira less than fifty miles south of Bombay, and Sivaji seized one of the islands dominating the bay. It became obvious that only 'a strong man armed could keep the house.' John Child, who was no relation of Sir Josiah, became captain-general and admiral of all the Company's forces in 1686, and Bombay and not Surat finally became the headquarters. On Sir John Child, the new captain-general, fell the duty of taking up the Company's quarrel with the Mughuls due to the disputed interpretation of Aurangzeb's firman about dues. It was resolved to bring sea pressure to bear, and in 1688 some Mughul ships were seized, and in retaliation the Mughuls imprisoned the Surat factors. More ships were seized and their freight confiscated. Bombay itself was besieged by Mughul forces, and finally in 1690 peace was made on payment of large compensation by the Company for the cargoes seized, while Sir John Child was to be dismissed ; but he had died before this ignominy could be inflicted on him. This whole affair was an example of the dangers which lay in wait for a purely mercantile company trying to interfere in political affairs. In Bengal, however, where the trouble had really originated things turned out better.

Bengal

There the original factory at Hugli had sent out branches to Patna, and in 1688 Dacca and later Rajmahal and Malda were added, the former for its muslins and the latter for saltpetre and raw silk, sugar and cotton yarn. A strong trade grew up, and the manufactures were improved by the importation of artisans from England. The Bengal factories were sometimes grouped together and at other times under Fort St. George, as Madras was called. In 1656 Shah Shuja had granted freedom from imposts in exchange for a lump annual payment of Rs3,000. In 1678 this was confirmed or renewed by Shaista Khan, and in 1700 Aurangzeb himself issued a firman, the precise meaning of which was disputed. The 'strong' policy of Sir Josiah Child led to a fleet being sent to attack Chittagong in 1686, and this coincided with the seizure of Mughul ships on the west coast. But ships cannot attack a self-contained land power, and when the Mughuls

attacked Hugli, Job Charnock, the agent, after repelling the assault, decided to evacuate and retreated down the river, first to the marshy neighbourhood of Sutanati and then to the island of Hijli. Here they were besieged, and burnt Balasore in reprisal. Charnock, however, held on and receiving reinforcements was negotiating a return when the fleet's arrival with instructions to pursue the war with vigour and its commander Heath's failure before Chittagong necessitated a withdrawal to Madras. The position looked serious, but the next overture came from the Mughuls themselves, who discovered that they were in danger of killing the goose who laid the golden eggs, and they were finally constrained to ask the Company to return. Job Charnock went back, but not to Hugli. He found the situation at Sutanati in spite of its unhealthy position better. It was on a navigable river and safeguarded by the river and by swamps, and here a fort was built in 1696 and called Fort William. Three neighbouring villages, Sutanati, Kalighat and Govindpur, were given in zemindari to the Company in 1698.

On the Coromandel coast Madras had become the head-quarters of the eastern presidency, which was removed from Bantam in the Malay Archipelago in 1652. In the time of Sir Streynsham Master, 1672–78, the first Anglican church in India was built, St. Mary's in the fort at Madras. When Golkunda ceased to exist as a kingdom its rights over Madras passed to Aurangzeb, and were confirmed to the Company. In 1693 Fort St. David near Cuddalore was built. When Thomas Pitt was governor from 1698 to 1709 five more villages were added to the zemindari held by the Company.

Interlopers and rival Companies

Though the Company's charter was revived from time to time their monopoly of trade was not always preserved. The granting of a charter meant that none but the holder could trade to that country. This was a type of monopoly which the conditions of the times demanded. But while occasional interlopers could not do much harm, rival companies might and did. The first of these was due to James I's Scottish proclivities and the idea of a Scottish East India Company. Charles I went further. He gave Sir William Courteen and other merchants permission to trade in India at places where the Company had no factory. Even if they had kept the terms it would have been bad enough, but they

did not do so and the Company suffered. After the Dutch wars, however, they went through a time of great prosperity, and the interlopers who disputed their claim to a monopoly were strictly dealt with. But with the fall of the Stuarts and the Whig supremacy in Great Britain, when William of Orange became king in 1688, attacks were made on the Company in Parliament as a Tory organization, and in 1694 a resolution was passed giving free rights of trade to all.

This culminated in the floating of a new company called the English Company of Merchants. It was handicapped by the fact that its capital had been lent to the Government, and thus its actual available money was confined to the interest. It sent an ambassador to Aurangzeb, and its agents caused much trouble to the East India Company, or the Old Company. John Pitt, who was the New Company's agent at Masulipatam, quarrelled with his relative Thomas Pitt, the Old Company's governor at Madras, and Aurangzeb chose this time to attack the Company's stations, imprisoning the merchants at Surat and threatening Fort William and Madras, but without any result. This showed the dangers of dissension, and led the way to a union which took place finally in 1709. Fort William had become the headquarters of the Presidency of Bengal in 1700.

The position of the Company was finally settled when John Surman, President at Madras, went to Delhi to negotiate with Farrukhsiyar in 1714–17. It has been stated that the treaty was due to Dr William Hamilton's skilful treatment of Farrukhsiyar, but though this may have helped, it was diplomacy which settled it. The chief points were that trade in Bengal was to be free of all dues in consideration of a lump payment of Rs3,000 per annum, and the existing rent for the Madras villages and some others which were added, was confirmed. Freedom from all dues at Surat was compounded for by a payment of Rs10,000, while the mint at Bombay was recognized for the coining of rupees.

The value of the eastern trade was large. It increased from £500,000 in 1708 to double that figure in 1748 of imports of goods into England, while it exported to India and the east £576,000 in 1710 as compared with double that amount in 1750. Of this later sum £816,000 was in bullion. The chief items of import into England were saltpetre, indigo, calicos, and cotton piece-goods, plain and figured, cotton yarn and silk fabrics. These latter were welcomed when most cloth in the shape of linen was imported

from the continent of Europe, but when cotton printing works were established in England about 1676 protests were made against the competition of Indian goods produced by much cheaper labour and so capable of underselling the new English products. The same objection was made by the silk weaving industry, and finally the woollen manufacturers objected to both cotton and silk import, as they competed with woollen goods. Various measures were debated in Parliament, and the workers concerned indulged in violent rioting, demanding the stoppage of imports. Finally in 1700 an Act was passed forbidding the import of silk fabrics and figured or coloured cotton piece-goods. As a result raw silk, plain calico and cotton yarns were imported in greater volume, but the trade in printed calicos and silks stopped. The whole trouble was of course the differing levels of wages in the two countries and the fact that Indian cheap labour could undersell the English product. Such conflicts always arise when two countries of differing economic status compete, and the pre-war competition of Japan with Indian textiles is an exact parallel.

But the Indian trade was far from the only trade the Company took part in. The tea trade with China was developed between the middle of the seventeenth century and the middle of the eighteenth. Tea was a new fashion in England, and the tea trade, which had first been carried on from Bantam and then mainly from Madras, was finally taken to the China coast itself. Coffee was another great demand about the same time. Surat was the main port, where supplies of this came from the Red Sea ; later it was obtained direct from Mocha. The tea and coffee trade represented more than half of the Company's imports into England. The great drain on the Portuguese and the Dutch companies had been the private and unauthorized trade on their own account, carried out by their agents. This private trade was a sore spot in the Company's organization, but after 1679 coastwise trade in some items of traffic was allowed to the Company's servants on their own account. This concession was necessary as pay was small and, as experience in Bengal later showed, the temptations were too great, and for a time it seemed to meet the occasion.

The administration of the Company's establishments in India was entrusted to the three Presidency governors and their councils. The head of the council was president of the council as well as governor in a military sense. Actually the governor could only give a casting vote when the council was equally divided, and thus in theory he was by no means above the rest of his council,

but in practice he carried out executive duties and thus used his own judgment in matters of urgency.

The origins of judicial authority naturally developed from the usual power of the captain of a ship to exercise authority in a foreign land over the ship's crews. Charles II's charter expressly empowered every president and council to exercise judicial authority over Europeans. The courts varied. Madras had a mayor and aldermen, including Portuguese, a Frenchman, three Indian merchants of the place, and of course three of the Company's servants. There was an appeal from this to the president and council, as there was in Bombay from the justices' benches. This was the beginning of the High Court of modern times, but they were very cautious in dealing with European subjects for fear their acts should be questioned in English courts, and they themselves be subject to heavy damages. For the Indian inhabitants of their presidencies the usual zemindari courts naturally functioned. The somewhat uncertain position was solidified by the establishment of proper mayorial courts in the three Presidency towns for full civil trials, and courts of quarter sessions for criminal cases in 1726. From the mayor's court the appeal lay to the governor and council, with a further appeal to the Privy Council in cases of the value of over one thousand *pagodas*. These courts were for Indians and English in Bombay and Madras, but not in Calcutta, where the zemindari courts dealt with Indian inhabitants until 1757.

Piracy

The irruption of European pirates into the Indian seas, which dated from the break-up of the buccaneers in the West Indies, caused considerable trouble to the Company. The Mughuls affected to hold them responsible for the misdeeds of these villains who plundered Company and Indian shipping alike without scruple. But Captain Kidd and Avery, to mention the most notorious, were enemies of all—Dutch, East Indiaman, or Indian shipping. Elihu Yale, President of Madras 1687–92, was prominent in his efforts to suppress piracy.

But the short irruption of European pirates does not compare with the long history of the pirates of the Malabar coast, the Angrias and other Mahratta pirates, not to forget the Sidi ruler of Janjira. These caused great losses to the Company's trade. Kanhoji Angria at the beginning of the eighteenth century had

been commander of the Mahratta fleet, but soon set up as an independent chief, and from his ports of Gheria and Suvarndrug continually sallied out and attacked all passing merchant ships. Under Boone, the governor of Bombay from 1715 to 1722, a special naval force, the Bombay Marine, was established to deal with these pirates, and several engagements resulted, but without much effect, and the Angria pirates were a menace for many years until in 1755 Commodore James captured Suvarndrug in conjunction with the Peshwa, and in 1757 Clive captured Gheria.

Chapter XXI

THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH IN INDIA

The English and Dutch companies had been independent merchants seeking an outlet for their trade, and were not in the first instance the result of state action, thus differing from the Portuguese, whose efforts had been inspired by the state. With the French there was little independent trade by private venture, and the economic ideas of the French minister Colbert were founded on state enterprise. His objects were to use trade to pave the way to empire, and the French Company was not a company of merchants but an official state body. The Company was founded by royal decree in 1664 with the purpose of establishing a French colony in the island of Madagascar and financing the enterprise by trade with India and the East. Fifteen million livres was the capital announced, but there was little response, and finally the total capital was five and a half million livres, of which the royal treasury had to supply three million.

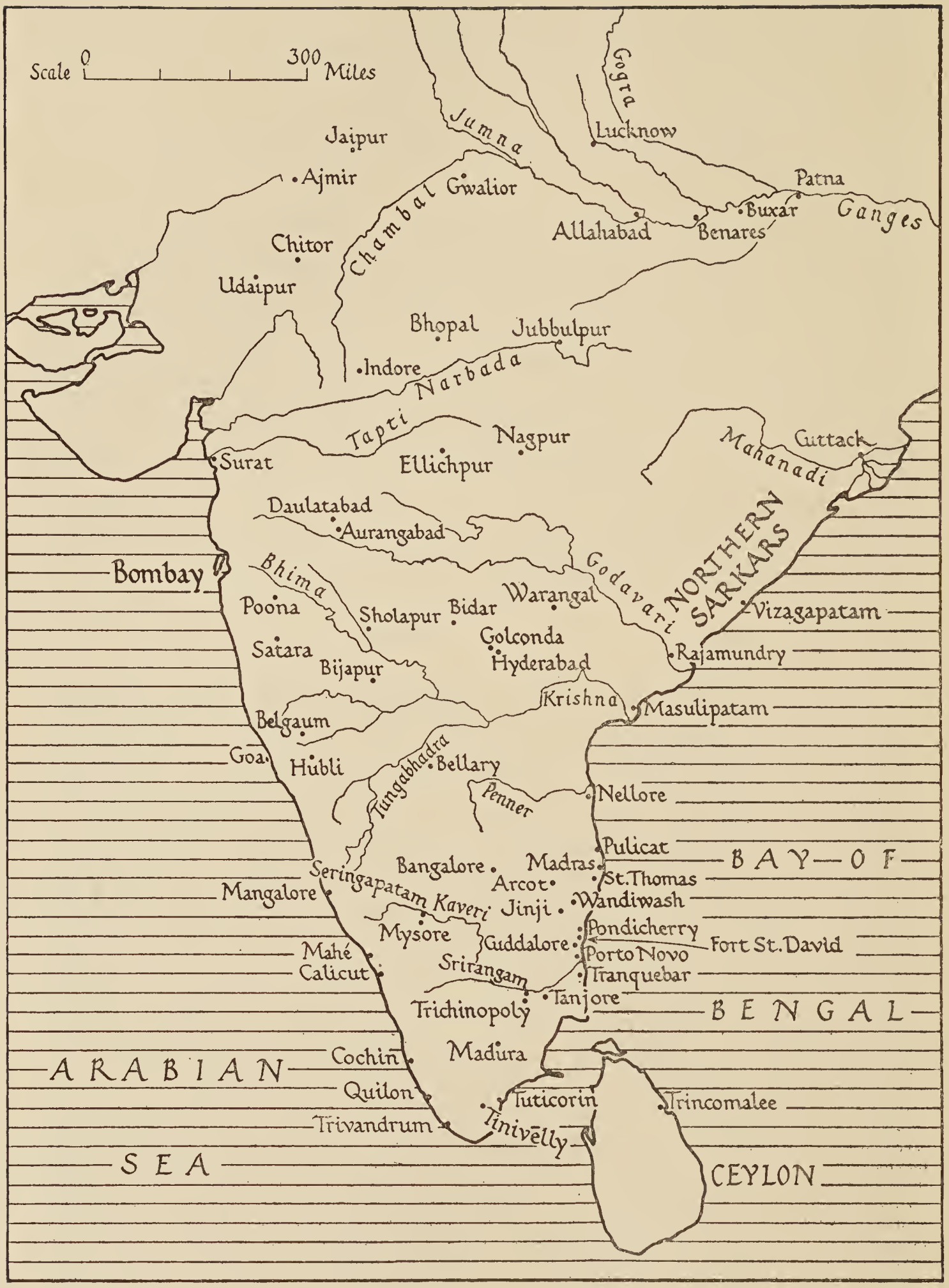
The fleet was soon used to back up the project, and in 1670 de Lahaie was sent with a large squadron of royal ships to establish fortified trading stations in addition to the factories at Surat and Masulipatam, which had been the first started. The importance of the fine naval station at Trincomalee was correctly appreciated, but the affair was badly handled and de Lahaie failed to secure it. His next enterprise was to seize St. Thomé, which had been captured from the Portuguese by Golkunda some years before. The Shah immediately blockaded it by land, and though the sea was open de Lahaie and his men suffered a close invesment. Nevertheless he held out for a year against the Muslim power, and even when the Dutch fleet joined them he was still able to resist another year. But finally, in 1674, he had to surrender. Thus the first approaches were unfortunate.

In 1673, however, the French Compagnie des Indes Orientales obtained a footing at Pondicherry. This was taken by the Dutch in 1693, but restored to France when peace in Europe was made by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. François Martin is the name chiefly associated with the growth of the French Company, and he spread its influence at Pondicherry, while in 1690 a factory had been also established in Chandnagore. It was Martin who

pushed on the building of Fort Louis at Pondicherry. When he died in 1706 the affairs of the French Company declined once more, and were not restored until the amalgamation with the new company of Jean Law in 1719 as the Compagnie des Indes. This was a grandiose conception of Law's, of trade and empire and finance all mixed up, but it was carried out on commercial principles by the men on the spot. Madagascar, or the Ile Dauphine as it was called, had been the first object of colonization. To this were added the islands of Réunion and Mauritius to serve as stations between the Cape and the coast of India. Mahé, on the Malabar coast, was seized after much fighting while Calicut and Masulipatam were also factories. The grandiose ideas of Colbert and Louis XIV about a French empire in the East had come to nothing, while the financial jugglery of Law had been transformed into a less ambitious but more stable commercial company. This was the position when in 1742 Joseph Dupleix became governor of Pondicherry.

War in the Carnatic

The position in the south had deteriorated during the absence of Nizam-ul-Mulk in Delhi and the rule of his son Nasir Jang in the Deccan. The small state of Arcot, which had originally been part of the Deccan viceroyalty, had been formed by Dost Ali, who took advantage of the absence of Nizam-ul-Mulk to form a principality for himself out of his fief, which lay along the coast from Ongole to Jingi with its centre at Arcot. Some small Hindu states, the remnants of the old kingdom of Vijayanagar, had been conquered by his son Safdar Ali in 1736–37, who had occupied Trichinopoly while his son-in-law Chanda Sahib assisted. Madura too was captured. Tanjore, which, it will be remembered, was held by the family of Vyankoji, Sivaji's half-brother, was now attacked by Chanda Sahib and Safdar Ali, and this brought on them the attention of the Mahrattas under Balaji. Nasir Jang had already suggested, it was said, that the south presented a field for their raids once more, wishing to get rid of them from the Deccan. At any rate in 1740 Rajhuji Bonsla and Fateh Singh defeated Dost Ali in the Damalcheri Pass and the nawab was killed. An advance on Arcot forced his son Safdar Ali to submit and pay a large ransom. The following year the Mahrattas appeared before Trichinopoly and forced Chanda Sahib to surrender, when he was taken prisoner to Satara.



Map 18 The Carnatic Wars

Meanwhile Nizam-ul-Mulk had to deal with his rebellious son Nasir Jang, whom he defeated and took prisoner. The return of Nizam-ul-Mulk to the Deccan affected the fortunes of the family of Arcot, and Safdar Ali was not immediately confirmed in his father's fief. This led to family broils, and in 1742 he was killed by his cousin Murtaza Ali at Vellore. Nizam-ul-Mulk now intervened and marched into the Carnatic in 1743 and took Trichinopoly from the Mahratta garrison. He also nominated one of his followers, Anwar-ud-din Khan, as Nawab of Arcot.

The following year, 1744, war broke out in Europe between France and England, the War of the Austrian Succession. Dupleix, now governor of Pondicherry, proposed that the war should not be extended to Indian waters, but the representatives of the Company replied that they could not answer for the action of the English fleet should it appear. The French naval power was centred on Mauritius, where La Bourdonnais was governor, and Dupleix appealed to him for help. His appeal was reinforced by the appearance of a small English squadron, which captured some French ships in the China trade. The French fleet of eight ships arrived in Indian waters in 1746, and the English squadron of four ships was badly handled, and instead of engaging the French retreated to Calcutta and allowed the French to land troops before Madras and take the town. La Bourdonnais agreed to ransom it, but his fleet was scattered by a storm and he had to leave the coast, whereupon Dupleix refused to honour the terms and sacked Madras. Anwar-ud-din Khan, the Nawab of Arcot, tried to expel the French from Madras, but his forces were no match for the French and he had to withdraw.

French attempts to take Fort St. David failed, chiefly because the English fleet had returned with a new commander, who was much more energetic than the one who had fled to Calcutta. In 1748 Admiral Boscawen, with a real fleet and a thousand royal troops, arrived to recapture Madras. The first step was to attack the French headquarters at Pondicherry, but this was not successful, and the approach of the monsoon caused a withdrawal to Fort St. David. While he was there news came of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and peace at home. Madras according to the terms was returned to the Company in 1749, but in the same year Dupleix sent d'Auteil his brother-in-law with an expedition against Anwar-ud-din, having arranged Chanda Sahib's release from the Mahrattas. At Ambur the French defeated Anwar-ud-din, who was killed, and Chanda Sahib became their sworn supporter.

Thus began an unofficial war, and the Company was forced to uphold the claims of Muhammad Ali, the son of Anwar-ud-din, who was at Trichinopoly. They also sought the help of Nasir Jang, the son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had died in 1748. Nasir Jang had succeeded to his father's viceroyalty in the Deccan, or rather his independent control of Hyderabad, but there was another claimant, a grandson of Nizam-ul-Mulk, by name Muzaffar Jang, who was with Chanda Sahib. Chanda Sahib marched in company with the French forces against Muhammad Ali at Trichinopoly, but now Nasir Jang appeared, and joined by some English troops marched on Pondicherry, where Chanda Sahib, who was besieging Tanjore, and the French hastened to meet him. The French, however, deserted Chanda Sahib and he was compelled to retreat to the shelter of Pondicherry itself, where he took refuge while Muzzaffar Jang surrendered to his uncle. An attack at night on Nasir Jang's camp by the French led to his retreat to Arcot, where he remained for some months in 1750. The Company had before this taken St. Thomé from the French, and now obtained Poonamallee, another place near Madras. The Marquis de Bussy, who now commanded the French troops, advanced to Jingi and captured that almost impregnable fortress. This caused Nasir Jang to move, but Dupleix had been in communication with some of his discontented nobles, and when the French under La Touche attacked him the nobles abandoned him and he was killed. Thus again occurred a sudden reversal of fortune and a vacancy in the viceroyalty, to which Muzafar Jang the French nominee succeeded.

Dupleix at once put into execution the policy he had formed. He sent Muzaffar Jang to the Deccan, supported by a French force under de Bussy. He hoped thus to control not only the south but the Deccan as well, and lay the foundations of a French empire in India. It was of course a futile policy, for it meant giving up a certain hope of trade for chimerical schemes of conquest. Dupleix sent the best of his troops and his most experienced general inland while the danger lay on the coast.

Saunders, the Company's governor at Madras, realized the position much better. He knew that the French empire would not support far-flung schemes of conquest, and he only had to hang on in order to win. It was Saunders who realized the genius of Robert Clive, the young clerk who was to become the founder of English power in the East. When Muzaffar Jang and de Bussy had marched off in 1751, an inconclusive campaign was

waged in the Carnatic, the English supporting Muhammad Ali at Trichinopoly while the French helped Chanda Sahib. It was the capture and holding of Arcot with a small force which first revealed the genius of Clive. All attempts by Chanda Sahib to recapture it proved vain, while Trichinopoly could not be taken by the French under Law. In 1752 Law was shut up on the island of Srirangam and surrendered to Lawrence and Clive when d'Auteuil and reinforcements had been compelled to surrender. Muhammad Ali had been joined by the Raja of Mysore and the Raja of Tanjore, while he engaged the Mahratta leader Murari Rao. Faced by this coalition Chanda Sahib surrendered to the Raja of Tanjore, who had him beheaded. Thus the French plan had failed in the Carnatic, and failed largely because Dupleix had divided his forces. But he still persisted, because, though he may not at first have conceived the policy of a French empire in India, the successes of de Bussy had widened his ideas. He now set to work to get together another coalition against the English, and detached Murari Rao by promises of higher pay and the Raja of Mysore because Muhammad Ali refused to hand over Trichinopoly as he had promised. Trichinopoly was once more besieged, for fresh reinforcements had arrived but no adequate leaders. The siege lingered on into 1754. But Dupleix had deceived the French home authorities and did not explain his great policy till it was too late and he had been superseded. He had promised that the war would cost them nothing, but they found they had become involved in large expenditure because the revenues of the Carnatic did not come up to expectations.

Undoubtedly Dupleix had been encouraged by happenings in the Deccan, where de Bussy had accompanied Muzzaffar Jang in 1751, and where he obtained a position of great influence. Muzzaffar Jang, it is true, was killed in action with the same malcontents who had conspired against Nasir Jang and had compassed his death, but Salabat Jang, a brother of Nasir Jang, was installed with French support. Then the Nizam's forces and de Bussy with his troops marched to Aurangabad, and the whole of the Deccan was now within the sphere of French influence, a fact which raised Dupleix's hopes to still greater heights. He contemplated the invasion of Bengal, where Salabat Jang was to be installed in place of Ali Wardha Khan. The consent of the weak Delhi government was taken for granted, and English opposition discounted. This design was interrupted by a Mahratta invasion led

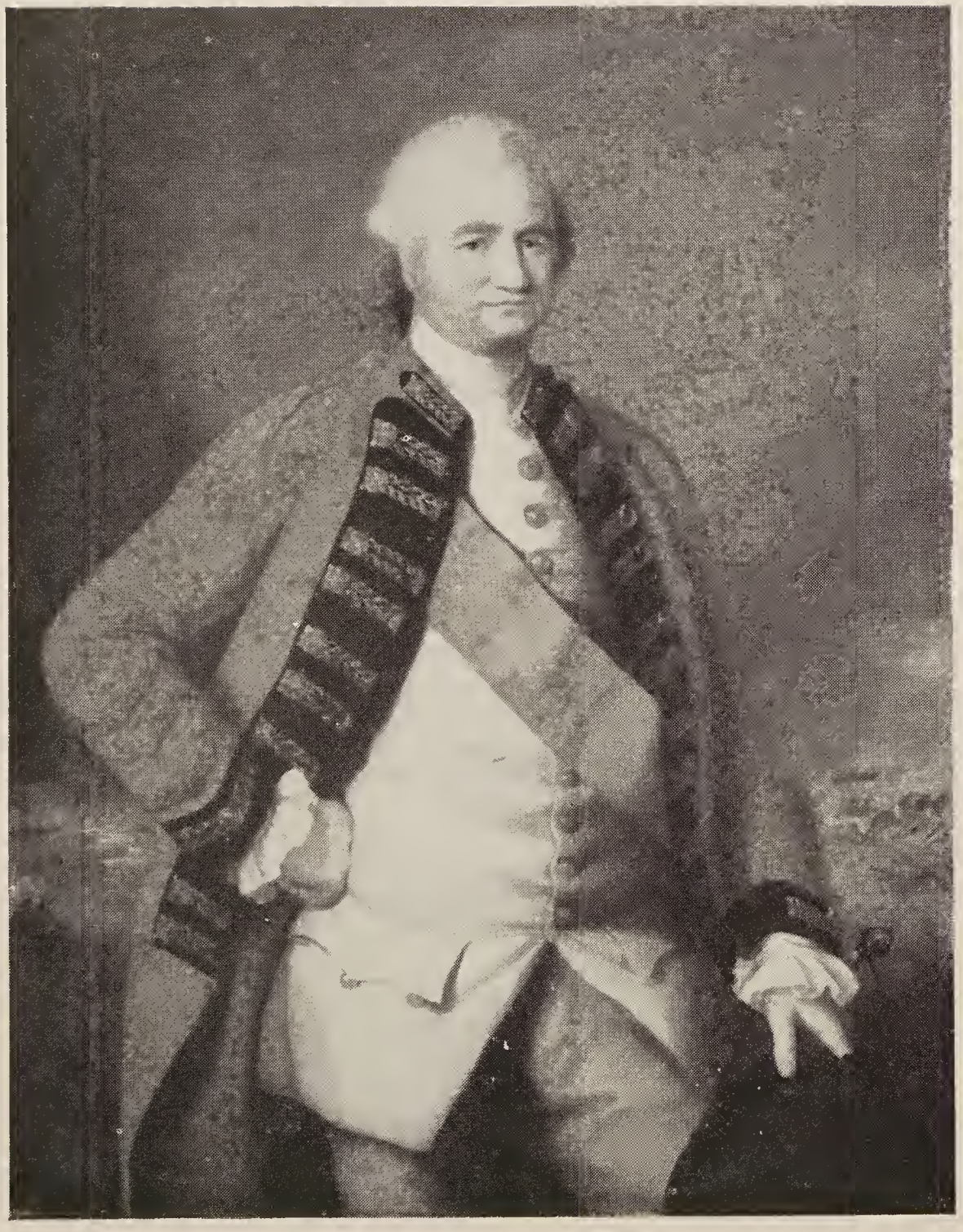
by Balaji Rao. De Bussy dealt with this and defeated the Mahrattas, and they hastened to make peace at the beginning of 1752. The danger over, the Deccan nobles began to intrigue to get rid of the French, and Ghazi-ud-din now appeared from Delhi to claim his father's viceroyalty. He was poisoned, however, in a harem conspiracy and the danger faded away.

The opposition to the French continued, and de Bussy was taken ill. He retired to Masulipatam to rest and recover, and in his absence early in 1753 his forces were broken up in small parties and sent to collect revenue. This was preparatory to getting rid of the French entirely, but the plot did not succeed. De Bussy came back and placed his affairs on a sound basis by demanding that the four northern sarkars of Mustafanagar, Ellore, Rajahmundry and Chicacole should be made over to him for the support of his troops. These were the Northern Circars as they appear in references of the time. He then replaced those disaffected towards the French influence by others better disposed, with Shah Nawaz Khan as diwan in place of the anti-French Saiyyid Lashkar Khan. The troops concerned consisted of 900 Europeans and 4,000 sepoys trained on European lines. Their pay amounted to twenty-five and a half lakhs while the revenues made over to him were expected to bring in thirty-one lakhs. This was the position when Dupleix was recalled. The French government were alarmed by his designs and the certain drain of men and money they would involve. They were more interested in their adventure in America on the Mississippi and the Ohio than in problematical gains in India, and when the news of the defeats in the Carnatic and the death of Chanda Sahib arrived they sent out a successor to Dupleix in the person of Godeheu. They were induced to do this by the loss of men in the surrenders at Trichinopoly and also by the representations of the English ambassador, who reminded them that they were not at war with the English, and at the moment this was the fact which weighed with them most. They did not want war in Europe and resolved to end the war which was going on in India. Godeheu was charged with the duty of making a treaty which was completed by the end of 1754. Dupleix had sacrificed certainties in the Carnatic for possibilities in the Deccan, and the success of de Bussy had blinded him to the truth that inland conquests could not make up for weakness on the coast.

De Bussy was a remarkable figure. His tact and diplomacy enabled him to establish and maintain French influence in the



Plate 52 Mughul portrait of an unknown European (17th century)



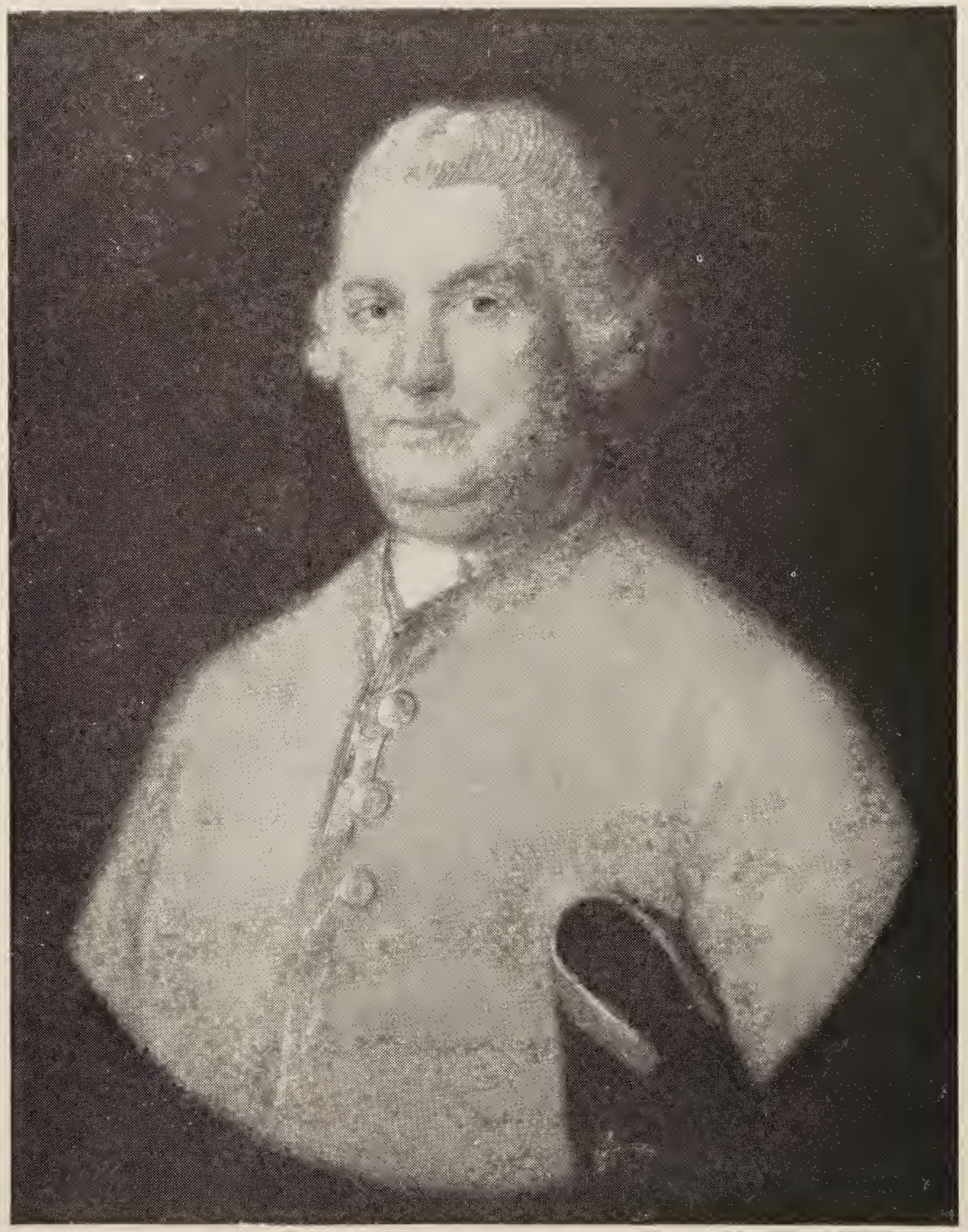
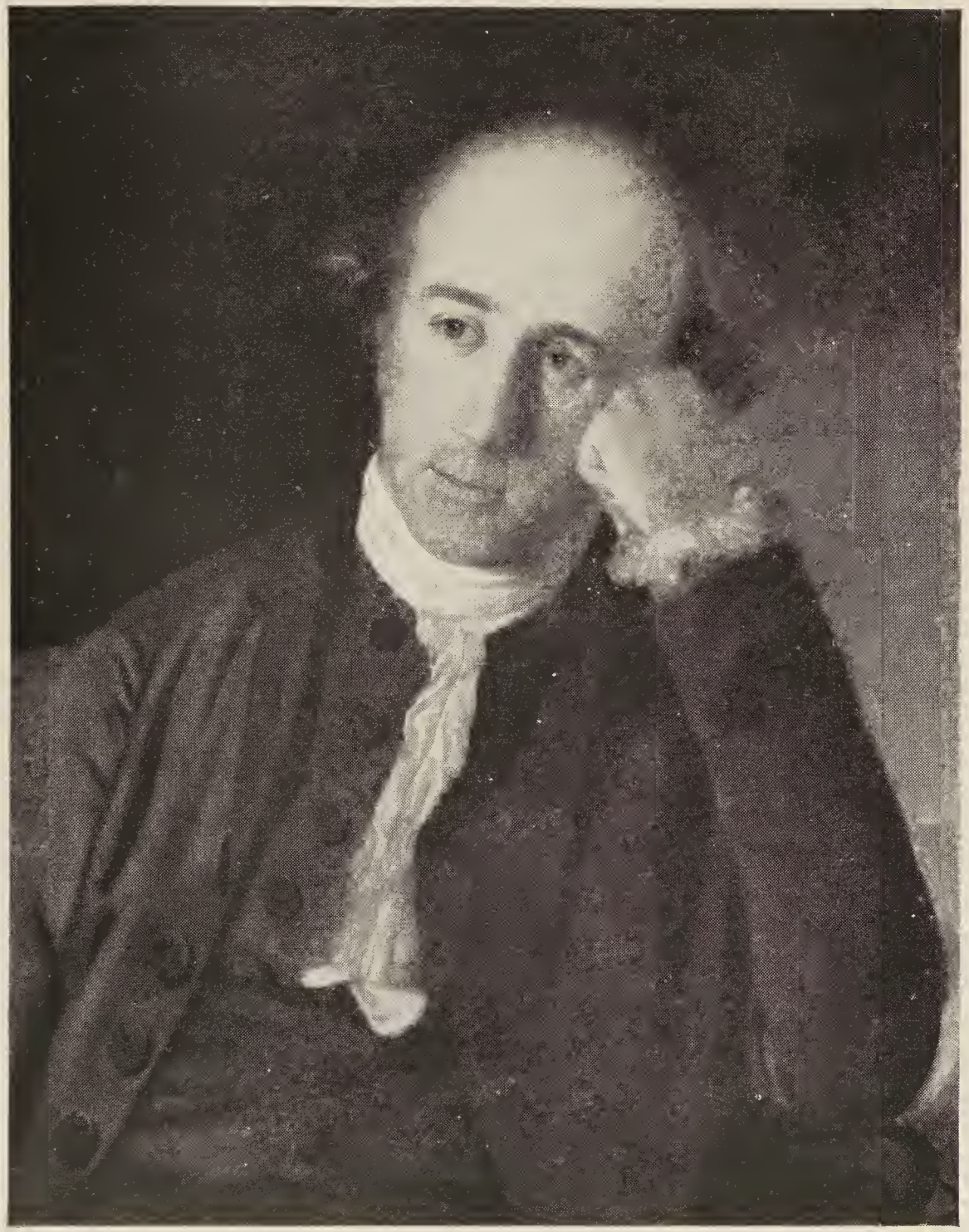


Plate 53 *left* Lord Clive, from a portrait by N. Dance in the National Portrait Gallery
right Major Stringer Lawrence, from a portrait by Gainsborough in the National Portrait Gallery



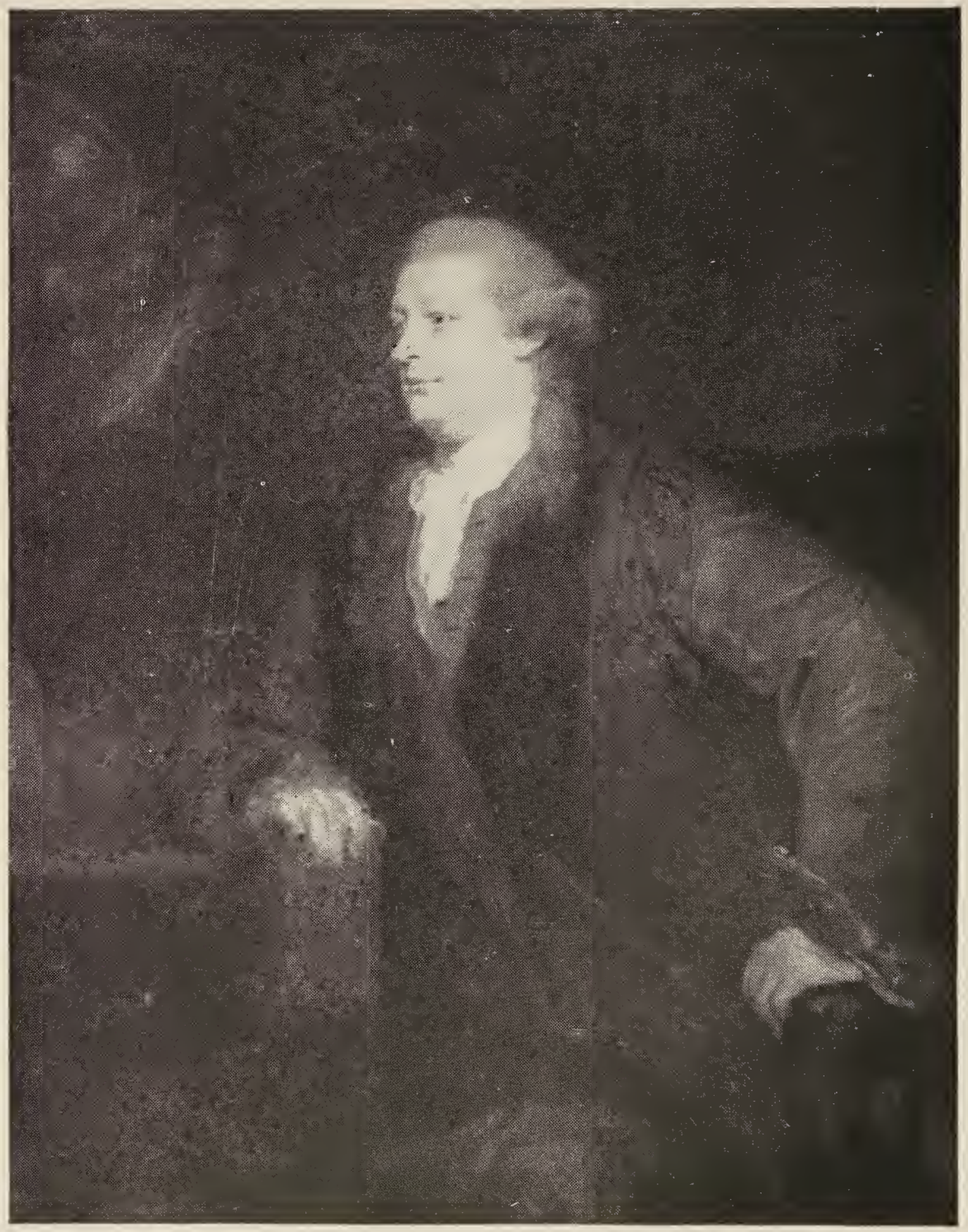


Plate 54 *left* Warren Hastings ; *right* Sir Elijah Impey (from portraits in the National Portrait Gallery)



Plate 55 Muhammad Ali Khan, Nawab of the Carnatic (1750–95), from a portrait by George Willison in the Commonwealth Relations Office, London

Deccan by his presence and talents rather than by force. Though his military success showed what disciplined troops and European methods of war could achieve against the huge untrained hordes of the country rulers, it was the wisdom and urbanity of his methods in handling political problems which won him his eminence in the councils of the Nizam. When Dupleix was recalled de Bussy found his position extremely difficult. The diwan Shah Nawaz Khan now intrigued to get rid of the French, and took advantage of the mild terms de Bussy exacted from Murari Rao to demand his dismissal. Murari Rao from the position of a mercenary leader had set up in a principality of his own at Gooty and behaved as an independent ruler. Balaji Rao and the Nizam were constrained to act against him, and de Bussy was, as always, successful in reducing him to submission. But the terms he exacted displeased the minister and he took the opportunity to get him dismissed. The English were now appealed to for aid, but de Bussy marched to Hyderabad and entrenched himself there to await reinforcements. This was in 1756, and the capture of Calcutta in June by Siraj-ud-daula prevented the dispatch of an English force. Instead French reinforcements fought their way in and de Bussy calmly resumed his position of adviser, not even demanding the dismissal of Shah Nawaz Khan.

Clive in Bengal

After his successful defence of Arcot, Clive had become a marked man. He went to England on leave in 1753, and when he returned in 1755 he bore the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the regular army, which gave him a much better position than before when he had only held a commission in the Company's service. It had been decided to attempt the removal of French influence in the Deccan in conjunction with Balaji Rao the Peshwa, but the scheme came to nothing. Clive and the naval squadron under Admiral Watson which had arrived before, together with one of the King's regiments of foot and additional forces which came with Clive were employed in the successful attack on the Angria stronghold at Gheria on the Malabar coast along with the Mahrattas. Clive then proceeded to Fort St. David, where he had been appointed military governor. But not for long. The position in Bengal had changed with the death of Aliwardi Khan and the accession of his grand-nephew Siraj-ud-daula in

April 1756. Contemporary authorities do not speak well of the new ruler. He was vacillating and no soldier, and seems to have had a better opinion of his qualities than the reality warranted.

It has been suggested that he formed a coherent policy and determined to assert himself against the English because he recognized the possibility of their seizure of Bengal unless he forestalled them. But the Company had then no such intention, and Siraj-ud-daula had not the foresight to look into the future or the statesmanship to bend events to policy. His actions were the result of irresolution and pride. He began with an expedition to Purnia against a cousin, but when on the way received news that the English were strengthening Calcutta against him, when in reality they were preparing for a possible French attack by water, and had done nothing to the defences on the landward side. Indeed Fort William was a fort only in name, and houses and godowns (storerooms) had been allowed to mask the fire of the guns from the bastions. His advance was quite unexpected. The troops were below strength, as all reinforcements had been diverted to the Carnatic, and there was no leader of any consequence in the place. When the army of Siraj-ud-daula appeared before Calcutta there was little that could be done to resist them. The governor and the commandant and most of the women and children took refuge on the ships in the river on the fourth day of the siege. Holwell, the remaining member of the council, was placed in charge, but the place was undefendable and the next day surrendered. The story of the Black Hole has of late been much criticized, but there is no reason to believe that it is an invention. The contemporary evidence is too clear. The Black Hole was the prison of the fort for military offences. It was only 18 feet long and about 15 wide—the night of June was hot and the result of shutting up 146 prisoners, including some women, in it was that the next morning only 23 were alive. The rest had been suffocated. It is possible that Siraj-ud-daula knew nothing about it himself and that it was the action of subordinates, but it has certainly not added to his reputation.

It was the news of this disaster which led to the giving up of the expedition to the Deccan to dislodge de Bussy. In Madras Pigot and Orme decided to send an expedition to the rescue. Admiral Watson was taken into council, and Clive sent for from Fort St. David. He was junior to the officer commanding the King's regiment but was finally chosen to command. It was not until the year was ending that Clive arrived in the Hugli. Siraj-

ud-daula now appeared early in 1757, but a night attack disconcerted him to such an extent that he retreated and asked for terms. The treaty restored the status quo and promised to restore the plunder, while the fortification of Calcutta was agreed to.

It was well that peace was made at this time because news had just arrived of the outbreak of war in Europe and America between France and England—the Seven Years' War. The French in India had their hands tied by their dispatch of what reserves they had to reinforce de Bussy at Hyderabad. The appearance of Ahmad Shah the Abdali in north India caused apprehension of a possible Afghan attack on Bengal, and Siraj-ud-daula now was anxious for English help. Thus the nawab was not disposed to aid the French when the English attacked their headquarters at Chandarnagore, which fell to an attack by sea and land. The nawab displayed his usual irresolution. He first sent a force to relieve the place, but hearing that there was little hope of its holding out, countermanded the order but protected the French at Murshidabad and entered into correspondence with de Bussy for aid against the English. No wonder Clive did not trust him. But there were other forces at work. Aliwardi Khan had favoured the Hindus and the big bankers, the Seths, had been his principal backers. His successor betrayed the utmost folly in his treatment of these men, and even threatened them with circumcision. It was the Seths who were the chief actors in the movement to replace Siraj-ud-daula.

The army was dissatisfied and finally Mir Jafar, who had been dismissed from his post as *bakshi*, was put forward by Amirchand, the agent of the Seths, as an alternative to Siraj-ud-daula as nawab. A treaty was accordingly drawn up by which Mir Jafar undertook, if placed on the throne, to make good all losses suffered by the English, to recognize English rule in Calcutta, to grant territories for the upkeep of a proper military force to support him, and to receive a resident at his court, while of course all the trading concessions already made were confirmed. Amirchand was to have all his losses made good. But this wily merchant had by now obtained redress direct from the nawab, and he began to demand all sorts of concessions including five per cent. of the nawab's treasure. It was decided to muzzle him, for he knew the secret of the plan, by the device of a treaty with two copies —one which included his demands, and one, the real treaty, which did not. This device, abhorent to modern ideas, was considered justified by the nature of the design and the need for secrecy.

But it was even then not in accordance with English ideas of honour. However, Siraj-ud-daula soon knew of the secret, whether through Amirchand or some other is not known. His irresolution was again to be seen. He was afraid to seize Mir Jafar though he knew of his treachery. Clive's forces consisted of 800 Europeans and 2,200 trained sepoys from the Carnatic. At Plassey on the 23 June 1757 he met Siraj-ud-daula's army of 50,000. Clive did not know whether Mir Jafar Ali would join him or not. The enemy, Orme says, presented a 'numerous splendid and martial appearance.' But they did not stand, for after a morning spent in artillery exchanges, when the English advanced in the afternoon and drove the enemy off an eminence near their camp the nawab lost heart and fled saying he was betrayed. It was more a skirmish than a battle, with 65 casualties in Clive's forces and 500 in the nawab's. Mir Jafar had remained inactive but threatening the English right flank, and did not appear until the next morning. He was then escorted to Murshidabad and placed on the throne by Clive himself. Siraj-ud-daula was found and brought before his father by Miran, Mir Jafar's son, and executed. He owed his discovery to a victim of his cruelty, a fakir whose ears he had had cut off. Clive had shown that extraordinary decision of character which distinguished him. The false treaty for Amirchand and the large presents he accepted from Mir Jafar show another side of his character, which betrays the moral standards of the times, and for this he was called in question later.

The settlement of affairs took some time, and Clive supported the Hindu diwan Rai Dulabh, who was distrusted by the nawab, while Ramnarayan the governor of Bihar was suspected of flirting with Oudh. As a result of Clive's intervention he was, however, confirmed on payment to Mir Jafar of nine lakhs of rupees. Clive thus became the patron of the chief personage of the nawab's kingdom. He himself was but the commander of the Calcutta forces, but the Council decided to ask him to act as governor, and he was confirmed in that position by a dispatch from England.

It was in the following year, 1759, that the nawab was given proof of the value of the English support. Ali Gauhar, the future Shah Alam II, appeared before Patna, where Ramnarayan refused to surrender, and, on the arrival of more troops and a force sent by Clive, the prince retired. The nawab's gratitude took the form of the grant of a *jagir* as a personal present. This was the money received for the twenty-four Pargannahs which had been added to the Company's *jagir* in 1757.

The last of the Dutch

The Dutch Company had been watching Clive's progress with apprehension. Their trade had declined, and when Mir Jafar entered into negotiations with them as an alternative to the English the Company at Batavia determined to take action. The force they sent to Negapatam was small, 300 Europeans and 600 Malays. Clive realized the danger, and when they arrived on the Hugli he had prevailed upon Mir Jafar to forbid them to advance. After some delay they seized some English boats, and Clive had the excuse he wanted for acting against them. They were easily defeated on land and sea, and Miran, Mir Jafar's son, who was hovering on the flanks awaiting the result, now turned on the Dutch and blockaded Chinsura. The Dutch had no alternative but to ask for terms, which were such as to limit their power in Bengal.

Having successfully dealt with this danger Clive resigned his position and sailed home at the beginning of 1760.

The French in the Carnatic

The Seven Years' War broke out in Europe in 1756, and in 1757 Clive had rendered the French threat to Bengal ineffective by the capture of Chandarnagore. All the spare Madras troops had been sent to aid Clive in Bengal while the French were occupied with de Bussy at Hydarabad. In 1758 the situation changed with French reinforcements and the arrival of a new commander in the Comte de Lally-Tollendal. Fort St. David was taken by the French. But the real fight for supremacy was fought out at sea, where Admiral Pocock defeated the French commander D'Aché and caused him to sail off to Mauritius, and then in 1759 raised the siege of Madras where Lally was pressing the English hard. This compelled him to retire and Madras was saved. Before this Clive had sent a force under Colonel Forde to the Northern Circars, where early in 1759, after defeating the French, he stormed Masulipatam. De Bussy had been recalled by Lally, but his troops were not withdrawn and under less capable commanders they were defeated. A treaty was made with Salabat Jang and one danger was surmounted. The land war in the Carnatic was conducted with less success, but in the autumn D'Aché once more appeared with his fleet to raise the blockade of Pondicherry where Pocock was patrolling. There was a

stubborn fight in which the French fleet lost more heavily than the English and broke off the action and took shelter under the guns of the fortress. Then after hasty repairs they sailed off to Mauritius, giving up the command of the seas to the English. The final act was the arrival of Colonel Eyre Coote with reinforcements from England. He determined to settle affairs with Lally once for all. Waiting until the French had got involved in the siege of Wandiwash he attacked and completely defeated them, de Bussy being taken prisoner. This paved the way for the siege of Pondicherry itself.

Lally tried to stave off disaster by a treaty with the adventurer Haidar Ali, who had established himself in Mysore, but the aid sent was insufficient and too soon withdrawn. After a siege of several months when the blockade by the fleet shut off all succour or supply the place surrendered in January 1761, and soon every single French possession was in the hands of the English. On his return to France after being taken to England as a prisoner Lally was tried and executed. It was sea power which beat the French in the Carnatic and the lack of finance while funds from Bengal supported the English. The French theory of government was that their Indian possessions should be self-supporting, and the large establishment of troops which their policy in the Deccan necessitated drained their resources on the spot completely dry. Lally himself was perhaps partly responsible for his own ill success. He came out to reform the administration, and for this reason was not popular from the start. His temper too was violent, and he was over-fond of rebuking his officers before their subordinates. His personal bravery was never in doubt, but he paid too little attention to that essential of a general's art, supply.

Bengal between Clive's two Administrations

Holwell the new governor was only an officiating stop-gap, and was not able to deal with the change in the Company's fortunes which needed a stern hand on subordinates apt to take advantage of the possibilities of their new positions. Ali Gauhar was still threatening Bihar, and made a raid on Patna which was beaten off, and the prince finally driven out in 1760. The death of Miran, Mir Jafar's son, at this juncture led to consideration as to the succession to the nawab and this had to be settled by the new governor, Vansittart, who came from Madras and whose appointment was not popular with those members of the Calcutta Council

who had nourished hopes themselves. Mir Kasim, the son-in-law of the nawab, now proposed himself as heir, and Vansittart favoured the proposal and proceeded to Murshidabad to carry it into effect. But the nawab was against it. If it was carried out he considered his life would be in danger. Vansittart was determined and ordered the troops to occupy the palace, and Mir Jafar abdicated and was conducted to Calcutta.

Mir Kasim now became nawab and carried out his promises of handing over the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong to support the Company's troops which were to uphold his rule, while large presents were made to Vansittart and other members of the Council, except the young Warren Hastings, who was unsullied by these transactions. A pension of Rs15,000 was paid to Mir Jafar, and the arrears due for the troops were paid over and formed a very useful contribution for the prosecution of the war with the French in the Carnatic.

But Mir Kasim soon realized the position in which he was placed. He was suspicious of the contact between the English and Ali Gauhar, who now had assumed the title of Shah Alam II on the murder of his father Alamgir II by Ghazi-ud-din Firuz Jang Imad-ul-Mulk. He had made another attack on Patna, but had been defeated by Ramnarayan and Major Carnac in 1761. He now made overtures to Vansittart for support in his effort to recover Delhi, and Vansittart was inclined to assent. This made Mir Kasim anxious lest he should be discarded. His opposition brought this plan to nothing. The next conflict of opinion was over Ramnarayan, whom Clive had once before saved from the jealousy of Mir Kasim's predecessor. He had amassed great treasure, which Mir Kasim coveted for his depleted treasury; moreover he was a protégé of the English, and his fall would show the new nawab's independence. The Council was won over to this view largely owing to their jealousy of Vansittart, and he had not the force of character to make his own view prevail. Ramnarayan was sacrificed. He was displaced and finally put to death.

Having succeeded in these two important tests of his power, the nawab now went further. He resolved to stop the internal trade of the Company's servants, which had amounted to the proportions of a scandal. They were allowed free transit and used this for their own private trade, and even proceeded to sell the privilege to Indian merchants. As Mir Kasim pointed out this made all efforts to collect the customs useless. The old privilege had been free transit for export only, not for internal

trade, but Mir Jafar had extended it and Mir Kasim had acquiesced when he became nawab. This struck at the interests of the members of the Council themselves. Hastings was sent to try and obtain a solution, and obtained a nine per cent. ad valorem duty and Vansittart agreed, but the Council was obdurate. Macaulay has declared that this period 'has left on the fame of the East India Company a stain not wholly effaced by many years of just and humane government.' Mir Kasim was by existing standards a good ruler, but he found he could not discharge his duties when the Company's servants assumed such privileges and abused them to the extent they did. The foremost in claiming and enforcing these privileges was Ellis, the chief of the Patna factory, who had already betrayed his rashness and lack of responsibility on more than one occasion. The capital had been removed from Murshidabad to Monghyr so as to be less under the control of Calcutta.

The nawab obviously determined to resist the encroachments of the Company, enlisted fresh troops, employed European adventurers notably Walter Reinhardt, known as Sombre (Samru), an Alsatian who had once been in the Company's service, and set up an ordnance factory. Ellis behaved in a high-handed manner and arrested officers of the nawab for interfering, as he said, with the Company's trade. He then appeared with a force before Patna demanding to search for deserters. Hastings was sent to mediate and managed to heal the breach for a time. In the latter part of November, however, the Council refused to accede to Vansittart's and Hasting's solution of the private trade question and annulled the agreement. This was followed in 1763 by the abolition of all transit duties by the nawab, thus imperilling the Company's position. Both sides prepared for war. Ellis now felt he had a free hand and behaved with extraordinary folly. The Patna garrison had been increased, and he suspected that preparations were being made to attack him. The final act was the arrest of one of the English merchants and the seizure of a consignment of arms by the nawab's servants. He followed this up by trying to meddle with the loyalty of the Company's troops, and Ellis attacked and occupied Patna. He was soon overpowered, however, and taken prisoner. Amyatt and Hay, the two councillors who had come up to reason with the nawab, also suffered, Amyatt being killed. The nawab sought help from Shuja-ud-daula of Oudh, and the war had begun. Notwithstanding his preparations he had little hope of success. Major Adams at the head of 1,100

Europeans and 4,000 sepoys beat him in two engagements. At Giriah in August 1763 he routed Mir Kasim decisively, and the nawab took revenge by executing his commander and putting to death several of his nobles while two leading Seths were also killed. He ordered Reinhardt to kill the English captives at Patna, and 148, including woman and children, were massacred by his sepoys driven to the bloody act by the hard-hearted villain. Patna was taken by Adams, who pursued the defeated nawab to the borders of Oudh, where he took refuge with Shuja-ud-daula together with Samru and the other Europeans and his disciplined sepoys. Mir Jafar, a diseased old man, was reinstated as nawab on terms which restricted his power considerably. He had to reimpose the transit duties on his subjects and agree to all the old trading privileges of the Company's servants, and he had to pay the expenses of the war with Mir Kasim and pay up all arrears as well. The usual presents were given to the members of the Council, though Hastings took none, and indeed he and Vansittart had been out-voted on the whole policy of the treatment of Mir Kasim. It had been an unhappy affair. A strong Company and a strong nawab obviously could not live together, and though the massacre of Patna is a deep blot on the nawab he had suffered much at the hands of the Company. Possibly a stronger governor than Vansittart might have managed better, but the logic of events was against any settlement except the subordination of the nawab or the Company.

Shuja-ud-daula

Mir Kasim, with his large treasures and his disciplined troops which still remained with him, had now won an ally in the persons of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh and Shah Alam. In 1764 they marched on Patna. Adams had died of the effects of his campaign and his successor was not so active. The allies attacked Patna but were driven off and withdrew to Buxar. Meanwhile a series of mutinies among both Europeans and sepoys reduced the strength of the Company's troops until the new commander, Major Hector Monro, restored order by the most determined methods including the blowing of the ringleaders from the cannon —a well recognized punishment in India but repugnant to all humane ideas. Then in October 1764 he marched to deal with Shuja-ud-daula, Mir Kasim and Shah Alam at Buxar. He had seven thousand men with him, Europeans and sepoys, with the

sepoys preponderating, while the other side consisted of about 40,000, including eight trained sepoy battalions under Gentil and Madec and a European battalion and artillery under Reinhardt, while there were several thousand Mughul horse and some of the Durani horsemen, who had come to India with the Abdali Shah. The result was the defeat of the allies and the flight of Shuja and the break-up of the whole coalition. Fletcher chased Shuja out of Oudh and defeated the Mahrattas under Holkar, who came to his aid, while Allahabad was given up. Shah Alam joined the English and Mir Kasim ceased to be a danger when Samru and his troops took service with Suraj Mal the Jat chief. Thus the interference of Shuja-ud-daula had had no result against the Company, but lost him his country and brought the English up to Allahabad. The position was embarrassing. The plan of restoring the emperor to Delhi and handing over Oudh to him was considered once more, but the greatness of the enterprise led to considerable misgiving. It needed a great man to settle affairs, and the great man was at hand.

Clive's Second Administration

Opinion in England had been against the Company's adventures, and Clive had spent his time in England in gaining control over the Directorate. As a result he went back as Governor in 1765, reaching Calcutta in May. Meanwhile Mir Jafar had died. His son Najm-ud-daula was recognized as nawab by the council, but he occupied a very different position with his ministers selected by the Company. Muhammad Riza Khan was appointed deputy and the nawab had only a shadow of power.

The settlement in Oudh was more difficult. Vansittart had promised it to Shah Alam. The attempt of Malhar Rao Holkar to intervene on behalf of Shuja had been defeated at Kara, and again at Kalpi by the English, and the Rohillas would not aid him. Shuja was thus compelled to throw himself on the mercy of the English. Clive determined to restore him. He recognized that the emperor was not strong enough to stand on his own feet, and that the English would have to maintain him in possession and such a commitment would arouse the greatest opposition at home. Something must be done for the emperor, and he was given Allahabad and Kara. In return for this and twenty-six lakhs from the revenue of Bengal, Shah Alam granted to the Company the *diwani* or right to collect revenue from Bengal,

Bihar and Orissa. This in effect gave control of Bengal without seeming to annex territory. Clive was undoubtedly influenced in this step by the knowledge that the home ministry would not countenance the setting up of the Company as a territorial power, and he hoped to conceal the facts of the situation by this device. It led to all sorts of difficulties as all opportunist settlements must, but at the time it seemed a satisfactory solution of a difficult situation. Shuja paid an indemnity of thirty lakhs. Mir Kasim had escaped to the Rohillas and Samru was out of reach, so the settlement could be accepted with a good grace.

Having settled external affairs Clive now took in hand the reorganization of the civil and military services. The practice of accepting presents from the new nawabs had become a regular affair. Clive himself had, it will be remembered, received a *jagir* of £30,000 a year for the services rendered in expelling Ali Gauhar, but this was considered, by him at any rate, not the same thing, and when the directors sent out orders that no presents were to be accepted by the Company's servants, he insisted on the signing of covenants not to accept presents and went further by importing senior officers from Madras to fill the vacancies on the Council.

This caused an uproar, but Clive was adamant. To improve the pay of the Company's servants, which was small, and to make up for his strict insistence on no presents he formed the salt trade into a trading company in which the civil servants and military officers took shares, and thus their pay was augmented ; but this was later forbidden by the directors, though allowances of less value were substituted, and thus Clive's action bore fruit.

Batta

The question of *batta* or hard-lying money for those on field service (which incidentally was paid to the rank and file up to the end of the Great War), caused more trouble. This had been originally a payment from Indian rulers for the use of the Company's troops and started in the Carnatic. Introduced in Bengal, it had reached high levels, and the directors were determined to reduce it. Clive issued orders reducing the allowances in Monghyr and Patna to half, and double when outside Bengal or Bihar. This was on the Madras scale. The enforcement of these orders led to a combination among the officers, and it was determined to force the hands of the Governor by a general resignation of commissions.

Clive met the situation with his usual decision. He let it be

known he would accept all resignations and import officers from Madras. Ringleaders were transferred at once to Calcutta. Sir Robert Fletcher, who commanded a brigade and was reported to be behind the agitation, was dismissed the service after a court martial in spite of his great services in driving Shuja out of Oudh and against Holkar. This firmness led to the collapse of the officers' mutiny, or the White Mutiny as it has been called. A sum of five lakhs which Mir Jafar had bequeathed to him, and which he was precluded from accepting himself, even if he had wished to do so, by the directors' orders against presents, was formed into a fund for officers prematurely retired through wounds or disease—a most useful benefaction.

The Achievements of Clive

The story of Robert Clive is an example of what single-minded resoluteness can do in stirring times. The talents of this great man would not have come to light in times of peace. He was fortunate in being at hand when events called for a resolute will and unfaltering determination. The son of a country gentleman in Shropshire, he had no influence and was the architect of his own fortunes. In 1747, at the age of twenty-one, the unknown writer who had volunteered when Dupleix attacked Madras became an ensign. The arrival of Major Stringer Lawrence, the founder of the Indian army, in 1748 was the turning point for Clive. Lawrence recognized his worth as a soldier and pushed him on. His capture and defence of Arcot in 1751 with only 200 English and 600 sepoys showed the stuff of which he was made. He was totally without fear himself and inspired his sepoys with his example. It has been considered that the French under Dupleix first employed Indian troops trained on an European model, but the various English factories had long had, besides their companies of Europeans, various companies of peons and *topases* who were gradually formed into fighting troops with English officers and drill sergeants. Stringer Lawrence welded the scattered companies into battalions and formed the nucleus of the Indian army which has done such gallant service all over the world. The first great trial of this army was at Plassey, but at Plassey the success was that of the commander who took the risk of attacking the enemy with an unresolved threat on his flank. The actual fighting was slight and the casualties smaller, a mere 65 in Clive's army and only 500 in the nawab's—but it settled the fate of Bengal. Created

Lord Clive of Plassey on his return, he was the target for attacks by his enemies both in the Directorate and in Parliament while the Committee of Enquiry into affairs in India was both an inquest into his own actions and the Company's condition. It was then he made the famous and complacent statement that he was 'astonished at his own moderation.' From this inquiry resulted the Regulating Act of 1773. The enemies of Clive failed to pass a resolution censuring his conduct, though his financial dealings were recorded, but with the amendment that 'Robert Lord Clive did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country.' His end was tragic. Burdened by disease and worn out by the task of defending himself and cut to the soul by George III's unkind remark about 'Lord Clive's rapine,' he is believed to have taken his own life in 1774.

Verelst's Administration

There has been a tendency to decry the efficacy of the measures Verelst the new Governor took to maintain the system of Clive. Yet they were well considered and not ineptly carried out. In 1767 there was considerable apprehension that Ahmad Shah Abdali, who had returned to the Punjab and was engaged in warfare with the Sikhs, would try to drive the English out of Bengal. Mir Kasim was reported to be in correspondence with him, and the behaviour of the Rohillas was doubtful. The danger, however, passed away but the steps Verelst took to deal with it, should it develop, were sensible enough, especially in his design to raise four regiments of cavalry, an arm in which the Company's forces were entirely deficient. He also maintained against the Directorate's orders the need to keep a force at Allahabad and to hold Chunar as an important post upon the river route to that place. The danger vanished when the Abdali returned to Kabul, though he made another visit in 1768–69, but the Sikh resistance kept him fully occupied and he was compelled by a mutiny of his troops to retire once more and never returned.

Nepal and the Gurkhas

The Raja of Gurkha, Prithivi Narayan, had for some time been engaged in the systematic reduction of the rajas of Nepal. In 1767 Jayaprakash Malla the Raja of Kathmandu appealed to the English for aid as he was besieged. The matter was left to Rumbold, the agent at Patna, and he sent an expedition under Captain

Kinloch with about 2,400 sepoys. The reason was that the Gurkha incursions had brought all trade with the hills and Tibet to a stop, and Prithivi Narayan was threatening the villages of the Terai on the border of Makwanpur and Bettiah. The expedition was badly prepared and supplied, and had to march through the Terai jungle in the rains. They found little provision and flooded rivers, and when Kinloch insisted on pushing on many of his men deserted. The fort of Hariharpur was occupied, but here the expedition was held up by lack of food and a mutinous spirit, and Kinloch had to retreat. He was attacked on his retreat and lost heavily, but contrived to maintain what was left of his troops intact though when they returned to the plains their numbers had dwindled to 800. The expedition was almost a private venture of Rumbold's, and the Commander-in-Chief, Colonel Smith, was not consulted. Notwithstanding this, Kinloch captured several forts on the borders of the Terai to safeguard Bettiah. This was to lead to trouble later. The result of the expedition as far as helping the rajas of Nepal was a failure, and Prithivi Narayan had soon overrun the whole of the country. Efforts to open up trade also failed, as the Gurkhas naturally resented the occupation of their forts. The episode is interesting as the first contact of the English with the Gurkhas.

The Chauth of Bengal

Aliwardi Khan had contracted to pay *chauth* for Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa to Raghuji Bhonsla, and his son Januji demanded it from Clive, who recognized the justice of the demand. Verelst, who inherited the negotiations, recalled the fact that Orissa was included in the territories of the nawab, and that Cuttack must be handed over before the *chauth* could be paid. Negotiations went on for some time, and were interrupted by Januji's hostilities with the Peshwa Madhu Rao. On the conclusion of this war Januji was reluctant to hand over Cuttack, and thus the English agreement to pay sixteen lakhs in lieu of *chauth* was also dropped.

Relations with Shuja-ud-daula

The Nawab Wazir's actions had caused suspicion. He had increased his forces and set up ordnance factories to make munitions of war. A deputation was therefore sent to him in 1768 to ask against whom these preparations were directed. After some argument the Nawab Wazir agreed to reduce his forces to a total

of 25,000. Verelst's action here was firm and productive of good results and settled the Oudh question for some time.

The Nawab Wazir's relations with Shah Alam were, however, not good, and he naturally complained to Verelst that he was precluded from carrying out the office of wazir. He especially wanted the Bengal tribute of twenty-six lakhs to pass through his hands. The deputation which had persuaded the Nawab Wazir to reduce his forces was, however, instrumental in effecting a reconciliation between them, and Shah Alam went to Fyzabad on a visit in 1769. Verelst had sensibly refused to aid the emperor in his designs to regain Delhi, and Shah Alam now turned to Shuja-ud-daula, promising all kinds of concessions and the wazirate for ever. Najib-ud-daula, the Rohilla who was in charge at Delhi, had represented how important it was that the emperor should return, and the latter asked the Company for military support once more. Verelst was in favour, as Clive had promised, though he had later written ' A march to Delhi would . . . be attended with certain destruction to your army and perhaps put a period to the very being of the Company in Bengal.' It was resolved, however, to send an escort of two battalions and some guns—an impolitic decision, as they should have gone in strength or not at all. Actually the expedition was put off for several reasons, one a mutiny in the Nawab Wazir's army, and another the luke-warmness of the Rohillas.

Currency and Revenue

The currency question now demanded serious attention. Mir Kasim is reported to have taken six crores out of Bengal, of which over a million was in specie. The emperor's tribute of twenty-six lakhs was paid outside Bengal, as was the *batta* of the troops at Allahabad, while silver for the China trade was provided in Calcutta. All this was a serious drain, while the French and Dutch companies also sent much bullion home, and the drain of the fortunes made by the Company's servants on retirement was reputed to amount to a large sum, though in actual fact most of this was not in specie but in gems and goods. Verelst tried various currency reforms, including a gold mohur currency, but his efforts though easing the position to some extent did not solve the difficulty.

His revenue reforms in the nature of the case could not be very drastic as the Company was not the collector of the revenue,

but the local officials of the nawab's administration. Still there were things which his experience of revenue administration had forced on his attention, and these he got introduced, namely a more humane collection, the writing down of arrears, the reducing of charges on establishment and the proper registration of *jagirs* and cancelling of those proved to be based on violence or fraud, together with a more careful supervision of the collecting agency. The survey of Bengal under Captain Rennell was completed as far as boundary marking was concerned in 1768. Verelst was against increased revenue rates, and reduced the rates in several districts, but, notwithstanding, revenue demands had increased considerably. He was against extra taxes and proposed their abolition, which was done in Hastings' time, and he wished to introduce a three-year settlement instead of the yearly one in force. In the ceded territories he was able to introduce much needed reforms by abolishing auctions and forbidding farming by Europeans. The rates were reduced. Various lands held on *sanads* or for so-called religious grants were resumed on proving to be fraudulent, and proper measurements and records of rents were kept. The position outside the ceded territories was, however, bad, and the zemindars exacted all they could get. In Bihar special battalions had to be employed to collect the revenue from rebellious zemindars. Accordingly Verelst determined to appoint officers to supervise the collection of the revenue under the Diwani. They were to be Company's servants and first would examine all claims, *sanads*, etc. and make a proper survey and abolish all unjust demands. They were also to be responsible for justice. Eight Englishmen were appointed, and though they did not actually function until Verelst had retired they were his idea. They were to be under the Resident. The idea was sound, but they were expected to do too much and were too few, and so came into the hands of their agents. They failed, but they were the forerunners of better things. They were abolished by the orders of the Directors before they had had a chance.

Verelst was a great admirer of Clive and tried to carry on his principles of administration. But he was not a great man like his predecessor, and was too weak to deal with the system if it could be dealt with. The dual system of division of authority between the Company and the nawab was in reality an impossible position. He dealt successfully with external affairs and tried to make the best of the situation he had inherited, but it needed a Warren Hastings to solve the difficulty which Verelst

was unable to see. Cartier, who succeeded him in 1770 as Governor, found that the system of supervisers would not work, as it was impossible to get details of the various dues from the zemindars and *kanungos*. In 1770 two boards of revenue were set up, in Murshidabad, and Patna for Bihar, but the results were ineffective and the revenue position went from bad to worse. Warren Hastings had an easier task because when he became Governor the Company took over themselves the position of Diwan and responsibility for collection. Thus Hastings had to meet a different situation.

The great famine in Bengal in 1769–70 increased the difficulty of the situation and revenue could not be collected. Verelst had been weak in dealing with the Company's servants and their rapacity, and Cartier was weaker. Things went from bad to worse, and the Company had to approach the home government for a loan to avoid bankruptcy. It was this that led to a determination to put affairs in India on a different footing and led to the sending out of Warren Hastings and the Regulating Act. A special inquiry commission of three supervisors was sent to investigate the revenue position, Vansittart being one, but it never arrived, the ship with all hands being lost at sea.

Haidar Ali

A contributory cause of the Company's financial straits was the war which the Madras Presidency allowed themselves to become involved in. Here the French had been restored by the Peace of Paris in 1763 to Pondicherry. A kind of dual system existed in the Carnatic, where Muhammad Ali played the part that Mir Jafar had played in Bengal and was supported by the Company's forces. The Northern Circars had been handed over by the Nizam, but it was agreed to pay a tribute for them as well as to give a promise to assist him if attacked. The time came when the Nizam decided to ally himself with Madhu Rao the Peshwa in an attack on Haidar Ali, the adventurer who had usurped power from the Hindu kingdom of Mysore. Haidar Ali had increased his territories by subduing the petty rulers of the Malabar coast, and also at the expense of the Peshwa and the Nizam. In 1767 the Mahrattas made their first attack on Mysore and were bought off by Haidar Ali. An expedition under Colonel Smith had been sent to help the Nizam, but he was persuaded to join Haidar Ali and attack his allies. Haidar Ali was defeated

by the Company's trained troops in two pitched battles, but there were disputes between commanders and Haidar's horse raided the Carnatic. Finally he himself slipped past and appeared in person before Madras. Peace was made and the Madras Council agreed to an alliance with Haidar in 1769. The position was complicated by the arrival in 1770 of Sir John Lindsay from England as Crown minister at Arcot. His interference was unfortunate and led to intrigues in which the nawab with his support intrigued against the council in Madras. When the Mahrattas invaded Mysore the same year and besieged Haidar Ali in Seringapatam he appealed to the Madras Council for the help laid down in the treaty. But Sir John Lindsay backed the Nawab of the Carnatic in his objections to assist Haidar, and thus nothing could be done. Haidar had to sign a peace with the Mahrattas under Trimbak Rao, the Peshwa Madhu Rao's commander, and lost half his territories. This naturally incensed him against the English and led to repercussions.

The Mahrattas

After their defeat at Panipat the Mahratta power was curbed and they withdrew from Delhi, where Najib-ud-daula carried on in the name of the emperor. Balaji Baji Rao had died the year of Panipat, never recovering from the shock of the crash of his ambitions. His son, Madhu Rao, aged seventeen, became Peshwa, and his uncle Raghunath Rao acted for him. Madhu Rao asserted himself soon, however, and appointed his own officers, among them Balaji Janardhan as controller of accounts or phadnavis (from which he is generally known as Nana Phadnavis or more usually Farnavis). This did not suit Raghunath Rao, who joined with the Nizam and attacking Madhu Rao at Poona, defeated, and imprisoned him. This struggle in the family of the Peshwa led to trouble with the great Mahratta chiefs, Bhonsla, the Gaikwar and Holkar. Bhonsla joined the Nizam, while Raghunath Rao with the help of Madhu Rao obtained the support of Holkar and the Gaikwar. The result was the defeat of the Nizam. Madhu Rao and Raghunath Rao would have been friendly but for the violent behaviour of the latter's wife, Anandi Bai, who stirred him up. Malharji Holkar died in 1766, and in his place Sindhia began to take the leading place. Madhu Rao now in 1769 finally made himself secure by defeating Raghunath Rao, Holkar and the Gaikwar, and then dealt with Januji Bhonsla.

The two doubtful chiefs Sindhia and Tukoji Holkar were sent to northern India, both to get them out of the way and to see what could be done at Delhi. The Peshwa had now established himself, and his army's defeat of Haidar in 1770 made him the most powerful force in India, but he suffered from consumption and died in 1772 at the early age of twenty-eight. If he had lived he might have bound the Mahrattas into a great kingdom. He was a man of principle and character, a lover of justice and a supporter of the poor. Meanwhile the force sent to the north had dealt with Rajputs, Jats and Rohillas, and now invited Shah Alam to leave Allahabad and the English protection and go to Delhi. Against the advice of the Company's agents he was tempted and went to Delhi, where he was installed formally as emperor at the end of 1771. The death of Madhu Rao led to the withdrawal of the Mahrattas in 1772, but Sindhia had his own plans for the control of the empire.

Chapter XXII

WARREN HASTINGS

The history of the British in India is now bound up with the career of the most remarkable man who ever succeeded to the control of affairs. His actions have become almost the test of the justice of the British connection with India and the intrigues and partial polemics of party politics have coloured the views of historian and public opinion alike. The eloquence of Burke has poisoned the sources of historical judgment for those who are ready to acquiesce in party views or take second-hand opinions for their standpoint ; while the literary talents of Macaulay and the prejudiced speeches of Burke which have so long formed part of the models of English literature in Indian schools have given a very one-sided account of his actions—an account coloured by political prejudice and embittered by party spirit. The difficulties with which Warren Hastings had to contend during part of his administration, a hostile majority on his council, for whose actions he has been made responsible, a government at home who supported his opponents, and presidency councils in Bombay and Madras whose interpretation of the Regulating Act conflicted with the general interests of the administration and faced him with almost impossible situations, make it remarkable that he was able to achieve his great results. Finally the long-drawn out process of his impeachment, conducted in an atmosphere of passion, party intrigue and prejudice which no court of law would ever have tolerated, has left behind an impression of dubiety which even yet tarnishes his great reputation in the eyes of the uninstructed and credulous.

Born in the village of Churchill in Oxfordshire in 1732, the son of a clergyman of good family, he was educated at Westminster School, where his schoolfellows included the poet Cowper and Elijah Impey, afterwards to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Bengal and his great friend. He was clever and popular with his schoolfellows, but when his uncle, the rector of Daylesford, who was his guardian, died, hopes of an university career faded, and his new guardian, a director of the East India Company, obtained for him the position of 'writer' in the Company's service, and in 1750 he set sail for Bengal. The pay of the Com-

pany's servants in those days was very small, even allowing for the changes in the value of money. The President of the Council only received £300 per annum, while a writer only got £5. To this was added his board, but there were facilities for private trade, recognized and above board, which increased this considerably. At the time Warren Hastings came out this privilege brought in large sums, and soon it rose to the proportions of a public scandal. The duties of a writer consisted in keeping of accounts and the supervising of the storekeeping of the merchandise which was brought in by the *gumashtas*. Calcutta had grown considerably, and notwithstanding its malarious situation housed a population estimated at the time Hastings came out as no less than 400,000. The Company's factory, with its storerooms or 'godowns,' was surrounded by walls which formed the Fort of Calcutta, Fort William with a garrison of only two hundred sepoys all told and some *topases* to serve the guns.

In 1753 he was sent to the factory at Kasimbazaar. When this was occupied by Siraj-ud-daulah in 1756 Hastings was made prisoner and taken to Murshidabad while the nawab marched on Calcutta. Hastings thus was not in the disaster which occurred and he shortly afterwards escaped and joined the English in the ships down the Hugli. He took part as a volunteer in Clive's campaign for the recovery of Calcutta. He became resident in the court of the new nawab, Mir Jafar, at Murshidabad after Plassey. He was not only political resident but chief of the factory at Kasimbazaar and also collector of the revenue of the ceded districts—experience which proved of the greatest value afterwards. The list of names of those who received presents for the setting up of Mir Kasim as nawab does not include that of Hastings, who kept himself aloof from these doubtful transactions. In 1761 he was promoted to be a member of the Presidency Council at Calcutta. This was the year of Panipat and the year when Lally had to surrender to the English at Pondicherry, the end both of the Mahratta and the French bid for an Indian Empire.

At Calcutta Hastings was practically Vansittart's only supporter in attempts to curb the other members' rapacity in the matter of inland trade, which assumed such proportions that it threatened the very existence of the nawab's revenue. He was sent to moderate the demands of the excitable Ellis, chief of the Patna factory, and to attempt to arrange with Mir Kasim some *modus operandi*, but his suggestions were turned down by the Council. Another mission, this time in company with Vansittart,

came to an equable arrangement by which the Company's servants' internal trade was to pay a nine per cent. duty to the nawab's customs. The majority of the Council, however, were furious and refused to agree. This led to Mir Kasim's abolition of all dues in internal transit, with the result that the Company's servants' *dustakhs*, which they sold to all and sundry who would pay for the privilege of free transit under the Company's flag, were rendered of no value. In spite of Vansittart's and Hastings' counsels for an accommodation, they insisted on the withdrawal of this obnoxious order, and gave a free hand to Ellis. Hastings, who pleaded the cause of justice, was reviled and insulted and even struck in the Council. We have seen the result—war and the tragedy of the massacre of the English prisoners at Patna in 1763. The reinstatement of Mir Jafar that followed and the lavishing of huge presents on the members of the Council did not include Hastings. Hastings especially was free from blame in this disgraceful episode. The battle of Buxar in the following year freed Bengal from the dangers of a great coalition which had threatened, and Hastings went home in 1765. He had not shared in the prizes of the victory nor had he soiled his hands in the prevailing bribery and corruption. Even Macaulay, a prejudiced witness in all the transactions of the time, was compelled to admit that it was certain that he was never charged with having borne a share in the worst abuses which then prevailed.

He spent four years in England, and then, having lost what savings he had made, applied for further employment in India. In 1769 he returned to India as a member of the Council at Madras. Here he arrived after Haidar Ali had dictated a treaty of alliance to the Madras Council after giving Colonel Smith and the Company's forces the slip. The Madras Council were committed to help him if attacked. In 1770 he claimed that help when the Mahrattas besieged him in Seringapatam his capital. We have seen how the nawab, influenced by Sir John Lindsay, the royal envoy sent to his court from England, refused to collaborate, and the Madras Council were thus unable to fulfil the obligations they had so rashly entered into. Hastings protested strongly against this interference in Indian politics by the government at home. His work at Madras in bettering the conditions of the silk weavers, who had been reduced to a position of almost servitude by the Indian contractors to the Company, not only made their lot more agreeable but considerably improved the finances. Meanwhile the Company because of its great expendi-

ture in the wars with Haidar Ali and others was almost bankrupt owing to bad administration, and appealed to the home government for a loan. Affairs in Bengal under Cartier had gone from bad to worse, and the great famine in 1770 had made matters serious. The directors looked round for a man to restore the position, and Hastings was sent to Calcutta to be second to Cartier and to succeed him when he retired. At the beginning of 1772 he arrived in Calcutta. A few months later he became Governor. His instructions were to reform the administration of the revenue to punish dishonest servants and to replace the inefficient.

Reform

The first two years of Hastings' governorship were easier than those that succeeded, for though he only had a casting vote in the Council his integrity of character and personal ascendancy enabled him to carry the members with him.

His first step following the instructions from home was to take over the revenue administration in Bengal. In the words of his instructions, ' to stand forth as Dewan.' Muhammad Riza Khan, the deputy of Bengal, was removed and Middleton placed in charge. The deputy in Bihar, Raja Shitab Rai, was likewise removed and both were brought down to Calcutta to stand their trial for embezzlement by the Governor himself. These were his instructions from home. The inquiry lasted a long time, but finally both were acquitted, though pursued with the greatest rancour by Nandakumar, who was their bitterest enemy and responsible for many of the charges against them. The next step was to attempt to improve the revenue collection, as Verelst had tried in vain to do. A Committee of Circuit was set up to attempt to get to the bottom of the thorny question of tenures, dues and assessments, but the opposition of the zemindars and the *kanungos* rendered this an impossible task at the time, and Hastings was compelled to restore the practice of farming out the collections to the zemindars, but this time on a five years' basis and with certain safeguards against oppression. The collectors of revenue were forbidden to have any concern with the revenue farming themselves, and all presents were rigorously forbidden. No Englishman could hold any land, and none of the revenue staff could buy or sell grain. This was probably the best that could be done for the time being. As a consequence of these changes the *amils* in the districts were replaced by English collectors and

commissioners over a group of districts. The two Boards of Revenue were amalgamated and transferred to Calcutta as the Committee of Revenue, while the collectors were given the civil powers of magistrates in place of the old zemindars' courts. Courts of Appeal from them were set up in Calcutta, the civil court, the Sadr Diwani Adalat, under the Governor and two senior members of Council, while the criminal court or the Sadr Nizamat Adalat was presided over by the *daroga* appointed by the Governor. Joined with these were assessors learned in Hindu and Muslim law.

The rapacity of the Company's servants was dealt with more delicately. Hastings had been instructed to put down all monopolies held by government servants. These were in all kinds of goods—salt, rice, grain, tobacco, betel nut and other commodities, and acted greatly in restraint of trade. On inquiry it was found that most of these were held by relations or protégés of the directors, and while the monopolies were abolished any further punishment was difficult. His collectors and commissioners failed to effect the improvement he had hoped for, and had to be replaced by Indian *diwans* and *amils* and the Committee of Revenue sitting in Calcutta. The districts were formed into six revenue divisions under a provincial council of five Company's servants to supervise revenue collection and hear appeals in 1774. This revenue settlement was a makeshift, and later the collectors had to be reintroduced. The judicial reforms were followed by the collecting of a code of Hindu laws compiled by ten eminent pandits, which served as a manual for the new court. Aurangzeb's digest already existed for Muslim law.

The police of Bengal needed reformation, as bands of dacoits committed gang robberies with impunity. Hastings took stern steps to repress this lawlessness. The bands of Sanyasis who roamed the country kidnapping and looting were put down by means of a regular campaign, in which regular battalions aided the so-called ' pargannah ' forces, who were unable to deal with them.

Hastings' efforts to lessen the burdens on the cultivator by reducing and abolishing many of the surcharges on revenue demand and by lowering the internal customs dues bore fruit slowly for the famine had rendered collections in many cases impossible. Yet his reforms paved the way to improvement, though the revenue position was still intractable. He had succeeded to a position of chaos and reduced it to measurable proportions. Salt and opium became state concerns, and the

abuses connected with their sale at the hands of monopolists ceased. Perhaps his most remarkable success was the manner in which he managed his Council and got them to agree to his changes, most of which conflicted with their own interests. His reforms were only tentative, and the opposition of the new Council set up by the Regulating Act prevented him from consolidating them.

External Affairs

Bhutan

This hill state had attacked Cooch Bihar, and the raja appealed to Hastings for aid in 1772. The reward for aid was the acknowledgment of the Company's supremacy and the assignment of half the revenues. A force of sepoys was sent and the Bhutanese finally driven back into the hills and compelled to sue for a peace which restored their forts and gave them access to the mart at Rangpur.

Tibet

Connected with this campaign and the prospects of trade with Tibet was the dispatch in 1774 of a young civilian, John Bogle, to the Teshu Lama. The early death of Bogle after he had opened friendly relations with the Tibetans and the departure of Hastings from India put a stop to further developments, and the Chinese overlords were reluctant to encourage relations, while their fears of Gurkha attacks caused them to forbid all intercourse.

Rohilla War

Shah Alam had, it will be remembered, returned to Delhi under the protection of Sindhia at the end of 1771. In 1772 the Mahrattas attacked Rohilkand. Rahmat Khan appealed to Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, for aid, on promise of a contribution of forty lakhs of rupees. This was agreed with the consent of Sir Robert Barker, the commander-in-chief of the Company's forces. The Mahrattas, however, retired from Rohilkand and an immediate clash was averted. The following year the Mahrattas appeared again on the borders of Rohilkand, and the Nawab Wazir and a British contingent under Sir Robert Barker advanced to meet them. No actual engagement resulted, and soon the Mahrattas withdrew owing to the death of Madhu Rao the Peshwa and the dissensions which broke out.

The danger over, the Rohillas repudiated their debt and refused to pay the forty lakhs, as they pointed out that it was not the allied forces which had made the Mahrattas retreat but the death of the Peshwa and the consequent need for them at home. It is clear, however, that if the Oudh and British forces had not opposed them they would again have overrun Rohilkand.

In this connection the British relations with the emperor have to be considered. When in 1771 he went to Delhi at the invitation of the Mahrattas he went against the advice of the Company. Further he handed over to the Mahrattas the districts of Allahabad and Kara, under compulsion it is true. He was entirely in the hands of the Mahrattas, and to continue to pay him the Bengal tribute of twenty-six lakhs meant in fact subsidizing the Mahrattas. This tribute had indeed not been paid owing to the effects of the famine in Bengal, and it was now decided that the emperor's actions had abrogated the agreement. Indeed, the tribute had been given him mainly to support his state and dignity together with the two districts. The districts could not be allowed to pass into the hands of the Mahrattas to whom the emperor had given them and the Company did not wish to entangle themselves any further with more territory. Hastings' foreign policy was largely based on support of Oudh, and therefore it was determined to hand over these two districts to Oudh which had held them before. Oudh was the buffer state against the Mahrattas and any other possible enemy, and it was Hastings' declared policy to support the Nawab Wazir. At the meeting with the Nawab Wazir at Benares in the autumn of 1773 these two districts were accordingly handed over to the nawab, and he paid fifty lakhs to the Company. Military support was also promised in case of need, and the subsidy for a brigade was fixed at 210,000 rupees a month. A secret clause in the treaty of Benares went further than this however. A brigade was promised for use against the Rohillas for their refusal to carry out the terms of their engagement. The cost was to be entirely the nawab's, and he was to pay another forty lakhs as well.

It is clear that Hastings was himself doubtful about hiring out British troops to a foreign ruler to conquer another state, but he allowed himself to be persuaded by the doctrine of the ends justifying the means. It would strengthen Oudh and make it a really effective buffer. Both Hastings and the Council, however, had qualms about the propriety of this action, and finally conditions were added which it was hoped would make the Nawab

Wazir reconsider his design, and at first this was the result. He refused the conditions, and all concerned must have breathed a sigh of relief. But the relief was premature. The nawab changed his mind and demanded the fulfilment of the promise. As a result a brigade was sent under the command of Colonel Champion. The result was a foregone conclusion. At the battle of Miranpur Katra or Fatehpur between Bareilly and Rampur the British forces met the Rohillas under Hafiz Rahmat Khan in April 1774, and after a moment of initial confusion when the Company's horse, caught at a disadvantage owing to the inexplicable manœuvres of Captain Ramsay, were thrown on to the line of the infantry behind by a Rohilla charge, the steadiness of the sepoys, who lost several British officers, restored the position and the Rohillas were completely routed. The Oudh forces, who had taken little part in the fighting, now took up the pursuit, and displayed that cruelty so often seen in the undisciplined armies of the times. It was these atrocities which caused the attacks on Hastings, but there is evidence that he soon brought pressure on the nawab to stop them.

Rahmat Khan was killed at Katra, and Faizullah Khan, the son of Muhammad Ali, who had been set aside by Rahmat Khan in his character of 'protector' of the Rohillas, and who commanded the Rohillas who had retreated towards the Kumaon hills, was only too ready to come to any terms which might be offered. He retained Rampur and the country round, but Rohilkand was handed over to the Nawab Wazir, while some 18,000 Rohillas were transplanted or went of their own accord to the territory held by Zabita Khan, son of Najib-ud-daula, between Meerut and Saharanpur, a transference of population dwarfed indeed by those contemplated in the Europe of to-day, and undoubtedly accompanied by misery and loss, but it was not the wholesale driving away of a whole people which Macaulay and Mill have pictured. The Rohillas were a governing class of foreigners in Rohilkand, and the Hindu cultivators remained and many Rohillas also. Champion himself was responsible for many of the tales of cruelty and rapine, and Champion could have stopped much if he had wished. Personal jealousy was responsible for most of his accusations, and he did not substantiate them later. The incident was seized upon by the enemies of Hastings, and the greatest of these had now come out in the new Council in the person of Philip Francis. To him is due much of the exaggeration which has grown up around the incidents of

the Rohilla war. But the principle remains. The justice of the attack on the Rohillas has been argued time and again. Expediency was all on its side, but expediency is not the basis generally of British policy. It can be understood how in the circumstances of the times and the difficulties with which he was faced Hastings was induced to take the steps he did. It was not only the hiring out of British troops to Oudh in a private quarrel. There were considerations of more importance involved. On a long range view the action was justified, and it probably saved much life and fighting in the long run, but that does not necessarily mean that it was just. Once war becomes an instrument of policy the consequences are often cruel and unjust.

The Regulating Act and the New Council

The different committees which had been set up by Parliament to inquire into the administration of the Company in India, as a result of their application for a loan and also of the charges made against Clive, resulted in the passing of an Act which for the first time defined the duties of the directors, the government and the Company's administration in India. When the Company had only controlled factories and trade round the coasts the privileges granted by charters were enough. Now that the Company was becoming a territorial power some control by Parliament was necessary. The Crown might have taken over the whole administration, but the Crown could hardly become a holder of lands held, even if only by a legal fiction, from the declining Mughul emperor. Indian interests, or rather persons who had won fortunes in Bengal, were exercising their influence in party politics, so some form of regulation was necessary. Lord North's Regulating Act was the sequel to the loan of £1,400,000 paid to the Company to tide them over their temporary difficulties. It altered the connection between the holders of the Company's stock and the directors, between the government in Bengal and the other two presidencies, and to some small extent between the Crown and the Company, but it did not go far enough in any direction.

The machinery at home was the Court of Proprietors and the directors who were elected by it. The qualification for a vote in the Court of Proprietors was raised from the existing £500 worth of stock in the Company to £1,000 ; and only those who had held stock for a year could exercise this privilege, for Clive among

others had bought up stock, or asked his friends to do so, in order to obtain control from time to time. The directors were to be elected for four years, and a quarter were to retire every year. In India the machinery of administration was to be in the hands of a Governor-General and four members of Council, to hold office for five years. Each member had a vote, and the Governor-General had no overriding powers except in case of a tie, when he had a casting vote. Everything was to be decided by the majority vote. The control over the other Presidencies was only in the making of peace or war, not a general superintendence. As to ministerial control, all that was laid down was that the directors had to let the Treasury see all correspondence from India on revenue matters, and one of the Secretaries of State that on military affairs and civil administration. Finally a Supreme Court of Judicature was set up by charter with a Chief Justice and three puisne judges, but nothing was laid down as to its jurisdiction. A curious enactment was the naming of the members of the Council in the Bill. They were Warren Hastings himself as Governor-General, Richard Barwell a member of the existing Council (these two were Company's servants), and three from England. These were General Clavering, a protégé of George III, who was made Commander-in-Chief, Colonel Monson, who had had experience of service in Madras, and was Lord North's nominee, and Philip Francis, who had held a post in what would correspond nowadays to the Home Civil Service. Had it been anyone else but Francis the selection might have worked well, but this man was actuated by malevolence as Macaulay admits, 'in the highest degree arrogant and insolent.' From the first he seems to have cherished the ambition of ousting Hastings and succeeding himself. Clavering was mediocre, as was Monson, and both were hot-tempered. It was a fatal choice, and from the first rendered the Regulating Act incapable of being administered. Had it not been for their opposition, Hastings later remarked, great things could have been achieved.

The Years of Majority Rule

From the time they landed in Calcutta in October 1774 the three members seem to have determined to oppose Hastings in everything. It may be that the cause was the understanding that he was only meant to be Governor-General until he had trained one of them to be his successor. Francis was the most junior but

he was the only really intelligent member, and he declared that he expected to succeed. He had established a mental ascendency over his companions during the voyage out, and the fact that that they were not met by a guard of honour, though the due salute was fired, seems to have added to the hostile opinion they had formed. Hastings met them at his private house and this too annoyed them. For two years from 1774 till Monson's death in 1776 they pursued the Governor-General with insults and personal attacks and reversed all his actions.

The first step was with regard to the Rohilla war. Inspired by Francis that it was a ' war against an innocent nation,' they affected to see in this an act of tyranny and ordered the immediate withdrawal of the British brigade, but at the same time they brought pressure to bear on the Nawab Wazir to pay the forty lakhs stipulated by the agreement. While denouncing the war they insisted on sharing its fruits. Middleton, the Resident in the court of Oudh and Hastings' nominee, was recalled, and first Champion and then Bristow sent to gather evidence against Hastings. A legend of atrocities was now built up—the legend which Burke and then Macaulay has made such play with. The Council was the scene of bitter strife while every detail of Hastings' administration was examined, and, as far as possible, reversed. Hastings fought back with all his skill, but often had to adjourn the Council when passions got beyond bounds. If they expected to drive him out by this behaviour they soon realized that they had underrated both his skill and his patience. ' We three are king,' declared Francis, and the majority proceeded to act with the greatest insolence to all, including the new Supreme Court, where Sir Elijah Impey and three puisne judges from England were now established, and which was determined to maintain against all the dignity and independence of its position. It was an error of judgment on Francis' part to antagonize them, and this had without any doubt its effect later in the Nandakumar case.

Relations with Oudh

The recall of Middleton and the reports of the actions of the new Council filled Shuja-ud-daula with alarm. He feared that the friendly relations which Hastings had established were at an end. His fear and anxiety, it is thought, may have hastened his death, which took place soon after. The succession of Asaf-ud-daula

his son in 1775 was seized upon to make a new treaty under the pretext that the former had been personal to Shuja-ud-daula alone. The protests of Hastings were disregarded. The treaty of Fyzabad increased the subsidy for the troops in Oudh by Rs50,000 per mensem, and took away the means, or some of them, for paying it, by taking over the revenues of Benares and Ghazipur. By Hastings' efforts, however, the independence of the Raja of Benares in his territories was maintained. The outstanding dues to the Company were to be paid immediately. All the treasure of his father was handed over to his widow, amounting to nearly two million sterling, though she had in fact no claim upon it. The Oudh troops mutinied owing to lack of pay and had to be put down with bloodshed. It was now that Rohilkand suffered from exactions and tyranny mainly owing to the demands of the very men who had affected such horror at the war. An attempt by the majority to get Champion and other officers to bear witness to Hastings' responsibility for the so-called atrocities in Rohilkand failed because there was no evidence. Francis and the others therefore turned to other agents.

Nandakumar

The agent was found in Raja Nandakumar, who had intrigued against the Company and against Hastings on many occasions, but had been used in the case against Muhammad Riza Khan for peculation. He was disappointed that he had not been appointed deputy of Bengal when Muhammad Riza Khan was dismissed. The charge he brought forward in company with Joseph Fowke, one of General Clavering's supporters and a Company's servant of no good reputation, was that Hastings had received a bribe of Rs354,100 for making Munni Begam, widow of Mir Jafar, guardian of the young Nawab of Bengal. There were other charges. He was accused of sharing in the plunder attributed to Muhammad Riza Khan and taking a bribe to acquit him. The majority resolved to hear the raja with witnesses in Council in the presence of the Governor-General. Hastings declared such a proceeding unconstitutional, and Bàrwell suggested that it should be referred to the Supreme Court. The majority would not hear of any other procedure, and Hastings adjourned the meeting and left the Council chamber, but Clavering was voted to the chair and the inquiry commenced with the production of a letter purporting to be from the Begam testifying to

payment of sums to Hastings through Nandakumar. The signature, however, did not tally with another from the same lady, but Francis and his party were satisfied, and passed a resolution that ' there is no species of peculation from which the Governor-General has thought it reasonable to abstain.' They then declared the charge proved and ordered Hastings to pay the money back to the Treasury. Hastings was always somewhat evasive about this sum of Rs354,100, because he had received from the Begam as entertainment money for his visit to Murshidabad the sum of Rs150,000. This was apparently the usual payment of £225 a day which Clive and Verelst had received, but presents had since then been forbidden, though he regarded it as an allowance due his position. This undoubtedly was the ground for Nandakumar's otherwise malicious charges. Actually these charges were not proceeded with. Hastings, Barwell and George Vansittart brought against Nandakumar, Fowke and another a charge of criminal conspiracy to procure another man to charge Hastings and Barwell with receiving other bribes.

It was while this charge was being tried that a private person on a private matter which had been going on for some considerable time brought a case of forgery against Nandakumar. This was tried by the Supreme Court under Sir Elijah Impey and a full bench, and Nandakumar, in accordance with the evidence, was found guilty and condemned to death, for forgery was a capital offence. All sorts of tales have been built on this transaction : that Hastings was behind the prosecution, that Sir Elijah Impey, his old school friend, twisted the rules of justice to destroy the evidence against his friend. Burke with his usual eloquence declared—in Parliament, where the statement was privileged—that Nandakumar was hanged to prevent him witnessing against the Governor-General. But the suit was of old standing and was only taking its natural course. It had begun as early as 1772, and was pursued without reference to other events. There is no reasonable doubt that the trial was fair and that this was not a trumped up charge. The real point at issue is why the sentence against Nandakumar was not suspended until the charges against Hastings before the Council had been dealt with in full. The three members of Council had used all kinds of intimidation to prevent an adverse verdict, and had even sent threatening letters to two of the judges, though Mr Justice Chambers was a friend of Francis, and his own brother-in-law had empanelled the jury. But when the verdict was given they did nothing. A letter from

Nandakumar to Clavering before his execution was not opened and afterwards burnt. They lifted no hand. Hastings had no power of reprieve.

It is probable that Francis at any rate realized that the death of Nandakumar would do Hastings more harm than any evidence he could ever give. This is a hard accusation to make, but it is justified by the character of Francis. The law by which forgery was a capital offence was an English law, but the Supreme Court administered English criminal law, and Impey examined all the precedents—there was only one in India—and laid down that it applied. Undoubtedly the interference with the judges by the majority influenced him here. The Calcutta High Court from the start has always cherished its independence from the executive, indeed has jealously maintained it. There is no doubt that on all considerations of humanity and justice the sentence should not have been carried out. Sir Elijah Impey himself in 1787 was impeached by Sir Gilbert Elliot, afterward Governor-General as Lord Minto. Nandakumar's case formed one of the six charges, and was the only one proceeded with. The case broke down completely and Impey triumphantly vindicated himself, and though the matter was complicated by party passions and the eloquence of Fox and Burke, Impey was cleared by 73 to 55 votes.

The majority had before this upset Hastings' arrangements for Bengal. Munni Begam had been deprived of her guardianship and Raja Gurdas, Nandakumar's son, whom Hastings had made her steward, was appointed in her place. The post of deputy or Naib was restored, and the administrative reforms of Hastings were reversed. Muhammad Riza Khan was appointed Naib.

Bombay and Madras

The Regulating Act had given the Council in Calcutta some powers over the other presidencies, but here too it broke down. Raghunath Rao, known in English records as Raghuba, was the second son of the Peshwa Baji Rao ; he was brother of Balaji Baji Rao, and the uncle of the Peshwa Madhu Rao. On the latter's death in 1772 his brother Narayan Rao succeeded as Peshwa and Raghunath Rao was soon imprisoned once more. A military plot led to the assassination of Narayan Rao, and Raghunath Rao was invested by the Satara descendant of Sivaji as Peshwa in 1773. He was successful in a war with the Nizam, but was defeated in diplomacy and restored all his gains. He

was contemplating interference in the Carnatic, but opposition arose against him in Poona with Nana Phadnavis (Farnavis) as the chief conspirator. The birth of a son to the widow of Madhu Rao was the final blow to the influence of Raghunath Rao, who thus lost his position. He at once turned to the authorities of Bombay for assistance and negotiations were opened without reference to Bengal. They were afraid of Salsette falling into the hands of the Portuguese, who were reported to be about to attack Bassein, and they asked Raghunath Rao to hand it over to them in return for their aid. Raghunath Rao, however, would not agree to this, and had hopes of enlisting the Gaikwar on his side. The English, in order to forestall the Portuguese, attacked Salsette and captured the main fort at Thana at the end of 1774.

Raghunath Rao, with his usual vacillation, now entered into further negotiations, which resulted in the treaty of Surat in 1775. Salsette and Bassein were to be handed over permanently, and the revenues of Broach and Surat were to be shared. Mahratta attacks on Bengal and the Carnatic were to be stopped, and Raghunath was to pay six lakhs as security. In return for this the Bombay authorities were to supply a force of 2,500 for employment against his enemies. Colonel Keating was given the command, and with the assistance of Raghunath's troops defeated the Poona troops at Adas. The Bombay fleet at the same time defeated and destroyed the Mahratta sea forces. This was the signal for Fateh Singh Gaikwar, who was in opposition to his brother Govind Rao, who was supported by Poona, to join the allies. Then came orders from Calcutta to discontinue their support of Raghunath and withdraw their forces.

This was done contrary to Hastings' advice and in the face of the arguments of the Bombay authorities, who claimed that their action was not contrary to the Regulating Act, and that a withdrawal at this time would be fatal. But the majority were determined, and Hastings' opposition convinced them they were right. They sent Colonel Upton, a man quite ignorant of the situation, to Poona to make peace with Nana Phadnavis and the regency. Nana Phadnavis was surprised at the change but ready to take advantage of it, and refused to agree to the surrender of Salsette, and demanded that Raghunath should be handed over. Keating retired to Surat, and then the Council at Calcutta recognized their blunder and threatened a renewal of hostilities. This threat was enough, and the treaty of Purandar was the result. Salsette was given up and other concessions made, while twelve

lakhs was to be paid to cover the cost of the operations. Raghunath was to disband his army and retire into private life with an adequate pension. This betrayal of an ally was bad enough, but actually the treaty was never implemented. Raghunath Rao refused to agree, and was protected by Keating at Surat. Later dispatches from England arrived approving the treaty of Surat, and further dispatches were received disapproving of the treaty of Purandar, with instructions to support Raghunath if the Poona government did not carry out the terms. Thus things were confused, and the first attempt to carry out the terms of the Regulating Act as regards the other Presidencies showed how unworkable they were. Thus the first part of the Mahratta war ended uncertainly.

The next stage opened in 1778 with dissensions in Poona, and Nana Phadnavis was compelled to flee. The new party in control now turned again to Raghunath Rao, and the Bombay authorities with whom he had taken shelter again promised to help. Hastings, who now had control of his Council, did not interfere, as it was the policy he understood the home government to favour. Nana Phadnavis had, however, won the support of Holkar with a gift of nine lakhs and re-established himself in Poona. He was asked to carry out the terms of the treaty and to send away a French envoy who had arrived from France. When he delayed war was resolved on. The Bombay expedition was under the command of Colonel Egerton, but he was accompanied by two commissioners and Raghunath, who was to be reinstated in Poona. The whole expedition was wretchedly mismanaged. Egerton resigned and Cockburn succeeded him. The force with its huge train of 19,000 baggage oxen reached the top of the Ghats at Talegaon and found a large Mahratta force waiting for them. Cockburn was for abandoning the unwieldly train and pushing through the twenty miles to Poona, but the commissioners refused to agree, and a disorderly retreat began with the burning of the stores and the throwing of the artillery into a tank. The retreat was followed up by the Mahrattas, and at Wadgaon, three miles away, it was determined to enter into negotiations. The Convention of Wadgaon showed the folly of entrusting civilians with the direction of an army. Raghunath escaped to Sindhia, but by the terms all territories taken since 1773 were to be surrendered, the handing over of Broach to Sindhia and the giving of hostages was agreed, while the advance of the army from Bengal which Hastings had dispatched was to be stopped. The commissioners had no authority

to conclude a treaty, of course, and it was not observed. Meanwhile the Bengal force was on its way and reached Surat under Colonel Goddard in February 1779—a most remarkable march across India which had a great effect. He was given the command of the Bombay troops as well. Nothing was done for a time, and negotiations were again opened with Nana Phadnavis. But the least he demanded was the surrender of Raghunath, once more back with the English, and the handing over of Salsette.

Sindhia was now emerging as the leading Mahratta personality as Raghunath Rao no longer counted, and the main protagonists were the Poona authorities, the English, and Sindhia. When news came of a proposed alliance between the Mahrattas, the Nizam and Haider Ali against the English, General (as he now was) Goddard entered into an agreement with Fateh Singh Gaikwar as a make-weight to Sindhia in Gujarat and early in 1780 captured Ahmadabad. Now Holkar and Sindhia came to help the Peshwa, though Sindhia affected to be willing to enter into an arrangement. The result was that Goddard attacked the Mahrattas and inflicted heavy losses upon them but no definite defeat. The Nizam and Haider Ali had invaded the Carnatic and the expenses of the war were heavy. Hastings determined on an attack from a new direction, and sent Captain Popham with a force to the aid of the Rana of Gohad against Sindhia. This resulted in the capture of the fort of Gwalior, hitherto considered as impregnable. This made Sindhia leave Gujarat immediately and hurry back to protect his interests in the north.

Goddard now laid siege to Bassein, which fell in December. Sindhia was defeated at Sipri by Major Camac and his ally the Rana of Gohad. This offset the reverse suffered by General Goddard in an advance on Poona at the hands of Holkar and the Nana's troops at Bhor Ghat. Sindhia was jealous of Holkar's success, and was convinced that the English were worth supporting, and so he came to terms. It was determined to use Sindhia's good offices to make a treaty with the Mahrattas. The instructions for this were issued by Hastings from Benares in the midst of the trouble with Chait Singh, and are an example of his devotion to duty and imperturbability even in the midst of danger. Mahadaji Sindhia was the agent of the treaty of Salbai, the most important of all the treaties since Buxar, which settled for many years the relations of the Mahrattas with the Company and recognized the position of the English in Indian politics. The treaty was signed in 1782, though the Nana put off his consent until

nine months later, hoping that something might happen. Bassein and territory in Gujarat was restored to the Peshwa, but Gwalior was kept by the Rana of Gohad. Raghunath Rao was to retire with a pension, and Haider Ali was to be induced to restore all conquests in the Carnatic. It was actually not till Haider Ali had died in December 1782 that the Nana signed. The Mahrattas were to allow no other nations to set up factories, and to have no connection or intercourse with any other European nation. Trade between the Company and the Mahrattas was to be free. Mahadaji Sindhia obtained other advantages. He got a free hand with Delhi, and soon was able to recover Gwalior from the rana. Hastings also transferred to him the revenues of Broach.

Haider Ali and the Carnatic

The affairs in Madras centred round the arrangements with Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of Arcot, for paying off his debts to the Company. These debts became the main interest in Madras. and were a matter of scandalous manipulation in which Benfield, who was an engineer under the Madras Government, arranged loans to pay off the debt and involved most of the Madras officials in the doubtful transactions.

Affairs in the Carnatic were complicated by the engagement of the Madras Government to help the Nizam with troops in return for the assignment of the Northern Circars, and their treaty with Haider Ali. A further complication was the arrival of Sir John Lindsay with a naval squadron and secret instructions from the Crown—not the directors—to support the Nawab Walajah Muhammad Ali. This led to an impossible situation. Lindsay and later his successor Sir Robert Harland were insistent on an alliance with the Mahrattas against Haider Ali. This was avoided, but Muhammad Ali, backed by Harland, was able to win the Madras Council's assent to an attack on the Raja of Tanjore. In 1773 Tanjore was annexed by Muhammad Ali. This caused great indignation in England, and Lord Pigot was sent out as governor to restore Tanjore to its raja. Pigot was familiar with Indian affairs, having been governor of Madras before, and he determined to act with vigour. He found the greatest opposition from Benfield and all those interested in the nawab's finances. Sir Robert Fletcher, whom we have noticed before as involved in the White Mutiny at Patna, was commander-in-chief and headed the

opposition, and Pigot was outvoted by his council. This opposition led to a conspiracy to seize the person of the governor, and in 1776 he was actually arrested and imprisoned, dying when still under restraint a year afterwards. The surprising thing about this is that no punishment was inflicted on the perpetrators of the conspiracy. They were tried before the King's Bench, but only fined £1,000 each, while Benfield was allowed to return to India.

Now Sir Thomas Rumbold was sent out as governor and Sir Hector Munro, the victor of Buxar, as commander-in-chief. When the French joined in the war of the American colonists in 1778 a new danger was added to the position. Munro immediately captured Pondicherry, but Rumbold's policy over the Circars and the tribute of nine lakhs due in times of peace was so tortuous that the Nizam grew greatly incensed against the English. Mahé on the Malabar coast was next attacked and taken from the French, and this brought Haider Ali into the picture, for he affected to regard it as under his protection. Having offended both the Nizam and Haider Ali, Rumbold now went home disregarding the danger from Haider Ali and considering that the arrival of a Highland regiment in Madras would prevent him from declaring war. John Whitehill was left in charge, a man of doubtful honesty and little genius. It was at this juncture that Haider Ali acted in the summer of 1780. Munro was old and slow, and as a result of his indecision Colonel Baillie and a detachment was cut off at Polilur and Munro retreated in disorder. Then and not till then was an appeal made to Hastings. His response was immediate. The commander-in-chief, Sir Eyre Coote, was sent to take command and supersede Whitehill, while a body of European troops sailed with him and other troops were sent by land. Sir Eyre Coote was popular and soon restored confidence. He also defeated Haider Ali at Porto Novo, Polilur and Sholingarh, but owing to his lack of mobility and cavalry could not drive him out of the Carnatic. The war dragged on and disputes arose between the new governor Lord Macartney and Sir Eyre Coote and the Governor-General himself. The main cause was the administration of the Carnatic finances, which Macartney assumed himself. This aroused great opposition from Benfield and his friends, while Coote was antagonistic to the governor. It placed Hastings in a difficult position, and finally he ordered Macartney to restore the control of the revenue to the nawab. Macartney refused. The French at sea were under the command of the great sailor

Admiral Bailli de Suffren. The English admiral, Sir Edward Hughes, was also a competent commander, and the struggle for control of the seas was long and hard, but de Suffren gradually won the upper hand. Sir Eyre Coote, returning from Calcutta, was chased by a French frigate, and the experience brought on a stroke from which he died at Madras in 1783. This sad end of a gallant soldier was perhaps fortunate, for the quarrel with Macartney which was damaging to the English cause now came to an end.

Meanwhile the Bombay Government had dispatched an expedition to Mangalore and Tipu, Haider Ali's son, had been sent to deal with it. During his absence Haider Ali died in December 1782. Tipu soon restored the situation on the west coast, and Brigadier Mathews and most of his troops, scattered all over the country, were captured. A large French expedition under the aged de Bussy landed at Cuddalore in April 1783, only to find that Haider Ali was dead and most of his forces with Tipu. Stuart, the new commander, advanced slowly to attack him, and for a time with his flank protected by the ships under Sir Edward Hughes won some success. Then Suffren attacked and seriously damaged the English squadron, which had to withdraw to refit, and the position became dangerous. An attack by de Bussy was beaten off, but Stuart feared the most serious consequences if it should be renewed with the support of de Suffren. The English were saved by the news of peace with France, which de Bussy agreed to observe, and thus escaped in India what they had suffered at Yorktown two years before.

Now the Company was free to deal with Tipu, and at last decided to attack him in his own country. Stuart was removed from his command and a force sent to attack the southern possessions of Tipu. Dindigul and Dharapuram were captured, and preparations for a further advance were being made. By this time the Mahrattas had made peace and negotiations were opened with Tipu. In the interval Cannanore on the west coast and Coimbatore had also been captured from Tipu's commanders, but Mangalore, defended by Colonel Campbell, had surrendered to Tipu himself, and a treaty was concluded which restored the status quo. This treaty was concluded on the initiative of Macartney, and Hastings strongly disapproved of it. Tipu did not release all the prisoners—he retained those who had, from force or a desire to obtain better treatment, accepted conversion to Islam. Indeed, he behaved in a most insolent manner as he believed he had won

the war. Macartney's difficulties were added to by the usual dispute as to the relative seniority of the King's and Company's officers. When Stuart was sent home a Company's officer was appointed commander-in-chief with the rank of Lieutenant-General. This touched the pride of all the senior officers of the King's regiments, and all withdrew, so that the new commander might not have the difficulty of issuing orders to men actually senior to him. Macartney showed a lack of commonsense in dealing with this, and arrested the senior officer, Sir John Burgoyne, and stopped the staff pay of the others. The dispute was only settled by a compromise, by which the King's officers were given letters of authority while employed in India, and these letters could be withdrawn. Lord Macartney was in a difficult position in Madras. His difficulties were largely due to the vagueness of the Regulating Act. Finally when his solution of the revenue question was countermanded by the directors he resigned in 1785.

Chait Singh of Benares

These wars which had been undertaken largely without the knowledge or approval of the Governor-General, had involved the Company in great expenditure—an expenditure for which Hastings was hardly responsible.

Bengal had sent to Madras no less than 265 lakhs altogether for the expenses of the Mysore war. Hastings had to resort to all kinds of devices to raise the money, and the sum required for the Company's trading requirements known as the investment, generally found from the revenues, had to be raised by private subscription. When the war with Haider Ali broke out in 1780, and urgent appeals for help were sent to Calcutta, Hastings hardly knew where to turn. He had already demanded that the Benares revenues should pay more, when the French declared war in 1778 in connection with the American War of Independence. The money was not punctually forthcoming, and in 1780 Hastings himself determined to visit Benares. There is no question here but that he was legally justified in his demands. Chait Singh had been allowed as an act of grace to retain the administration of Benares, but the revenues had been properly made over to the Company and were compounded for by a fixed annual payment of $22\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs—not an excessive settlement. The demand was not, however, permanent. Chait Singh actually did pay the extra



Map 19 India in 1785

East India Company's territories stippled
French territories underlined twice

demand for three years, and Hastings' visit was an attempt to extract more from the only source he knew capable of providing it. His excuse must be the desperate situation in which he found himself for money to carry on the war with Mysore. It was a reckless proceeding. He went to Benares, refused to listen to the raja's explanations, put him under arrest, and then when his small escort was cut to pieces by the raja's troops fled to Chunar in such haste that it has been perpetuated by a famous rhyme about howdahs on horses and saddles on elephants.*

The raja had escaped and collected a large force not far from Chunar, but Popham and others soon came to Hastings' rescue. Chait Singh, by no means the suppliant creature which he has been represented, withdrew to the fortress of Bijaigarh, but his conscience must have been at work, for he fled with some of his treasure to Gwalior. His evasions and delay had undoubtedly brought upon him a punishment quite out of proportion to his offence, for his territory was conferred on a nephew and the revenue demand increased to almost double. Hastings had in this affair acted with rashness and a marked lack of consideration, but the pretence that Chait Singh was a submissive victim of a tyrant's power will not bear examination. He had tried the usual tricks of procrastination, evasion, delay, and misrepresentation which were so often successful with the authorities of Oudh, but did not pay with a man of Hastings' temper.

The Begams of Oudh

Disappointed of his hopes from Benares, Hastings now had no other resource but to demand from Oudh the debt of fifteen lakhs still due. Asaf-ud-daula had not the funds available, and suggested putting pressure on his mother and grandmother, the Begams of Oudh, to give up to him the treasure of his father Shuja-ud-daula which these ladies had appropriated on his father's death. This represented practically all the treasure which should have been left to Asaf-ud-daula, but the ladies had refused to give it up, and he was too weak to insist. After much argument they had agreed to give a small part to Asaf-ud-daula, and Bristow, the then Resident, had been party to an engagement that no more should be demanded of them. But the Begams had undoubtedly been more than favourable to Chait Singh's revolt, and maintained an almost

* 'Ghora par howdah, hathi par zin
Jaldi bhagaya Warren Hasteen.'

independent state at Fyzabad, from whence they sent assistance to Chait Singh. The Nawab Wazir went to see Hastings at Chunar, and it was agreed that he might resume the *jagirs* which had been given to the Begams, and more immediately important, repossess himself of his father's treasure. It was the agent of Clavering, Monson and Francis who had made the engagement to acquiesce in the Begams' retaining this money, and Hastings had been against it from the first. Now that he had regained control of the Council he felt he was not bound by Bristow's act even though the Council had agreed.

Having returned to Lucknow, however, the weak Asaf-ud-daula began to change his mind and feared his mother's violent temper. Middleton the Resident was instructed to confirm his wavering spirit. The *jagirs* were finally resumed in 1782, and some of the money made over, but much was still concealed, and pressure was put on the two eunuchs who were the Begams' stewards to reveal it. They were imprisoned by the Nawab Wazir, and their imprisonment was for a time severe with fetters and starvation diet but not flogging, as has sometimes been alleged. Finally after a year's imprisonment they were released on Hastings' own intervention. The whole episode has been coloured by the rhetoric of Burke and Fox and Sheridan, without much care for the facts, and of course it served Macaulay, who could never resist a purple patch. But Hastings' acceptance of ten lakhs from the Nawab, which was undoubtedly a personal present, though used by Hastings for public expenditure on war account, has placed a more doubtful aspect on all these transactions. It was undoubtedly meant for a bribe to escape proceeding with action against the Begams, and acceptance was as undoubtedly interpreted by the Nawab Wazir as an act which absolved him from proceeding further. This money was not meant as part of the payment of the fifteen lakhs, and the whole transaction is unsavoury and explains, as other similar transactions, much of the ground for the impeachment of the Governor-General later. The fact that Hastings did not know where to turn for money and the desperate situation in which the whole of the English power in India was placed by the French expedition and the state of affairs in Europe, where the English stood alone against a confederation of the most powerful powers in addition to the revolted colonies in America, explains but does not excuse these transactions.

Hastings and the Council

It is now necessary to go back and trace the steps by which Warren Hastings escaped from the animosity of the majority in his Council. It has been seen how his every action was opposed and criticized during the two years 1774 to 1776, during which years the responsibility for the administration was never his. It was during this period that for a short time he despaired of being able to survive the opposition and malignity of his opponents, and gave his agent Colonel Macleane authority to hand in his resignation should he fail to win support at home. This authority, however, he soon withdrew, as he was not of the temper to give up thus tamely. Lord North, the head of the disastrous ministry which brought England so close to complete disaster, was in favour of Clavering, Monson and Francis, the men he had sent out, and in 1776 the directors had been won over to ask for Hastings' recall. The Court of Proprietors, however, was firmly in favour of Hastings, and would not agree. Then Clavering was made a K.C.B. and Hastings received no corresponding honour, thus showing that North was resolutely opposed to the Governor-General. Macleane now handed in Hastings' resignation to the directors, though Hastings had withdrawn it. It was eagerly accepted, and Clavering was appointed to succeed him.

Meanwhile Monson had died and this left Hastings with his casting vote with a majority in the Council. His position was naturally much improved, and he began to carry out some of his most cherished plans. But when the news came from home that his resignation had been accepted, Clavering as next senior, acted with unseemly haste and demanded and took the head of the Council table. This led to disputes, and the matter was referred to the Supreme Court, who ruled that Hastings had not resigned. Clavering was so disappointed in his hopes that he never recovered; he died from an attack of dysentry in the middle of 1777. Wheler, who had been appointed to succeed Clavering on the Council when he succeeded as Governor-General, was subsequently appointed to succeed Monson, and Warren Hastings remained as Governor-General. The directors and the ministry had been too quick in accepting his resignation at second hand, though he himself said that if Clavering had acted with ordinary decency he would have given way to him. Lord North's support was for Clavering and not for Francis. Consequently when Clavering died North took no more interest, and most important of all he

realized that in the dangers to which England was subjected, with the French now aiding the revolted colonies, a man like Hastings who had already showed his skill should not be removed. Further the supporters of Hastings in England had now agreed to support the ministry at home, so opposition to him died away at the same time as support for Francis weakened. The latter now saw his hopes had failed. But first came the episode of the duel. Francis had agreed not to oppose while Barwell went home to England, or Hastings believed he had agreed. When Barwell had gone in 1779 the opposition still continued, and Hastings made an imputation against Francis's honour before the Council. This led to a challenge, and the duel in which Francis was wounded. When he recovered he went home, there to continue his inveterate quarrel with the Governor-General. This was in November 1780. The new commander-in-chief was Sir Eyre Coote, who though a somewhat violent colleague could generally be won over to see reason. Wheler at first sided with Francis, but gradually came over to support Hastings' views. When Sir Eyre Coote was away and Francis had left, Wheler was the only other member of the Council, and it was then that the episodes of Chait Singh of Benares and the Begams of Oudh occurred. Two more members came out later, John Macpherson in November 1781 and Stables in 1782. Neither was a man of much talent but in the main followed the Governor-General's lead.

Dispute with the Supreme Court

The disputes with the Supreme Court arose from the lack of definiteness in the Regulating Act. The authority of the *Sadr Diwani Adalat* was disputed, and the rights of the Company officials in their official acts—a matter of immunity. The matter which brought things to a head was the Kasijora case in 1780, in which the Supreme Court issued a writ against the Raja of Kasijora, who was a zemindar, in the revenue sense, of the Company. The Council held that in revenue matters the Supreme Court had no jurisdiction. The officers of the Supreme Court sent to arrest the raja when he refused compliance according to the advice of the Council, and who behaved with great violence, were themselves arrested by a company of sepoys. The whole dispute was whether the Supreme Court had authority over the Company's servants acting on their official duties. Hastings met

the difficulty by making the Chief Justice head of the *Sadr Diwani Adalat*. The immediate results were good—the procedure of the revenue courts and the provincial councils were greatly improved —Impey's own work. It has been objected that this was putting the Chief Justice in an invidious position, but the objections are largely theoretical, and the plan worked. However, the whole matter was the subject of a charge against him, and he was recalled in 1783 for accepting this office which subordinated the Chief Justice to the Executive. He was impeached by Sir Gilbert Elliot (the future Earl of Minto) in 1787 for this, the Nandakumar case, and on other charges. The Commons, however, defeated the motion for impeachment and it fell to the ground. The result of the original dispute, however, was the Act of 1781, which laid down the immunity of the Governor-General and the Council for their public acts, nor was the Supreme Court to have jurisdiction over the revenue collection. The question of jurisdiction over Calcutta inhabitants was settled with the provision that the Hindu and Islamic laws with regard to inheritance and family law were to be followed.

The collection of revenue had been a recurring difficulty, and Hastings' attempts to put it on a more permanent basis were frowned on from home. Finally in 1781 a Committee of Revenue was set up to control the collections and the provincial councils were abolished, while the collectors were restored but their powers were subordinated to the Committee of Revenue. Shore was one of the four members of the Committee, and all were men of experience, but the scheme suffered from over centralization.

Hastings' interest and encouragement of Indian learning was shown by his foundation of the Calcutta Madrasa, and before he left he helped to found the Asiatic Society with Sir William Jones, the great Orientalist, the new Chief Justice of Bengal as its first president. His encouragement of Sanskrit learning was first due to the need to produce a corpus of Hindu law with the help of the learned pandits of Benares, which soon after he left led to the foundation of the famous Sanskrit College. It was he who first mooted the idea of a college for the training of officers for the Company's service, which ultimately led to a proper system. He laboured to improve the prospects of the officers by a system of allowances to counteract the temptations of private trade or other ways of making up the small salary offered. There were indeed few departments of government or spheres of life with which this remarkable man did not concern himself. His genius was obvious,

and though perhaps his consciousness of his own talents made him slow to recognize efficiency in others unless it chimed in with his own views, that is often the defect of men of high intellect and more than usual talent—the one great drawback in great endowments, the ability ' to suffer fools gladly.'

It is likely that Hastings was at times a difficult man to work with. He had a high idea of his own ability, and often a contempt for the abilities of others common in great men, but when that is said and when it is acknowledged that his financial dealings were such as would have given a modern auditor general a shock it is all that can be said to detract from his great qualities. The almost hysterical hatred of Burke, and the party capital which Fox and Sheridan sought to gain out of his impeachment have unduly clouded the great reputation of this great man.

The impending storm was to be judged from the introduction of Fox's India Bill, which aimed at the greater subordination of the Company to the Crown by the setting up of a board of seven Commissioners, appointed by the Crown to be responsible for the whole government. This was meant to abolish the influence of Hastings' supporters in the Court of Proprietors. The Bill failed to pass the Lords at the end of 1783. In 1784 William Pitt became leader of a new ministry, and the enemies of Hastings were in opposition. In Oudh Bristow had been sent as Resident against Hastings' wishes, but later he was recalled. Hastings now made his last tour of Oudh and Benares, reaching Fyzabad where he restored part of their *jagirs* to the Begams. The death of Wheler recalled him to Calcutta, where he received the text of Pitt's India Bill, and recognized it was the sign for his own retirement. In February 1785 he handed over to Sir John Macpherson and sailed for home, where he arrived in June that year. He was thanked by the Court of Directors for his services, and received by the King, but no honour was conferred on him.

The Impeachment

Burke had already moved, and the long drawn out proceedings begun. An impeachment is a cumberous and indeed doubtful expedient to attack great men in an atmosphere where legal procedure and the safeguards of justice cannot function. It is an accusation preferred by the Commons before the bar of the House of Lords, and this unwieldy procedure was now employed against one of the greatest men who have ever saved a country. The

charges were voted on one by one. First the Rohilla war was not approved as a charge, but finally twenty-two charges were agreed to as subjects for investigation, including the question of Chait Singh and the Begams. The sorry business went on for seven years, from February 1788 to April 1795, and should never have been set on foot. But the false humanitarianism of the Whigs led by Fox, the rhetorical animosity of Burke, reinforced by the theatrical displays of Sheridan, kept it alive. Finally only four main charges were proceeded with, those concerning Chait Singh, the Begams of Oudh, the acceptance of presents and fraudulent contracts. The result was a triumphant acquittal. Burke, who had vented all his invective in a nine days' speech, was broken by the result and never appeared in the House again. Hastings was saddled with a tremendous load of debt, £70,000, as a result of the expense of this long drawn out trial. No honour was given to him for his exertions on behalf of the people of Bengal and of England. The directors indeed voted him a sum for his legal expenses and a pension, but the new Board of Control set up by Pitt's India Act refused to sanction it. Finally he was given a pension of £4,000 for twenty-eight years and a loan of £50,000 towards his expenses. This was afterwards partly remitted. In 1813 he was at last made a Privy Councillor and his pension continued for life. In 1818 he died, aged 85, at Daylesford, the home of his ancestors, which he had bought.

With Hastings ends the political rule of the East India Company. In future it was the Crown which really controlled policy, though often the logic of events compelled the ministry at home to acquiesce in a *fait accompli* which the slowness of communications had forced upon them.

Chapter XXIII

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Pitt's India Act, 1784

The Bill which Fox introduced in 1783 to take away all power from the Company had been defeated because it was too drastic, and also because it would vest all patronage in one hand, and fear of the Crown's patronage is exemplified in Dunning's famous resolution that the power of the Crown ' has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.' William Pitt, Prime Minister at twenty-four, son of the Earl of Chatham, now brought forward an Act which was destined, with some modifications, to settle the constitutional basis of British power in India until after the Mutiny.

The main provisions of the Act were the setting up of a Board of Control, which was to consist of a Secretary of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and four others who were to be Privy Councillors. This Board was to have control of all political and military affairs. The president of the Board was the Secretary of State, and actually the Board as such never met but the president alone transacted the business. It was a Board of Control only, not of administration. The administration was still left to the directors, though no orders could be sent without the approval of the Board except in matters of extreme urgency, when the Board could initiate action itself through the Committee of Secrecy, consisting in practice of the chairman and deputy chairman of the Court of Directors. The Court of Proprietors no longer had power to veto any action decided on by the directors and approved by the Board of Control. Appointments and dismissals, in fact all patronage, remained with the directors. The Council in India at Fort William in Bengal was reduced to four, with a Governor-General appointed from England, and the other members recruited from the Company's service. The practice arose of appointing a nobleman as Governor-General. Lord Cornwallis, who was appointed Governor-General, only accepted on condition he should be Commander-in-Chief as well—the experience with Clavering and Sir Eyre Coote had shown the necessity of this—and also that he should not only have the casting vote but could override his council. This was added in a second Act.

The other important clause in the Act was to give the Governor-General power over the other Presidencies in matters of war and peace and all transactions with ' the country powers.' Finally in 1793, when the charter of the Company was renewed for another twenty years, a clause was added giving the Governor-General power to preside over the Presidency councils when in their territory and to issue orders to all the Company's servants without consulting the local council. The same act gave the Presidency governor the same powers of overruling their councils as the Governor-General had. In the case of these governments also the governors were in future sent out from home. It was not yet time for the government of Bengal as a province to be separated from the office of the Governor-General—that was to follow later when the extent of territory ruled from Calcutta became too unwieldy.

Thus Lord Cornwallis came out to India to work an entirely new constitution, largely laid down on his instructions. He had not the great difficulties to meet which faced Warren Hastings.

Revenue

The Bengal revenue system was in a state of great confusion. It will be remembered that Verelst had tried to remedy things and had set up supervisors in the days when the revenue collection was still under the control of the naib or deputy. This did not answer, and in 1772 the Company took over the financial administration directly by removing the deputy. Collectors were now appointed, and the Committee of Circuit started its investigations into the titles of the zemindars and the method of assessment. Courts were also set up, and the revenue was put up to auction for five years with the idea of finding out what the true revenue really was. This failed, and the collector system was given up the following year and provincial councils of supervision appointed, while diwans took the place of the collectors. Then came the interference of the majority of the council in all affairs, and no practical steps were taken. The setting up of the Supreme Court also caused difficulties. The Court assumed it had jurisdiction over all Bengal, and persons arrested for not paying revenue could apply for a writ of habeas corpus, which they actually did do, and the collection of revenue was almost at a standstill until the matter was settled—which was done after the Patna case by appointing the Chief Justice to be president of the *Sadr Diwani Adalat*, the

Appeal Court in Calcutta, in 1780. This was a solution, but it was upset when Impey was recalled for accepting a salaried post contrary to the Regulating Act. The next step was to reappoint the collectors in 1781 after the report of the Amini Commission, which had again toured the country to collect more information. But the collectors were not given powers of supervision, or sufficient powers, and the main revising body was the Committee of Revenue in Calcutta.

The real difficulty was that it was impossible to find out the real position as to the land. A zemindari system had grown up by which various persons collected and remitted the revenue, which was in effect the rent due to the king for the use of land which was not the property of a landowning class but of the State. Some of the zemindars in Bengal were the old Hindu rajas who had owned or possessed territory when the Muslim invasions began, and were recognized in their possession as long as they paid tribute or revenue—such were the rajas of Burdwan, Rajshahi, etc. Others were the descendants of the officials who had either obtained grants or had been the collectors of revenue, and who, when the Mughul central power began to wane, had handed down their office to their sons, and thus obtained a hereditary claim. They had been for a long time farmers of the revenue, for the system of careful assessment introduced by Akbar had never worked well in Bengal. The land record officials, the *kanungos*, were the only people who knew anything about the real rights of each case, and from the first they had concealed their knowledge and their records from the various commissions which had tried to solve the riddle. The cultivator himself had little say in the matter, and the system of collection with its constant changes gave them very little chance of establishing their rights. Famine, disease, war had killed off many, and though the continuation of investigation might in time have established a more equitable result, time had never been given. Hastings' own attempts had been called in question by the directors, and Francis had come out imbued with the necessity for a permanent settlement. Cornwallis had instructions to bring in such a measure. The collectors had been made the assessing authority by Sir John Macpherson, and the Committee became the Board of Revenue. On Cornwallis' arrival they were given the presidency of the district revenue courts, the *diwani adalats*. They were now given a fixed pay of Rs1,500 a month, and a commission on the revenue they collected, and the right to private trade was at last abolished.

The criminal courts remained under Muhammad Riza Khan, who had been restored by the majority hostile to Hastings. The order for a long term settlement was issued in 1787 to the collectors, and when their assessments had been received and gone over the settlement was introduced in 1790 and made permanent in 1793.

The reason was Cornwallis' instructions and the impression prevailing in England that the zemindars were in the nature of landowners. Cornwallis was influenced by considerations of administrational efficiency. An annual or short term settlement led to the necessity for frequent changes, with the resulting opportunities for oppression and fraud. The rights of the cultivator were entirely lost sight of—in fact, he was not considered at all. The loss to government of just enhancements when revenue improved by government action was also not thought of—all that was considered was immediate results. While the government could not raise the revenue, the zemindars could and did raise their collections from the cultivators, and the history of land revenue reform since has been that of attempts to protect the cultivator from the undue exactions of the zemindars.

The effect of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal was felt in other parts of India, as was natural considering the powers which had been given to the Governor-General by Pitt's India Act. Indeed, in 1798 orders were issued to start a permanent settlement in Madras as well. In the Northern Circars, where a zemindari system already existed, this was possible, but in the south there was no corresponding machinery. The attempt failed, and the system which had been worked out by Read, a colonel in the Madras army, in the districts taken from Tipu, Baramahal, the modern Salem and Coimbatore, was adopted. Here a proper survey of all holdings was carefully carried out in company with Thomas Munro, another army officer. From this arose the *ryotwari* system of land assessment which Munro perfected. This needed, of course, a much larger revenue staff than was required with a permanent settlement, and thus the Madras system, which was ultimately to become the norm of the rest of the country, arose. The collector became the chief head of the administration, tried revenue cases, and was in charge of the police and, spending his time as he did in touring from village to village, was accessible to all and acquainted with all that went on. Bengal with its permanent settlement and its separate zillah judge, who tried all cases and was supposed to control the police under the *darogha*, or chief magistrate, has always been a province

where the machinery of administration has suffered from the lack of properly qualified agents and, since there is no need for assessment, no revenue staff as elsewhere. Thus when a real need arises, as in the famine of 1943, there was no machinery to deal with it adequately, as local self-government organs had neither the status nor the experience required. The Madras changes, however, came later, the ryotwari system being finally instituted in 1818.

Administration in Bengal ; the Cornwallis Code

To Cornwallis the whole idea of a district executive officer was foreign. It was an Indian idea, and quite unlike the system of local self-government of the English county, where the only apparent agents of the government are the courts. Thus in the formal settlement of the Bengal administration the collector was not given control of the police or of even the revenue courts. This was the duty of the new zillah or district judge, who was head of the administration of justice in civil, criminal and revenue cases. In criminal matters four courts of circuit were established, to which, after a preliminary investigation, the zillah judge committed the accused. This was an echo of the English assizes. *Munsiffs* and *sadr amins* were the judges for small court cases. The courts of circuit were also courts of appeal in civil cases from the zillah judge, and from them to the *Sadr Diwani Adalat*, namely the Governor-General in Council. As head of the police the zillah judge had *daroghas* with a police force under him. The zillah judge did not go on tour—he was in court all day and the maintainance of law was left to the *darogha*, who generally took full advantage of the lack of supervision. The laws were quite unintelligible to the villagers, who were for the most part entirely illiterate, and thus a class of pleaders sprung up who lived on the law and often on the litigants as well. This was expensive, and the system of English procedure with its elaborate apparatus of appeal made the law too expensive for the ordinary cultivator ; thus the poor had no chance against the rich. It is sad to remember that all this was introduced with the very best intentions —the rule of law preferred to the rule of experience. The commercial work of the Company was given to a separate branch under a Board of Trade.

Thus under Cornwallis a new administrative system was set up which was to be the form in which the English administration

of India developed. The attempts to work on the old methods of the Mughuls had failed and a brand new system was substituted. Under Cornwallis the corruption and inefficiency which had characterized the administration based on the methods of the later Mughuls led to the belief that it was necessary to have English officials in all the chief posts, as collectors and as the new judges. This was indeed a logical development of the Company's decision ' to stand forth as diwan.' The old methods had failed, as had been proved in the various attempts to work the revenue system. Not that it can be said that the new system was at first much better. The new assessment was heavy under the permanent settlement and collections were difficult and led to oppression, while the new laws and regulations were a closed book to the multitude, and gave scope to the emergence of a new class to interpret them, the lawyer class, who now became the middlemen which the old revenue system had had under another name. Still with all its faults it was an effort to purify the administration from the traditions of the outmoded and degenerate Mughul régime, and was the first step in a series of progressive reforms, leading in time to the creation of a body of Indian officials and a tradition of service and responsibility. It is possible that it was the only way to effect reform—a complete break with the past, a past which had few lessons to give.

Constitution for India

The Regulating Act had begun the process of drawing up a corpus of constitutional law for the new dominions in India, and the India Act with its amending Act of 1786 carried this further. In 1793 the Company's charter was due for renewal, and the Charter Act of this year extended it for another twenty years. The more important sections of this Act related to the position of the Board of Control and its president. The original Board was unpaid, as it consisted of members already holding appointments, like that of Chancellor of the Exchequer, but this was substituted by a paid Board in the Act of 1793. The tendency was for the president to monopolize the business of the Board, gradually becoming the Secretary of State for India, into which he afterwards developed. The first president, Henry Dundas, was all-powerful, and indeed directed the policy of the Court of Directors entirely. The appointments to governor- and councillorships were in theory in the hands of the directors, but

no-one could actually be appointed without the agreement of the Cabinet.

In the matter of patronage, however, where in the past the interference of the directors had done so much harm, the Act of 1873 laid down that only covenanted servants of the Company should be eligible for promotion, and a regular *cursus honorum* or minimum seniority for the various grades was laid down. Thus only Company's servants were eligible for posts over £500 per annum, and as no Indians were appointed to the Company's service as such the Act of 1793 legally precluded them from being employed in higher posts. The writers and cadets were, of course, still appointed from England by directors' nomination. Before this it had been the practice for officers to go home and canvas for promotion to posts they fancied, and often quite junior persons were promoted over the heads of others, while the relations of directors were continually favoured. Even the Charles James Fox who was so censorious of Warren Hastings' so-called irregularities did not think it strange to send out an illegitimate relation to be put into some job. The custom of appointing men from England as Governor-General and governors of Madras and Bombay was not laid down by any special enactment, but grew up out of expediency, though it was not so strictly applied in the Presidencies. The noblemen from home had a higher standing with the Cabinet and the directors, and could push their views with greater weight than Company servants. They had no need to intrigue for support at home, as both Clive and Hastings had to do. When Bombay and Madras ceased to be the cockpits of wars with strong powers and possible European complications the need for governors from home for them seems to have passed away, but it has still continued for no very good reason except custom.

The Governor-General was given definite powers to act in a Presidency with the local council, as with the Bengal Council, and further to issue direct orders on his own initiative to any government servant in the Presidency. This was a definition of the powers given in the India Act, where he was given authority in all negotiations with the various states and 'the application of the revenues or forces in time of war.' This did away with the difficulties experienced by Warren Hastings in his dealing with Madras and Bombay.

The Extension of the Company's Power in India

The India Act expressly forbade wars of aggression—the conquest of territory for the sake of possession ; and Cornwallis, who was a soldier and in spite of the capitulation at Yorktown, a good general, came out with instructions to maintain this policy. But the force of circumstances was too much for him and his successors. The position in India was unsettled with the Mahratta Confederacy established in a policy of conquest or acquisition, and now divided between several contending powers, while Tipu Sultan and the Nizam were continually playing off one against the other. The father of Tipu, Haider Ali, had affected to rule as the representative of the Hindu dynasty of Mysore, but Tipu threw off all pretence and declared himself not only independent in Mysore but independent of the emperor as well.

The Mahrattas were divided into states with differing policies. The descendent of Sivaji at Satara had no longer any power, while at Poona the Peshwa maintained his pretensions under Nana Phadnavis, but exercised no real authority over the other Mahratta states which had now taken form. Mahadaji Sindhia, whose territories were in two groups, one around Ahmadabad in Gujarat and the other with its centre at Gwalior, had entered into the troubled politics of Delhi, and in 1784 was called in by Shah Alam and became the *de facto* ruler of Delhi. He had formed an army on the European model, officered chiefly by French adventurers under the Count De Boigne, and soon had recovered Agra and the Doab as the deputy of the Peshwa, who was appointed nominal vice-regent of the Mughul empire. The power, however, was all in the hands of Sindhia. The other Mahratta powers consisted of the Gaikwar at Baroda, Indore under Holkar, and Nagpur under the Bhonslas. Holkar was opposed to Sindhia in the struggle for power, and he also had organized his army on European lines.

Sindhia's schemes in northern India did not, however, succeed as well as he expected, and when he proceeded to deal with the Rajputs the Mughul officers went over with their forces to the enemy and he was repulsed and had to retreat to Gwalior. This left the field open for the Rohilla Ghulam Kadir Khan, son of Zabita Khan, to push his claims. He defeated Sindhia near Agra, and seized Delhi, where he acted with the greatest cruelty, imprisoning and blinding the old emperor in 1788. This led to the intervention of Nana Phadnavis, who dispatched Holkar to



Plate 56 Asaf-ud-daula, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, from a portrait by John Zoffany R.A. in the Commonwealth Relations Office, London



Plate 57 Marquess Cornwallis receiving two sons of Tipu Sultan as hostages, 1792 (from a painting by A. W. Devis reproduced by kind permission of the Committee of the United Service Club)

support Sindhia. The Nana had been successful against Tipu Sultan the year before, and had established himself strongly in Poona. Ghulam Kadir was defeated and killed, and his jagir of Saharanpur seized and the Doab recovered. The recalcitrant Mughul leaders were defeated by Sindhia in Rajputana in the following year and operations begun against the Rajputs. However, the hostility of Holkar to the designs of Sindhia bore fruit in 1792 when the two armies came to blows at Lakheri in Kotah, where Sindhia's disciplined brigades defeated those of Holkar. Sindhia was now supreme in north India and ready to interfere in the politics of Poona.

War with Mysore

Tipu had been in communication with the French. The Revolution of 1789 did not alter French foreign policy, and he undoubtedly expected assistance. The occasion of war was an unprovoked attack by Tipu on the Raja of Travancore, an ally of the Company. Ignoring warnings Tipu persisted, and Cornwallis felt that action was forced on him, and in 1790 the war began. A treaty with the Nizam and the Mahrattas was now concluded, and Tipu's communications threatened. He was unable to repeat his tactics of raiding the Carnatic, and when in 1791 Cornwallis himself as Commander-in-Chief took command, Bangalore was taken and the following year Seringaptam besieged and Tipu defeated and compelled to come to terms. Part of his territory was handed over to the Nizam and the Mahrattas and the Malabar coast annexed, while two of his sons became hostages and a large indemnity was fixed. This was really no solution of the problem of Tipu and his hostility, but the home authorities demanded peace. This settlement depended on the Nizam and the Mahrattas remaining allies, but in 1793 war broke out between them and the Nizam was defeated at Kharda. The designs of Nana Phadnavis were, however, now countered by Sindhia, who appeared at Poona to invest the young Peshwa Madhu Rao Narayan as vice-regent of the emperor. This was obviously a first step in the direction of getting rid of his minister the Nana. What might had happened is unknown, for Sindhia died early in 1794 before his design had really matured, leaving the young Daulat Rao his nephew to succeed him, and immediate danger was over.

In 1793 war had broken out with the new French Republic



Map 20 Mysore and Mahratta Wars

over the occupation of the Scheldt and Holland, ' that pistol aimed at the heart of England.' The French settlements in India were occupied at once, and in 1796 Ceylon taken as Holland had been overrun by the French. The large French led forces employed by the different powers in India now became a menace. The Nizam had a Frenchman, Raymond, in command of his sepoys, and had largely expanded them, while the disciplined forces of Sindhia under De Boigne and Perron, as well as those of Holkar, were an added danger. Sir John Shore, a Bengal civilian, who had, contrary to the newly established convention, succeeded Cornwallis when he went home in 1793, felt bound by the non-intervention policy laid down by the India Act and did nothing. In Berar Raghuji Bhonsla was now in power. In the Gaikwar's territories there was a disputed succession until in 1793 Govind Rao's claim was admitted by the Peshwa on the intervention of the British Resident, who was now established at Poona.

Indore was ruled by the famous Ahalya Bai, the widow of Malharji Holkar, who ruled from 1766 to 1795, with Tukoji Holkar as her general. Tukoji was not a member of the Holkar family, though he succeeded on the death of Ahalya Bai. Under her rule Indore prospered for thirty years in peace and quietness.

Poona became the centre of fresh intrigues after the battle of Kharda, where the Nizam had been defeated by the Mahrattas in 1795. The young Peshwa, unable to throw off the tutelage of Nana Phadnavis, escaped by throwing himself from a terrace and was killed. Baji Rao II, the son of Raghunath Rao, now became Peshwa with the Nana's support, but was displaced by the intervention of Daulat Rao Sindhia, who put Chimnaji Appa, his brother, on the *gadi* in 1796, and the Nana fled. Soon he was back again, having won over Sindhia and obtained the support of Holkar and the Bhonsla, and with the approval of the Nizam, won by promising to restore the territories annexed after Kharda. But Baji Rao had only feigned friendship to the Nana, and now imprisoned him, and dissensions continued with Sindhia taking a hand. Finally the Nana was restored by Sindhia as a counter-blast to Baji Rao's dealings with the Nizam.

Affairs in Oudh

Asaf-ud-daula died in 1797, having contributed the great Imambara and the Rumi Darwaza to the rococo architecture of Lucknow, and a tradition of incompetent administration to his

successors. He was succeeded by Wazir Ali, his son, but all the children of Asaf-ud-daula were of doubtful parentage, and this man's violent character and doubtful birth led to his suppression by Sir John Shore and the substitution of the late Nawab Wazir's brother Saadat Ali Khan. Sindhia's proceedings at Delhi, when he became Naib or deputy to the Peshwa, who was declared the Vakil of the Empire, had extinguished the shadowy claim of the Nawab Wazirs of Oudh to the wazirate of the empire, and the reluctance of the Governor-General to interfere in matters of internal government had left the ministers of the nawab to indulge in peculation and misgovernment to their hearts' content. Haidar Beg, the minister, had indeed suggested the withdrawal of the English brigade from Fatehgarh, but the threat of invasion from Zaman Shah of Afghanistan had caused their return. This led to the increase of the Company's troops and the reduction of the nawab's, though Saadat Ali procrastinated until the stronger policy of Wellesley saw that this was done.

It was, however, not until 1801 that the matter was definitely settled by a treaty which laid down the number of Company's troops to be maintained for the defence of Oudh, and handed over territory to maintain them. The nawab had temporized, resigned, withdrawn his resignation when he found it accepted, and used all the weapons in the armoury of procrastination, but with no result. Wellesley was determined to settle the matter once for all. Allahabad was now finally taken over and part of Rohilkand and Gorakhpur as well to pay for the troops. His brother, Henry Wellesley, who was his private secretary and not a Company's servant, was sent to arrange the treaty and put in charge for a time, which also led to criticism though he drew no emoluments. There has been much criticism of this action on the part of the Governor-General as being harsh, illegal and high-handed. It was part of Wellesley's policy, and proceeded from the circumstances of the times.

The state of Oudh was chaotic. The army was a rabble and much of it was a paper force, while the commanders embezzled the money meant for its upkeep. Collections of revenue had to be exacted by force ; courts of justice had ceased to function, and the worthless hangers-on of the court battened on the public exchequer. Wellesley's settlement of the Oudh question did not in fact go far enough. He acquiesced in the bad standards of administration because he was not prepared to substitute Company rule. The relief of the nawab from external danger might have

been expected to result in a concentration on internal reform. But in fact it did not do so, and only gave more opportunities for greater peculation and disorder.

Administration of Wellesley

Wellesley's Settlement of Foreign Policy

Richard Wellesley, Earl of Mornington, came out on the retirement of Sir John Shore, who was made Lord Teignmouth for his services. He arrived in India early in 1798, and in October heard that the First Consul of the French Republic, Napoleon Bonaparte, had invaded Egypt. This was, and was meant to be, a threat to India. Tipu Sultan had sent a mission to seek French aid against the English, and a small body of Frenchmen actually arrived in Mangalore from Mauritius. This was all reported to Wellesley, and he determined to deal with Tipu once for all. But first it was necessary to counter the threat contained in the existence of a force of trained sepoys under Raymond in the Nizam's service. Negotiations were opened with the Nizam and the force dissolved, the sepoys taking service with the Company and the officers becoming prisoners of war. In their place the Company maintained a force at Hyderabad, and the Nizam agreed to be advised as to his external policy by the Company's Resident. This was the beginning of Wellesley's famous policy of subsidiary alliances with the Indian states. Now all was ready for the final settlement with Tipu.

The Fourth Mysore War

Wellesley at the end of 1798 took up his headquarters at Madras and made definite proposals to Tipu, demanding definite answers. Tipu pretended friendship for England and enmity for France, though Wellesley was fully informed of his intrigues with the French Republic, and his assuming of the name 'citoyen' as a true republican, and his overtures to Zaman Shah. General Harris was ordered to advance into Mysore in February 1799, and General Stuart started from Cannanore. A contingent from Hyderabad under Colonel Arthur Wellesley brought the Nizam's aid. Tipu could not stand up to this opposition, and after two defeats in the field retired to Seringapatam, where he

was besieged. After a short investment the capital was stormed under the command of that same General Baird who had been his prisoner. Tipu was found dead under a pile of his soldiers, having fought bravely to the last, and thus this adventurer's dynasty ended. He was a cruel despot, whose end was a blessing to the people he had tyrannized over.

Tipu's sovereignty was an usurped dominion, and the settlement of Mysore took stock of this. Part of Tipu's territory was offered to the Mahrattas, and on their refusal as being inadequate, the Nizam, ' our principal ally,' as he was now becoming, obtained a fair share, while the coast regions and Kanara and the Wynad became incorporated with Madras. The Mysore tableland itself was restored to the dynasty which had held it before Haider's usurpation. The heir was a child of seven, Krishnaraja Udayar, and this resulted in the administration of Mysore by English officers, with the result that a foundation of wise and just administration was laid down which has ever after been maintained. Arthur Wellesley learnt his generalship in the gradual reduction of the forts and bandit bands under Dundia Wagh, a renegade Mahratta, who essayed to copy Haider Ali's example and set up a kingdom of his own. In this hard school of warfare the conqueror of Napoleon learnt his trade. The Governor-General was created Marquis Wellesley, the name by which he is generally known.

The Carnatic

The position of the Madras government was complicated by the difficulties of its relationship with the nawab of the Carnatic, and the debt which was owed to the Company and the other debt which had been incurred to pay that debt, and which was held by individual Company's servants among others. Various attempts had been made at settlement. Cornwallis in 1792 had proposed that the nawab should pay nine lakhs of *pagodas* a year to the Company and six to the creditors in place of nine and twelve respectively. In case of failure districts were to be handed over, and when war broke out the whole administration was to be taken over by the Company for the duration.

Muhammad Ali had, however, grown old in expedients for delaying settlements, and all these arrangements broke down and the treaties came to nothing. He died in 1795 and was succeeded by his son Umdat-ul-umara. Lord Hobart, the governor, hailed

the opportunity to break the vicious system, and proposed to take over the mortgaged districts in perpetuity, but this was not approved by Shore, who was against any interference in the internal affairs of the Indian states. When Wellesley became Governor-General fresh attempts to reach a settlement were set on foot but Umdat refused to agree.

The capture of Seringapatam, however, revealed papers showing that both Muhammad Ali and Umdat had been in correspondence with Tipu, and the family's reputation for loyalty, the only excuse for permitting the sad condition of affairs which had gone on for so long, was shattered. At this juncture Umdat-ul-umara died, and the opportunity of the succession was taken to present terms to his successor. The terms offered his son were that he should be paid a sixth of the revenue and the administration should be entrusted to the Company. He refused and was passed over and a nephew, Azim-ud-daula, who accepted the terms, succeeded. Thus the civil administration of the Carnatic was now, in 1801, taken over by the Company, who had long held the military control. This was a much more definite step than was taken in Mysore or Oudh. It was in effect annexation. Tanjore had already been settled in 1799, when the adoption of Sarboji by the late raja was accepted and the civil and military administration handed over to the Company, while an allowance of a suitable sum out of the revenues settled on the raja.

The debt of the Carnatic was funded and gradually paid off. In the Carnatic the settlement was a just one. The nawab had been originally confirmed in his position by the Company, in fact he was practically set up by them, and there was nothing illegal in setting him aside from the exercise of the administrative duties which for so many years he had failed to carry out.

The Mahratta Wars

The Peshwa took no share in the operations against Tipu, and refused to take over those portions of his territory offered him. The Nana resisted suggestions as to a subsidiary alliance, and Daulat Rao Sindhia was occupied by the rebellion of the Bais, his father's widows. Nana Phadnavis, who had been able to some extent to keep the Mahrattas together, died in 1800, and his death was the signal for a struggle between Sindhia, Holkar and Baji Rao. Tukoji Holkar, who had succeeded Ahalya Bai, died in 1797, and a war of succession followed until Jaswant Rao

managed to establish himself as Holkar with the help of a mixed following of adventurers and bandits. He then turned on Sindhia and the Peshwa, and finally defeated them in front of Poona, which he entered, and placed another brother of the Peshwa, Amrit Rao, on the *gadi* in 1802. Baji Rao fled to the English at Bassein and asked for their aid.

The treaty of Bassein by which agreement was made has been said to have changed the British Empire *in* India to the British Empire *of* India. A force of six battalions as a minimum was to be stationed in the Peshwa's dominions, all Europeans were to be excluded who were hostile to the English, and he was to submit his foreign affairs to the control of the Company. Major-General Arthur Wellesley immediately marched to Poona, and Holkar withdrew while Baji Rao was restored in 1803.

This at once caused consternation and apprehension in the minds of the Mahratta chieftains, but the Gaikwar was satisfied with his position and Holkar would not stir. Lord Castlereagh and the directors were opposed to what they considered as more intervention.

The policy of subsidiary alliances introduced by Wellesley has been discussed again and again. It has been suggested that there were alternatives, and that the treaty of Bassein could not fail to lead direct to war—was indeed the cause of war. Yet it is difficult to see what alternative there was except annexation when once the Company had begun to acquire territory—one step led to another with inexorable logic. The Mahratta system was based on war and conquest and could only be opposed and ended; appeasement was no remedy.

Sindhia and the Bhonsla now allied to resist the English. They assembled their armies and crossed the Narbada, and when Wellesley called on them to withdraw they refused. This was a declaration of war, and Wellesley already had a plan. He intended to push the Company's frontier up to Delhi and to destroy the French forces on which Sindhia relied, and which were a menace to the English security in the conditions of the war with Napoleon—for this was very present to his mind. Indeed Wellesley's policy was conditioned by the threat from Napoleon, and the war against Napoleon was fought in India as well as in Europe. Cuttack was to be taken from the Bhonsla —a long disputed bone of contention, while Broach was to be joined to Bombay. These were his aims, and these he succeeded in attaining.

The command in northern India was given to General Lake, and in the Deccan to his brother, General Wellesley. Subsidiary campaigns under Colonel Murray in Gujarat, and Harcourt in Orissa, and another to secure Bundelkand were successful, and all the operations were planned in a masterly manner. In the Deccan Wellesley defeated Sindhia at Assaye in September 1803 —a victory against great odds which showed the tactics which later were to prove the worth of the 'Sepoy General' in the Peninsula against Napoleon's marshals and the best troops of France. Then followed a victory over the Bhonsla at Argaon in November, and the storming of the fortress of Gawilgarh. In December Bhonsla signed the treaty of Deogaon, which gave the Company control of his foreign policy and Cuttack.

Meanwhile in northern India General Lake was dealing with the French general Perron, Sindhia's deputy. Perron had established a military enclave round Aligarh, from the revenues of which he maintained his disciplined battalions, but with the declaration of war several of his officers of British birth, among whom were Skinner and Gardner, had left him in response to a proclamation of the Governor-General. When Aligarh was captured Perron himself realized that all was lost, and was granted permission to depart. Bourquin, who succeeded him, tried to block Lake's advance on Delhi, and made the mistake of fighting with the Jumna at his back. Lake defeated him and shortly after he surrendered. Delhi was entered and the blind emperor Shah Alam released from what had been a veiled captivity in September 1803, ten days before Assaye. Lake now proceeded to Agra, which he captured. At the end of October at Laswari in the present Alwar state the remaining forces of Sindhia were defeated. Seldom had a campaign been so brilliantly conducted and so crowned with success. Sindhia had to sign a treaty on the same terms as the others, while his territories round Broach were annexed. The country between the Jumna and the Ganges which Sindhia had ruled now passed into the hands of the Company together with the land north of Jaipur and Gohad.

Thus the campaign had been a triumphant success, but doubts began to be expressed at the change it had effected in the Company's territory and the responsibilities it would lay upon them. Sindhia had employed a disciplined force of over forty thousand sepoys under French officers, and they had showed their staunchness both at Assaye and Laswari, though at the latter battle they had no longer their French officers.

Holkar, who had stood aloof to watch events, now showed signs of moving from Rajputana where he had been living on the country with his forces, which included Pathan mercenaries and many of the bandits known as Pindaris, in addition to his disciplined troops. Seeing what had happened in Sindhia's case when the English adventurers in his army had gone over to Lake, Holkar now put to death the English officers who remained with him. He then ravaged Jaipur, the ally of the Company, and war could not be avoided in April 1804.

Another concerted drive was planned, General Wellesley from the Deccan, Colonel Murray from Gujarat, and a force under Colonel Monson from Lake's forces in the north. Unfortunately it was not carried out with the same skill owing to the delays of Lake and the mistaken impetuosity of the subordinate commander Monson, who in the words of General Wellesley 'advanced without reason and retreated in the same manner.' Murray also retreated, the rains came on, and Monson was herded back by Holkar, pursuing the traditional light cavalry tactics of the Mahrattas, to Agra with great loss. Lake did not appreciate the seriousness of Monson's position, and did not support him, and he lost the greater part of five battalions.

This was a disaster, and it gave strength to those who did not approve of the Governor-General's actions. An outcry for his recall was raised at home. Meanwhile Holkar had marched on Delhi, which was defended by a small detachment under Colonel Ochterlony with the greatest determination until the advance of Lake compelled Holkar to withdraw. He then raided the Doab and caused great destruction, until in November he was brought to battle by General Fraser at Dig and heavily defeated. Lake having defeated the Mahratta cavalry at Farrukhabad now marched to Dig and took the town. His next move against the Raja of Bhartpur, who had joined Holkar, was not so successful, and after a costly siege he failed to take the great fort. Holkar, who tried to relieve it, was, however, driven off and the raja in April the following year came to terms when Holkar had been driven into the Punjab. Murray meanwhile had occupied Indore. But the failure before Bhartpur, together with Monson's defeat, gave the party at home which was opposed to Wellesley's policy the opportunity it sought, and the Governor-General was recalled.

He was succeeded by the now elderly Lord Cornwallis, but he died at Ghazipur on his way up country in October 1805, and was succeeded by Sir George Barlow, a Company's officer who

had won a great reputation as a good official. He was hardly the man to deal with the situation, and was too timid to take the initiative. It fell to his lot to conclude peace, and feeling himself bound by the non-intervention policy he undid much of what Wellesley had accomplished, only delaying the inevitable march of events by a few years. The peace which was made restored to the wandering Holkar all that he had lost, and also gave into his hands the Rajput states which relied on the Company to protect them against the Mahrattas and the Pindaris. Gohad and Gwalior were restored to Sindhia, and non-intervention west of the Chambal was declared to be the policy. Still the Wellesley policy had established the Company as the real power in control over India. Bengal was joined to Madras by the cession of Cuttack by the Bhonsla, while the southern coast had been made secure as a result of the settlement of Mysore. The possession of Agra and Delhi secured the Doab and the person of the emperor, thus ensuring that he would not be used to bolster up any further aggression. In the south-west Bombay was extending its power in Gujarat.

With the change of policy an attempt was made to see if non-intervention was a possible system, and for the next ten years a policy of non-intervention or isolation was followed under Barlow and Lord Minto. The year 1805 was a critical year. It was the year of Trafalgar, which was in fact the reason why peace could be preserved in India, as it precluded the French from sea attack and led to the attempts of Napoleon to use the indirect approach by land. From now dated the importance of the North-west Frontier, and the embassies to Persia, and the contacts with Ranjit Singh, who at this time was establishing himself as master of the Punjab. The carrying out of this policy, however, led to the accumulation of trouble afterwards. It was due to this establishment of a *cordon sanitaire* through which no infection should pass or beyond which no aggression should adventure that a core of disturbance and disease was left to heal itself. In this no man's land grew up the Pindaris, who later had to be put down with an iron hand. In this lawless desert Holkar embarked on that orgy of blood and rapine which ended in his death in madness in 1811, when his mistress, Tulsi Bai, and Amir Khan, leader of the Pathan mercenaries, ruled the state and fought each other when they were not fighting Sindhia. Rajputana was the prey of all alike, and internal feuds and fratricidal strife laid these ancient states at the mercy of the robbers.

The state of Central India during these years was a telling commentary on the doctrine that nothing could justify interference with the independent states. The policy of appeasement failed, as it must always fail.

Wellesley's Civil Administration

The need for a better training of the Company's officers had been noticed by Warren Hastings, and Wellesley took up the matter seriously. He established a college at Calcutta for the young writers who came out, some at the early age of sixteen, and drew up a university type of curriculum. This was not approved by the directors, and he received peremptory orders to abolish it, but it was continued as an establishment for instruction in Oriental languages until the college at Haileybury was set up some years later.

There was continual opposition from the directors to his external policy, not because it was considered aggressive, but because it interfered with profits, for the Company was still a commercial organization. On the question of patronage he was continually interfered with, and the example of Henry Wellesley's appointment has already been mentioned. Arthur Wellesley, too, suffered in the reduction of perfectly justified allowances. This continual niggling led to Wellesley sending in his resignation once and threatening it again, but when brought face to face with the dilemma the directors recognized they could not replace him and begged him to remain. Yet they continued their criticism, and the conferment of a peerage on General Lake and the Order of the Bath on Arthur Wellesley while no recognition was given to the Governor-General marked their disapproval.

Yet the finances of the Company had improved. The total income was about eight million pounds sterling, while the public debt was a little short of eleven million, and with the interest charges the total deficit was about £300,000. The debt was reduced during Wellesley's time, and the rate of interest on loans became much easier. The Charter Act of 1793 had maintained the monopoly of the Company's trade, but allowed 3,000 tons a year to be exported by private traders, and Wellesley was greatly in favour of an extension of private trade in Indian-built ships.

The cost of defence was of course increased, though the numbers in the King's regiments were reduced from the lack of reinforcements, and only amounted to about 11,000 men. The Company's

European battalions were reduced to three, one in each Presidency. The sepoy army, however, was greatly increased owing to Wellesley's needs. It was divided into three armies—Bengal, Madras and Bombay.

The growth of the army is suggestive. In 1759 there were six sepoy battalions in Madras in addition to those in Bengal. Later Bombay employed similar forces. The first British battalion in India was the 39th Foot, which in its reconstituted form is now the Dorsets, and bears the proud motto 'Primus in Indis.' In 1795 the Bengal army consisted of three European battalions and three European battalions of artillery of five companies each, while the Indian cavalry consisted of four regiments, and the infantry of twelve regiments each of two battalions. Madras had two European battalions of ten companies each and two artillery battalions manned by English gunners, while there were fifteen companies of lascar artillery. The Indian cavalry was four regiments and the infantry eleven regiments of two battalions each. The Bombay army was the smallest, as the Bombay territory was the least extensive, and consisted of six companies of European artillery, two battalions of British infantry, and four sepoy regiments of two battalions each, and a marine battalion. During the wars of Wellesley's time the Bengal infantry was increased to fifty-four battalions in all—Bombay to eighteen and Madras to fifty, and the cavalry and artillery was also increased in proportion, while the Company's European battalions were reduced to three, the increase being made good in the King's battalions as they were called; but these, whose establishment was 19,000, were never up to strength, as reinforcements to make up for wastage by war and disease were not sent out. The increase in the establishment of the Indian army was objected to by the directors, and Wellesley was directed to reduce it, but he declined, since he considered it inadequate as it was. In these days of khaki it is interesting to note that the sepoys' uniform was a scarlet coat and white pants, while the headdress was a black shako. The cavalry was dressed in French grey with different coloured facings.

Wellesley's work was mainly in the field of external politics. More than any Governor-General he extended the bounds of the Company's territorial power. But it must not be imagined that this was as the result of an aggressive and acquisitive spirit. He had a policy, it is true—the fitting in of the 'country powers' into the general economy of the Company's influence, and this

policy was his ' subsidiary alliances.' The chief criticism against this policy was that it emasculated the states to which it was applied by relieving them of the necessity to defend themselves. Yet the development of Hyderabad and Mysore hardly bears out this criticism. Its weakness was to be seen in cases like Oudh, where non-interference with internal administration looked very like acquiescence in corruption and injustice. The argument that unless a state is responsible for its own defence it is liable to decay would not carry much conviction to-day, when the setting up of an international body for defence is the object of all discussions from Dumbarton Oaks to San Francisco. There were other reasons for the decay. On the other hand the grant of protection might, and in the case of Oudh and other states frequently did, maintain inefficiency and injustice in power when a revolution might have resulted in reform. This, however, is after the pattern of the West. In the East revolution generally led to a military despotism. There has grown up a tendency to judge everything done in India by Western standards, but the standards and the institutions of the West do not necessarily apply to the East.

Further British Expansion

Peace in India ; Activity Abroad

When the elderly Cornwallis died at Ghazipur on his journey up country he was succeeded by the senior Company's official, Sir George Barlow, who pursued the policy of non-intervention with the remaining Mahratta states. In 1807 he was succeeded by Lord Minto, and returned to the governorship of Madras.

Sir George Barlow had carried out the policy enjoined on him to the letter, and had made no effort to deal with the Gurkha infringements on the plains within the Company's territory or to intervene in the increasing inferno of Central India, where the Peshwa, Holkar and the Pindaris were spreading disorder, rapine and violence far and wide. He was content to maintain the *cordon sanitaire* around this plague spot.

The effect of Napoleon's world activities now had their influence on the policy of the Governor-General outside the confines of India proper.

Expansion at the Expense of France

The Peace of Amiens had not resulted in the handing over of the French stations in India, as it was realized that it was only a temporary cessation of hostilities. Mauritius, or Ile de France, and Réunion, formerly Bourbon or Ile de Bonaparte, were bases from which French privateers caused great losses. It was not, however, till 1811 that they were captured. Ceylon, which was partly occupied by the Dutch, became enemy territory when Holland was overrun by the French, and Colombo had been occupied by an expedition from Madras in 1796, but the first governor having made a mess of his administration it became a Crown colony in 1798. North, the governor, set up by the home government, mishandled his relations with the Sinhalese king at Kandi, and war broke out with a massacre of an English mission and a long history of atrocities. Finally the king was deposed after an expedition had been sent in 1815, and English administration extended over the whole island. The Dutch settlement at the Cape was also occupied. The French had sent reinforcements to Java, which they now took over from the Dutch Company. Penang had been occupied in the Governor-Generalship of Cornwallis to strengthen the small settlements the English still held in Sumatra. The Dutch Company maintained its monopoly of the spice trade very jealously and resisted English intrusion. It was in the Sumatra settlement that that remarkable man, Stamford Raffles, was employed. He was the natural agency to employ when the question arose of dislodging the French from Java.

An expedition sent from Calcutta in 1811 ejected the French and was not ill-received by the Dutch, who were by no means so enthusiastic for the French connection to which Napoleon had reduced them. Stamford Raffles was entrusted with the governship of the island, and it was he who recognized the importance of the situation of the swampy island on which Singapore was later to rise and form the centre of British influence in the Malay Archipelago, when Java after the Napoleonic wars was handed back to the Dutch. It may here be added that the Dutch factories in India were exchanged by the Dutch in 1824 for the English settlements in Sumatra. The French factories were restored to France in the peace settlement, but were demilitarized. Thus the victory at Trafalgar and all it meant in sea supremacy had had momentous effects far away in the East.

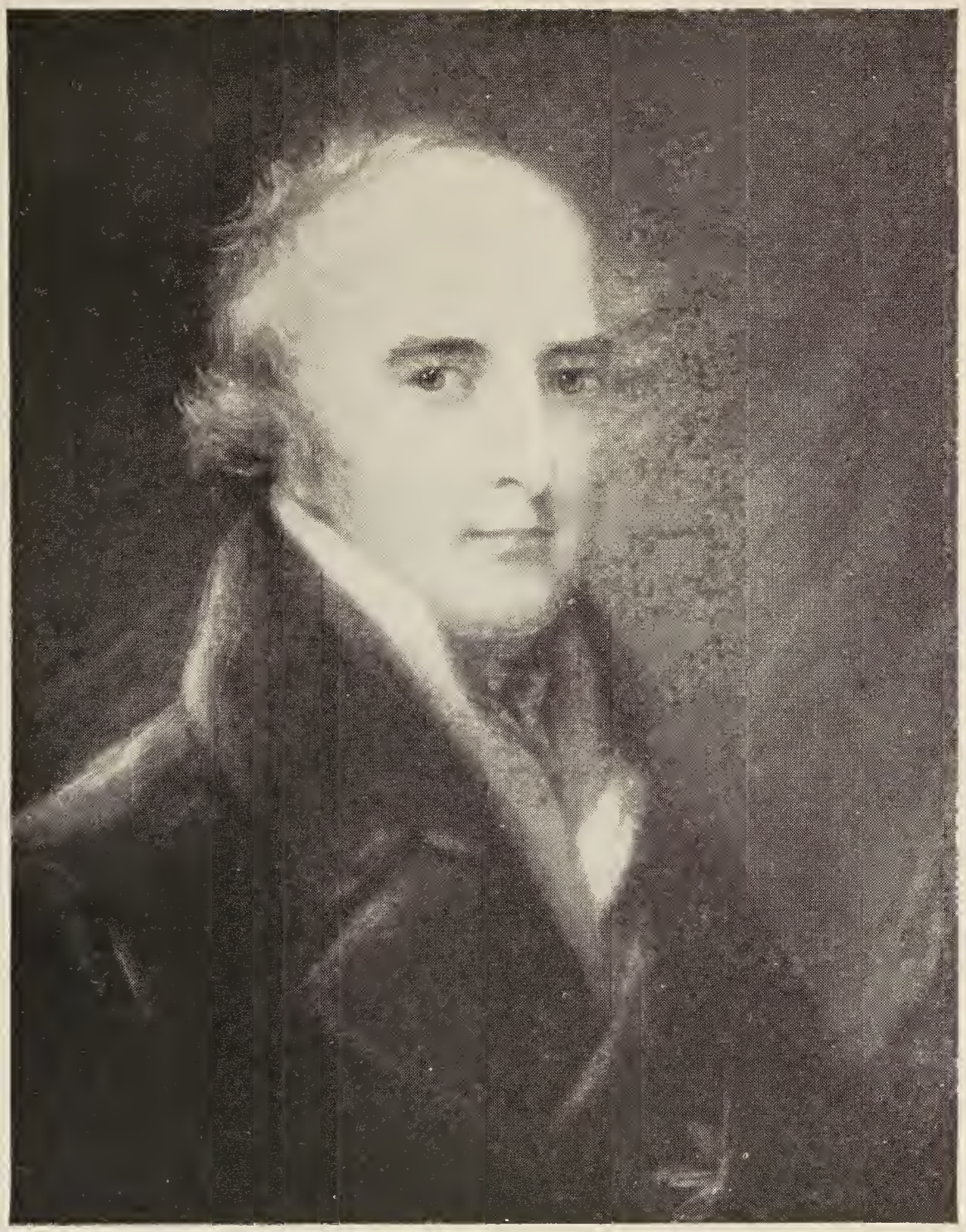
Relations with Persia and Afghanistan

The restless ambition of Napoleon had not suffered him to give up his designs on India with the failure before Acre and the defeat of the Nile, and by General Abercrombie of his land forces. He now sent a mission to Teheran to obtain the Shah's aid against Russia, and to investigate the routes into India. This was naturally a matter of great concern to the Government, and the North-west Frontier now for almost the first time became a matter of the greatest importance. Sir John Malcolm, who was sent to Persia, was at first unable to obtain admittance because of the treaty with Napoleon. Finally, however, a treaty was signed when Napoleon at Tilsit had arranged with the Czar Paul the diplomatic revolution which brought Russia to his side, but this was done by a mission from England. The mission to Persia was not, however, the only one. Missions were sent to Afghanistan and to Lahore as well.

In Afghanistan dissensions had broken out among the Duranis, and Zaman Shah, who had caused a certain amount of apprehension by his publicized intentions of invading India, had been removed and blinded, and Shah Shuja had succeeded him. Mountstuart Elphinstone was sent to arrange a treaty with him, but his position in a disputed succession was not an element of strength. Finally another distinguished civilian in Charles Metcalfe was sent to the new chieftain, Ranjit Singh, who had rallied the Sikh *misls* together into a military despotism. Thus it was hoped to build up an echelon of buffer states between Hindustan and any possible combination from the north-west, whether Russian or French. With Ranjit Singh there was another matter of dispute, the position of the Sikh states on the east of the Sutlej which he had shown signs of attacking, but which were in the sphere of influence of the Company as successors or protectors of the emperor. This was a more difficult matter, and Ranjit Singh showed signs of resenting this interference with what he considered his own concerns. Consideration, however, made him realize that the English were too strong to defy. Thus he decided to sign in 1809 the treaty of Amritzar, which he faithfully adhered to all his life.

The Charter Act of 1813

When the charter of the Company was renewed in 1813 several changes were made. The one which has attracted the



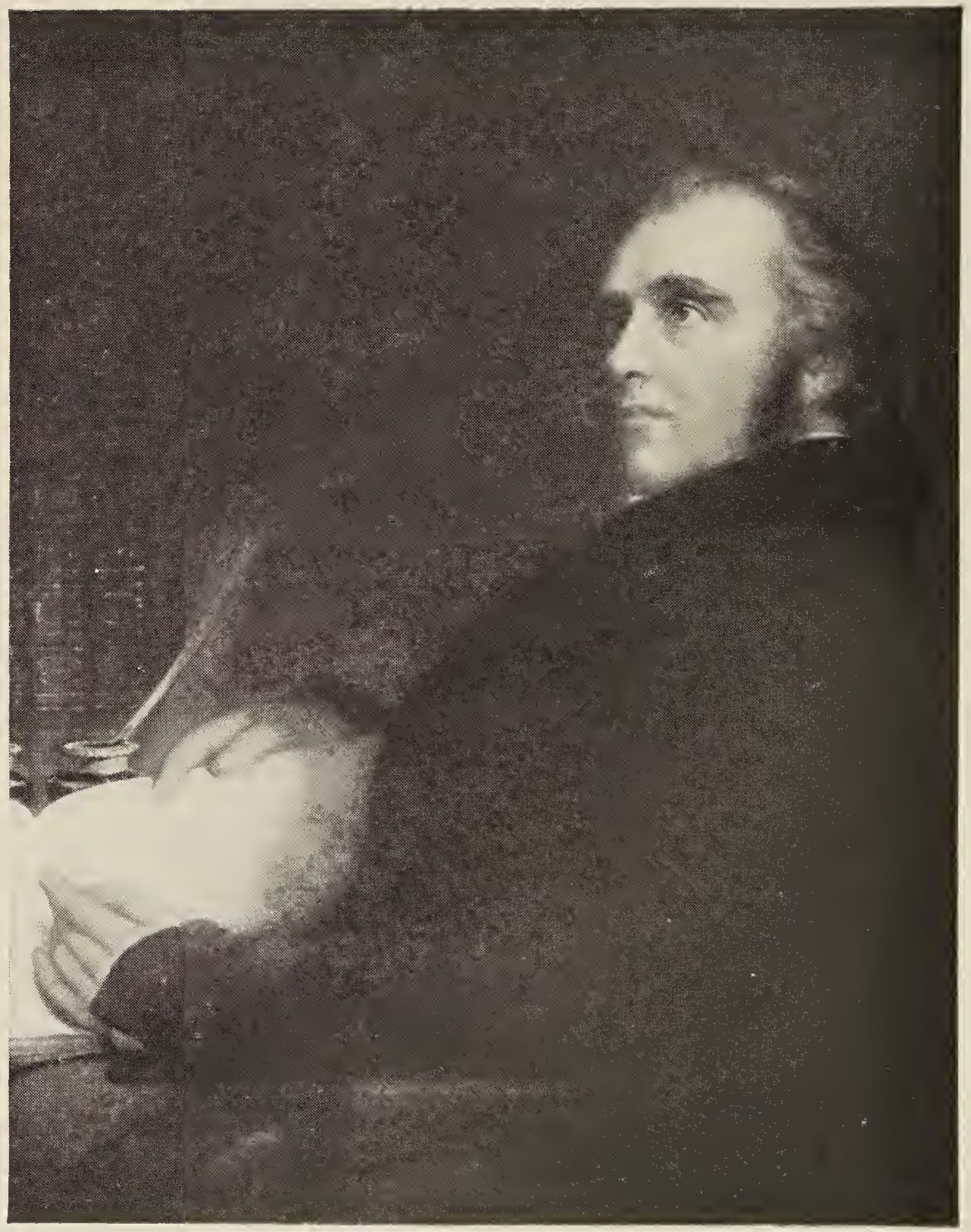


Plate 58 *left* Marquess Wellesley ; *right* Lord Macaulay (from portraits in the National Portrait Gallery)



Plate 59 Marquess of Dalhousie, from a portrait in the National Portrait Gallery

greatest attention is the abolition of the Company's monopoly of trade with India, though the monopoly of the China trade was retained. This had the effect of gradually transferring the main attention of the Company's officials to administration as distinct from the 'investment,' and gradually the factories were closed down. A more important section, however, was that which declared the 'undoubted sovereignty of the Crown of the United Kingdom,' and this was shown by the concentration of the functions of the Board of Control in one minister.

Education was for the first time specifically referred to by the provision of a lakh of rupees (£10,000) for its encouragement. This was the first step that had been taken since the setting up of the Madrasa in Calcutta by Warren Hastings, and the formation of the schools of pandits in Benares into a college by Duncan in 1791. The permission to persons to enter under licence opened the way to the entry of those missionary bodies which have done so much for education in India, though they were not expressly referred to. The need for the spiritual welfare of the Company's servants and other English people was now recognized by the arrangements for the setting up of a bishopric. The Act of 1813 was an important step in the development of the Indian constitution.

The Final Settlement in Continental India

The situation as regards relations with the Mahrattas was not satisfactory and the non-intervention policy had proved a failure.

Jaswant Rao Holkar had, as has been stated before, died in 1811, and disorder set in when his mistress, Tulsi Bai, set her son, Malhar Rao, on the *gadi*. Amir Khan, the leader of the Pathan mercenaries, was regent, and between him and the Mahratta party under Tulsi Bai continual strife raged, while the territories of Holkar, Sindhia and the Rajputs was ravaged indiscriminately. Sindhia and the Pindaris also joined in the plunder and strife. The Pindaris were the irregular bands who had followed the Mahratta armies—men of all religions and castes bound together by hope of plunder and with no loyalty to anyone except their immediate leaders, of whom Chitu, Wasil Muhammad and Karim Khan were the most prominent. They raided indiscriminantly, burning and murdering, raping and torturing with impunity. It has been stated by one writer * well qualified to judge,

* Malcolm, *Central India*

'The native states were disorganized and society on the verge of dissolution.' This was the result of the policy of non-intervention. Before the Pindaris, who had in 1812 attacked Bihar and Mirzapur, pushing their depredations into the Company's territory, were dealt with, however, the new Governor-General, Lord Moira (later Marquis of Hastings), who was appointed in 1813, had to deal with another threat to the Company's territories.

The Gurkha War

Something has already been said about the Gurkhas, who had in 1768 conquered the Hindu rajas of Nepal after the badly supported expedition of Captain Kinloch in 1762. The Gurkhas now set out on a career of conquest among the hill states of the sub-Himalayan tract. Kumaon under the Chand dynasty had grown weak, and in 1789 Ran Bahadur Sah of Nepal overran it, and though recalled by a Chinese invasion of Nepal soon returned. In 1804 Garhwal was annexed, and gradually the Gurkha raj was spread over the hills from the Sutlej to Sikkim, and was threatening the British territories in the Terai including the Doon Valley. Sir George Barlow had tried appeasement and Minto remonstrances, but with no result, and finally when incursions into the border territories in Bettiah in Bihar had led to bloodshed, Lord Hastings determined there was nothing the Gurkhas would recognize but force.

A plan was devised for a fourfold advance on the hills with two columns under Generals Marley and Wood from Patna and Gorakhpur on Kathmandu, while General Gillespie was to advance into the Doon from Saharanpur, and Colonel Ochterlony to attack the main body under Amar Sinjh Thapa on the upper Sutlej in 1814. The plan failed ; Marley and Wood were inexperienced in such warfare and retreated in disorder. The impetuous Gillespie was killed in an attack on Kalinga, and his force suffered a reverse. Hastings now made another plan, which involved giving the command to Ochterlony, now made general, who pinned the Gurkha forces down to the fort of Malaon, while a remarkable diversionary expedition was dispatched under Colonel Gardner, and later Colonel Nichols, into Kumaon, where the forces of Bam Sah and Hastidal, thinned by the desertion of the Kumaon levies, were defeated and Almora captured in April 1815. Ochterlony stormed Malaon in May and the Nepalese asked for terms. These entailed the evacuation of Garhwal,

Kumaon, and the whole Terai. The Nepal government refused to ratify them, but were soon made to see reason when General Ochterlony advanced towards Kathmandu itself and defeated a force of Gurkhas at Makwanpur at the end of February 1816. This was the end of resistance, and the treaty of Sagauli was finally concluded. By this Garhwal and Kumaon were surrendered and most of the Terai, while a British Resident was placed in Kathmandu. The Chand dynasty of Kumaon had no legitimate survivor, and the country was taken over, while part of Garhwal was handed back to the raja, whose descendants still rule over the state of Tehri Garhwal. The Gurkhas were a brave and skilful foe, and more than a match at first for the Company's troops, who had no experience in hill warfare.

Many of the troops of Amar Singh and Bam Sah took service with the British in special battalions, which were the origin of the Gurkha regiments of to-day, whose reputation is second to none in the Indian army, and whose valour in this war and the last has been so splendid. Nepal still maintains its isolation from the rest of India, and only the British Resident, now known as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, and his escort ever enter Nepal, which is an independent power in alliance with the British Crown, and whose faithfulness as a friend and ally has been proved by its immediate assistance whenever the Empire is attacked.

The Pindaris

The Pindari bands had some sort of an arrangement with Daulat Rao Sindhia to assist him, but they were practically independent of any authority other than their own. The Dasehra festival after the rains were over was the occasion for their assembling preparatory to plundering raids in central India and elsewhere. In 1812 they had made inroads into the Company's territories as far as Mirzapur and South Bihar. In 1816 they attacked the Northern Circars, burning villages and torturing the inhabitants to reveal their treasure. The Governor-General assembled a large force of over 100,000 men to deal with them, and organized a large drive over most of central India. Operations were complicated by attacks by the Peshwa, which led to war, and also by the need to deal with Holkar and the Bhonsla. But notwithstanding these interruptions, the operations against the Pindaris went on, and they were gradually worn down with-

out any help from Sindhia or other interested parties. The drive against the Pindaris began with Hastings himself commanding the northern army, based on Handia in the Allahabad district, and another force from the Deccan under Sir Thomas Hislop, while a cordon was drawn between Poona and Nagpur to prevent assistance from the Mahrattas. The operations started at the end of 1817, and in a short time resulted in the destruction of all organized resistance. Chitu, the chief of the leaders, was driven into jungle country round Asirgarh and was killed by a tiger. The other leaders were imprisoned or settled where they could do no damage, and the terrible scourge of the Pindaris was finally annihilated by 1818.

The Mahratta War

The operations against the Pindaris were complicated by the outbreak of a war with the Peshwa and Nagpur. The policy of non-intervention had resulted in disorder in the Mahratta states, and the work begun by Wellesley had now to be completed after great damage had been done.

Daulat Rao Sindhia, who was in some degree the patron of the Pindaris, had been rendered innocuous by Hastings in 1817 marching on Gwalior and forcing his agreement to a treaty which promised assistance against the Pindaris—which he actually did not give—and also permitted alliance with the Rajput states which had been abandoned under the policy of non-intervention. This led to the treaties with Jaipur, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Bhopal and the other Rajput states. Amir Khan, the leader of the Pathan mercenaries of Holkar, who was at variance with Tulsi Bai, was later confirmed as ruler of Tonk, and thus settled into peaceful habits.

The very day in November that Sindhia was rendered harmless by the treaty of Gwalior Baji Rao the Peshwa attacked the British at Poona. He had earlier in the year, when his intrigues against the Company had become public, been compelled by Elphinstone to renounce his position as head of the Mahrattas and to make over the Konkan to the Bombay Presidency, while he agreed to lease Ahmadabad in perpetuity to the Gaikwar. This was preparatory to the drive against the Pindaris, and had been preceded by a similar treaty with Nagpur the year before, when Appa Sahib the regent of the Bhonsla Parsaji, the son of Raghuji, whose weakness of intellect precluded him from ruling, was recognized by the Company. A force had been stationed at

Nagpur, not only to safeguard the treaty but to prevent the Pindaris breaking out on that side.

Baji Rao was thoroughly unreliable, and his character prevented his becoming the leader of the Mahrattas in a final effort. As it was, he attempted on his own account what would have been a doubtful adventure even if backed by the whole strength of the Mahratta Confederacy. His attempt was doomed to failure. He was successful in burning the Poona residency, but when, with greatly superior numbers, he tried conclusions with Colonel Burr and his small force at Kirki, the cantonment, he was badly defeated and fled, pursued by the British. He was brought to battle again at Koregaon and Ashti, where his commander Bapu Gokhale was killed, and finally in June 1818 surrendered to Sir John Malcolm, who treated him beyond his deserts by agreeing to a pension of eight lakhs and a residence at Bithur near Cawnpore. Meanwhile Sir Thomas Hislop had defeated the forces of the Holkar state at Mahidpur on their refusal to come to terms.

Appa Sahib, in accordance with his arrangement with the Peshwa, and a few days after the attack on the Residency at Poona, made a similar attempt on the small force with the British Resident at Nagpur. This also failed, and reinforcements having arrived Bhonsla was defeated in the battle of Nagpur in December 1818. Appa Sahib fled to the Punjab and died later in Rajputana. Thus the last effort of the Mahrattas to put a period to British expansion in India failed, as it was bound to fail.

The settlement which ensued spread British rule over all continental India, either directly or by treaties with the various states, except the Punjab and Sind.

First the Peshwa's dominions became part of the Bombay Presidency, with the exception of Satara, which was confirmed to the descendent of Sivaji, while other small Mahratta states, including Kolhapur, retained their separate existence. The pirates of the coast, the Angrias and the Sidi of Janjira, were also finally dealt with, and the coast from Goa to Bombay taken over by Bombay in 1820. The Bhonslas ceased to be much more than titular princes, and were demilitarized, while Saugor and that portion of Berar north of the Narbada were annexed.

Sindhia, who had taken no part in the operations against the Pindaris, had his treaty altered, and had to give up Ajmir to the Company. Holkar by the treaty of Mandasor gave up territory south of the Narbada, recognized Amir Khan as Nawab of Tonk, and accepted reduction of his army and the presence of a Resident

in Indore. The Gaikwar in the person of the regent Fateh Singh had agreed in 1818 to hand over Ahmadabad for a sum of money and other territory. He had faithfully carried out his engagements against the Pindaris, and was rewarded by the remission of revenue from the new territories given in place of Ahmadabad, which he had held on lease from the Peshwa. All these alliances left the princes concerned responsible for their own internal administration and the welfare of their subjects. In this respect their sovereignty was not infringed. This won the support of the various princes, as did the general forbearance shown in the settlement by the victors.

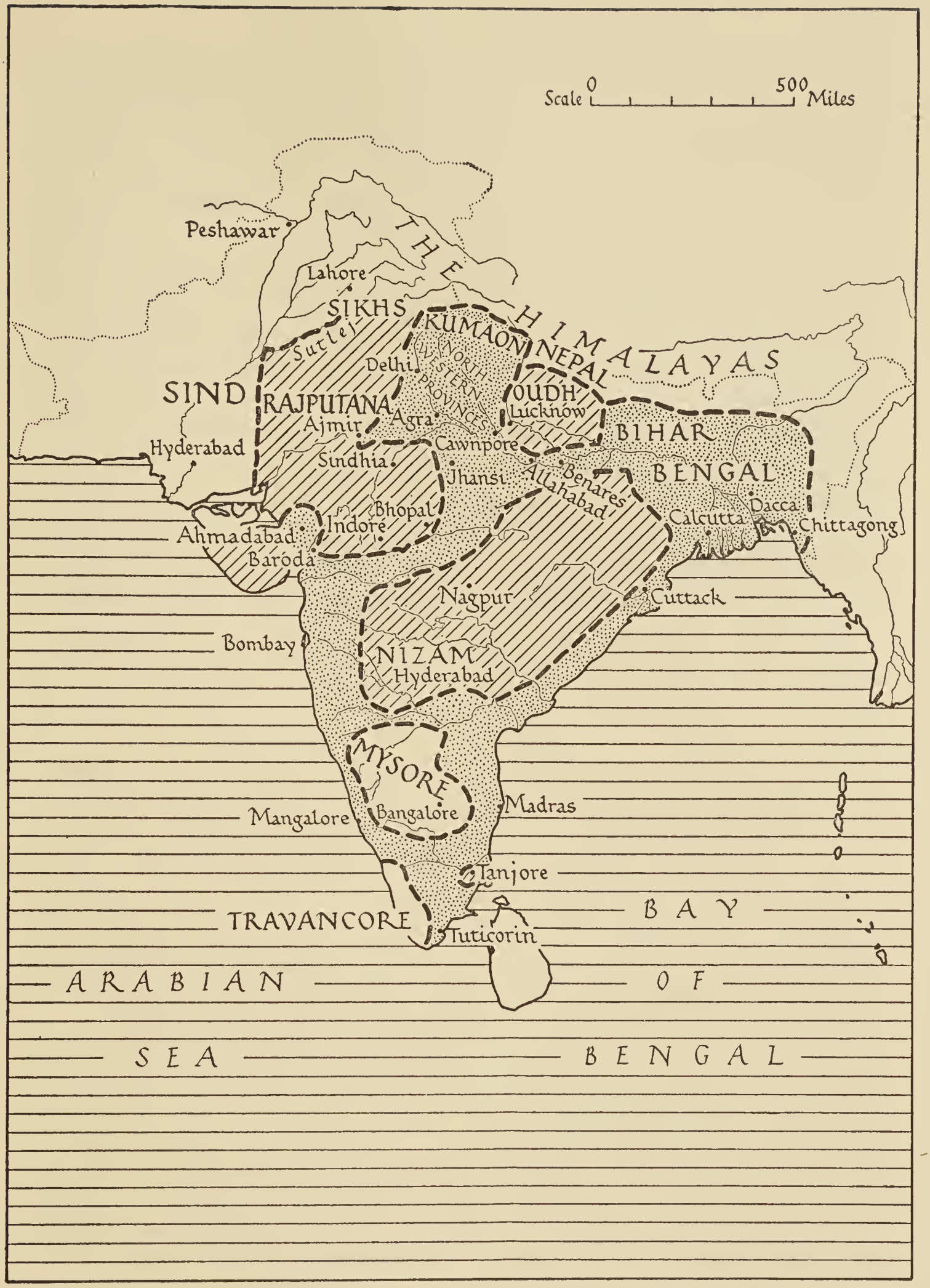
The fall of the Mahratta Confederacy was implicit in its system of organization and methods of administration. It was a loosely knit league of military leaders, who gradually tended to drift apart, each following his own interests. Such a loose confederation had obviously no chance against a centralized power.

Mahratta Administration

The question has often been discussed whether the Mahrattas had any chance of succeeding to the empire of the Mughuls. Sivaji had certainly dreamt of such a project, but it was defeated at Panipat. In the first place it was rendered doubtful by the very nature of the Mahratta principles of government, and finally destroyed by the superior power and constitutional principles of the British.

The political principles of Mahratta government were deliberately founded on the ancient Hindu system of government, and were put into force without the necessary adjustments which the passage of time and the change in the conceptions of justice and expediency alike demanded.

The emergence of the Brahman Peshwa, not the chief of the Ashta Pradhan in the first place, to control of the Mahratta Confederacy has been traced already. The first step was to make the Peshwa chief minister, the next came when Balaji Vishwanath made the position not only the chief but hereditary. Thus gradually the descendant of Sivaji at Satara became a mere shadow and the Peshwa usurped all the power. The power was consolidated by a clever system of feudal holdings and the concentration of revenue administration in the hands of the Huzur Dafta or secretariat at Poona. The officials of the Peshwa's administration



Map 21 India in 1818 after Treaties of Gwalior and Mandasor

East India Company's territories stippled
States shown by diagonal shading

ranged from the hereditary *patels* or headmen of the village communities, an ancient Mahratta office, and the Brahman *kulkarni* or record keeper, to the divisional officer of the Peshwa, known as the *mamlatdar*. These last were both revenue officials and magistrates, and, while at first subjected to various checks, gradually, especially when the office was put up to auction, became almost independent in their assessments, as was the case under Baji Rao II. There were also officials who were responsible for the keeping of the roll of those who were part of the military levy of the state and formed the levy or militia. The judicial system was founded on the old institution of the *panchayat* of the village appointed by the patel. An appeal was to the mamlatdar, who either upheld the decision or appointed arbitrators. There was, in important cases, an appeal to the Peshwa's legal minister. The system was successful in small cases, but in large there was little redress against the rich or the powerful. The criminal law was not codified, and flogging and torture were used to extort a confession. Punishment was by fine, confiscation, or imprisonment, while after 1761 capital punishment was inflicted for murder, grievous hurt, dacoity, or treason. Mutilation was also used.

There was no punishment or penalty for perjury or forgery, which were not considered serious offences. The police system was founded on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief, by which members of criminal tribes or Ramnosis and Bhils were responsible for any thefts or dacoities. In bad cases irregular infantry were posted on the village as an additional defence. In the towns a kotwal was appointed who was magistrate, municipal officer, and policeman in one, and arrangements were better.

The army in the time of the Peshwas tended to become more and more mercenary with the recruitment of non-Mahrattas from the north, and the Mahrattas proper formed the cavalry—always the core of the Mahratta army. The feudal levy was arranged by the grant of fiefs to various leaders, but the fiefs were scattered and intermingled to take full advantage of mutual jealousy and to prevent risings against the central power or the consolidation of principalities. The *chauth* of one-fourth of the revenue in return for protection from other governments and the *sardesmukhi*, a similar impost but paid to the ruler alone, were subdivided into portions of 66 per cent. for upkeep of troops given to the various officers or chiefs, and 28 per cent. to the ruler. This was maintained under the Peshwas, but when the territories were taken

over in full the remaining portion of the revenue was granted minus the *chauth* as a *jagir* to different persons, but not in full to any one chief. The same thing was done with the *sardesmukhi*. The revenue collection in the Mahratta lands was in theory just and fair on paper, but in practice degenerated under the later Peshwas. There were several other taxes and cesses, and often an imposition of a year's additional demand when money was needed. There were also customs and taxes on trades.

But the organization of finance depended on the bad old system, on which the Mahratta state was founded, of subsistence by plundering raids. This might have continued until the whole of India was subject to these expeditions had not the whole system broken down when the prominent chiefs discovered that it was possible to set up principalities of their own gradually growing into independent states. What the results would have been is shown by the disorder and misery of the years of the non-intervention policy. The Mahrattas had had their chance and failed.

Chapter XXIV

THE CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF THE COMPANY IN INDIA

The growth of the Company's influence from the days when it had been merely the diwan of the Mughul empire was a gradual affair dictated not by policy but by circumstances. Clive had suggested paying tribute for Bengal to the emperor, Shah Alam, largely because there was a danger that the Crown would take over the sovereignty if it appeared to be openly exercised by the Company. This led to the fiction of a dual government with the emperor's authority recognized in theory, though in practice the emperor had no means of enforcing it. This policy was carried out by Warren Hastings, because he found it in force, but he changed it in practice by refusing to continue the tribute and by handing over Kara and Allahabad to the Nawab Wazir of Oudh. Yet in other respects the fiction was still continued. The coinage was struck in the name of Shah Alam. But the administration of Bengal, except Calcutta and the ceded districts, was carried out by the officers of the Nawab of Bengal, who were nominally subject to him but actually to the Company. The Supreme Court of Judicature dealt with British subjects only, and the inhabitants of Bengal, of Bihar, and Orissa were not regarded as British subjects. Sindhia, when he assumed control at Delhi as the deputy of the Peshwa, who had been made the Vakil of the Empire, did in fact demand the tribute, but the answer he got convinced him of the reality of the situation.

The situation changed with Lord Lake's capture of Delhi, when the person of the emperor passed into the keeping of the Company. The Charter Act of 1813 embodied the new position and it was specifically laid down that the sovereignty of the Crown of Great Britain extended over the Company's territories, and this position was recognized in the treaties which ended the Napoleonic wars. With the coming of Lord Moira the fiction of the Mughul supremacy was ended, though it was not until 1835 that the name of the late emperor Shah Alam was removed from the coins. The overt sign of this change was the disappearance from the Governor-General's seal of the phrase indicating that he was the servant of the emperor. The usual *nazars* or

gifts were no longer sent, and when Akbar II succeeded his father, Shah Alam, in 1806 and desired a meeting, Wellesley refused unless all ceremonial suggesting that the Governor-General was inferior was omitted.

The Company's Resident in Delhi administered the emperor's grants, and his orders were effective only in the palace. It was in accordance with this policy that the title of king was assumed by Ghazi-ud-din Haidar of Oudh in 1819. This possession of the emperor's person and of Delhi finally dissipated the danger which had been ever present that the French might have been given by the Great Mogul the position which the English had refused to assume at the time when Cornwallis had reluctantly refused to rescue the emperor from the clutches of Ghulam Kadir Khan. When in 1793 Nasir-ul-Mulk was recognized by the Company without reference to Shah Alam as Nawab of Bengal, Sindhia had protested in his character of the emperor's agent, but his protests were disregarded by Cornwallis, who had already the year before let it be known that he would resent any application for the tribute. The rout of the French troops of Sindhia dissipated any fear of a French army assuming the protection of the Great Mogul and asserting claims to the Company's possessions. The Great Mogul had in fact for a long time been only the shadow of a name under which various powers exercised their independent rule, some more and some less openly. The Nizam still bought the recognition of his succession by presents, but remitted no tribute. Tipu Sultan on the other hand declared himself an independent ruler. The Peshwa had long used a similar shadowy allegiance to the descendants of Sivaji, the Raja of Satara, and only accepted the title of *wakil-i-mutlak* of the Mughul Empire as it served to confirm the position of Sindhia at Delhi. Clive in the Treaty of Allahabad had, unasked, granted the tribute of twenty-six lakhs to Shah Alam as a means of financing his ally and to forestall any threatened desire on the part of the English Crown to take over the control of the Company's possessions.

The new Governor-Generals appointed after Warren Hastings found what they considered an illogical situation, though it had appeared quite logical to men accustomed to the traditional forms by which power in India was wielded. Thus Cornwallis and Wellesley began the progressive development of political theory which culminated in the final overthrow of the Great Mogul's shadowy claims.

The First Burmese War

The settlement of the Indian balance of power under the Marquis of Hastings left only the Sikhs and the Afghans capable of disputing the control of Indian land power—sea power was firmly in the hands of the victors of Trafalgar. There were, however, threats from another direction.

Burma had never received European traders gladly. The Dutch and then the French had tried to establish trading stations there and failed, nor did the East India Company fare much better. The Burmese with their capital at Ava up country had annexed the delta country of the Irrawadi and Tenassarim in 1757, and ten years later repelled a determined Chinese attempt at invasion. Under Bodawpaya they began to expand over the Chindwin and the Naga and Chin hills into Assam and along the coast of Arakan, which was occupied in 1785. The state of Manipur and its fertile valley was conquered in 1813, and in 1815 the part of Assam which was still independent was also occupied. Dynastic struggles had led to one party calling in the Burmese to defeat the other, and now they stayed. This meant that the Burmese held the upper course of the Brahmaputra, and now they laid claim to the Company's territory of Sylhet. The Arakanese, driven out of Arakan, had fled to Chittagong and conducted raids into Burmese held territory. The Burmese advanced in Arakan ; their objective was Calcutta, and war broke out. The advance along the Arakan coast was no easier than in 1943, and a sea-borne expedition to Pegu settled the matter with an advance up the Irrawadi in 1824 under Sir Archibald Campbell. Jungle fighting was new to the Indian army, and it took time for them to adapt themselves to it ; but finally early in 1826 the treaty of Yandabo was signed which involved the surrender of Arakan, Assam and Manipur with Cachar as well as Tenassarim. Ten lakhs of rupees was fixed as an indemnity, and a British Resident was established at Ava. Thus for a time the matter was settled, but the settlement was not permanent.

Settlement of the Indian States

The break-up of the Mahratta confederacy left behind a legacy of confusion which required careful supervision. The work was carried out by a band of great administrators—Sir John Malcolm in Malwa and Central India, Mountstuart Elphinstone in the

Deccan, Munro in Madras, and Metcalfe, Tod and Ochterlony in Rajputana. The Mahratta rulers in Malwa had established claims and overlordship over many Rajput chiefs, and had formed states of their own, namely Gwalior, Indore, Dhar and Dewas, with various rights over neighbouring Rajput chiefs, such as Ratlam. Malcolm evolved a system by which the Company guaranteed a settlement between the Mahratta rulers and the Rajput chiefs or *thakurs*. The Muslim state of Bhopal was preserved and extended, and another state of Jaora was created as a separate territory.

The Rajputana states were now rescued from the decline into which they had fallen under the Mahratta confederacy, while the claims of tribute which had been established were recognized. This was paid by the Company to the Mahratta states concerned, and each Rajputana state was recognized as a separate independent entity free as to its internal management, but unable to enter into relations with other states.

Hastings' policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of the states, however, showed the difficulty which perforce attended the new arrangement. The result was exemplified by happenings in Hyderabad, where extravagance involved the state in heavy debts to meet which permission was given to the firm of Palmer and Co. to lend the state money on a rate lower than the Indian *shroffs* would advance funds. Sir Charles Metcalfe, who became Resident, investigated the matter, and found great irregularities had been committed, including a high rate of interest and pensions to the partners of the firm. One of these was married to a ward of the Viceroy's, and this led to much comment, though the directors completely excused the Viceroy. It was this episode, however, which led to Hastings' resignation in 1823.

In Oudh the administration under Ghazi-ud-din had still further degenerated, but Hastings not only recalled the Resident, who tried to intervene, but even encouraged Ghazi-ud-din to assume the title of king. This step was undoubtedly a mistake, and was reprobated by other princes. The house of Oudh was no more bound to the English connection by this, while it was an uncalled for rebuff to the imperial line at Delhi.

The war with Burma led to some disaffection, and there was trouble over the succession in Bhartpur. Sir David Ochterlony had ordered the movement of troops to support the claims of Baldeo Singh against his cousin Durjan Sal, but Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, nervous about the delay in concluding the

Burmese war, countermanded the orders and Ochterlony resigned. Sir Charles Metcalfe, however, who succeeded him, found that his action was correct in view of the secret plotting of Durjan Sal with other discontented states, and in 1826 Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief, captured the fort at Bhartpur, which had resisted Lord Lake.

Lord Amherst was succeeded by Lord William Bentinck, who came out in 1828 with definite instructions to pursue a non-intervention policy. There was trouble in Indore and in Gwalior. Bentinck's foreign policy was not successful, and led to trouble for his successors.

The Gaikwar was definitely opposed to the Company, and the disturbed condition of affairs in the other states was disregarded. In Rajputana the situation rapidly deteriorated, and the Resident and his assistant were actually attacked in Jaipur, the Resident being wounded and his assistant killed. Mysore had been ill administered by the raja ever since he had received his powers, and his maladministration and extravagence ultimately led to rebellion, which necessitated the intervention of the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck himself, and the administration of the country was taken over in 1830, and remained in British hands for fifty years. The Raja of Jaintia in Assam had sacrificed British subjects to Kali and his state was annexed and Cachar also, owing to the scandalous nature of the administration. Thus even in Bentinck's time the policy of non-intervention could not be consistently followed.

Ranjit Singh

The Afghans had been in nominal control of the Punjab since the time of Ahmad Shah Durani, but the Sikh *misls* had disputed much of it with his successors. In 1791 Ranjit Singh first became prominent as leader of the Sukarchakia *misl*, one of the groups into which the Sikhs were divided. Zaman Shah in 1797, recognizing his authority, made him governor of Lahore. This gave him an opportunity of spreading his influence over the other bodies of Sikhs, and it was in the course of extending his influence over the Cis-Sutlej Sikh states that he first came into contact with the English, and was persuaded to enter into a treaty of friendship in 1809 during Minto's governor-generalship, engaging not to trespass into the Cis-Sutlej territory or attack the Sikh states under the protection of the Company.

He turned his arms against the Nepalese and took Kangra from them in 1809–11. The next field of employment for his army was against the Afghans, whose power was now declining. He had failed to take Multan in his first attempt, but succeeded in 1818. The following year he occupied Kashmir. Peshawar was finally added to his dominions in 1823. He was aided by the dissensions among the Duranis in Afghanistan, and having once decided that the English were too strong to be attacked he directed his policy accordingly. The Gurkhas certainly expected that he would join them in their war with the English, but as they had similar expectations from Oudh their political intuition must have been at fault. Indeed, the one cardinal principle of a policy dictated by opportunism was never to become embroiled with the English, though the treaty was often in danger.

Lord William Bentinck determined to consolidate relations by a meeting with the Sikh ruler, which took place at Rupar on the River Sutlej in 1831, and the treaty of friendship was renewed and the Indus opened to trade, while Ranjit Singh's designs on part of Sind were given up. The Sikh kingdom, which consisted of the Punjab north and west of the Sutlej, and Kashmir as well as much of the present North-West Frontier province was a military despotism with Ranjit Singh as absolute ruler. This was a great change from the old Sikh ideas of a religious democracy. Ranjit Singh had united the various Sikh *misls* into a military federation based on a system of land allotments, but he had no constitutional ideas, and his army could only be maintained during a state of war. It was a disciplined army trained on European lines, with military adventurers like Allard and the Italian Avitabile as expert advisers (though never independent generals as Perron had been to Sindhia). Ranjit Singh produced no political ideas which might have consolidated the Sikhs in peaceful development, and when he died his military absolutism died with him.

The Khalsa was an instrument which required continuous military employment to keep it keen. Without that external incitement it dissolved in internal intrigues. The Lion of the Punjab had all the attributes of the king of beasts, including its barbarity and cruelty, while his moral character will not bear investigation. The kingdom over which he ruled contained a minority of his fellow Sikhs, and his army included Hindus and Muslims as well as Sikhs, but most of the Sikhs were fighting men, and thus maintained their predominance.

Bentinck's Civil Administration

The chief constitutional event in Lord William Bentinck's governor-generalship was the renewal of the Company's charter by the Act of 1833. This abolished the remaining portion of the Company's trade monopoly—the trade with China—and the commercial activities of the East India Company were now entirely closed down. The charter was renewed for a further twenty years, though there were many who considered that the Crown should take over the direct administration.

The Act has importance in two main directions : it gave to the Governor-General and Council the right to enact laws for the whole of India, and for all subjects of the Company. Any laws to meet local requirements necessary in the Presidencies were to be submitted to the Governor-General and Council for enactment. These Acts were to have the same force and effect as an Act of Parliament. This was immensely important, and as a further step a new member was added to the Council of the Governor-General, to be present only when legislative business was discussed. This was the creation of the Law Member of the Council, and with him began the separate institution of a legislative council, when the Council with the Law Member met for legislative business only. From this sprang the Legislative Assemblies of to-day. Indian law commissioners were to be appointed to investigate the whole field of law and to codify the different systems. This commission was responsible under the new Law Member's direction for the codification of the Indian law as it is to-day. The first Law Member was that remarkable person Thomas Babington Macaulay. Finally the Act reversed the Cornwallis Code in theory by declaring that high office was open to all irrespective of race or creed. The intention was to make this effective by abolishing the system by which the directors were nominated to the Company's service, and substituting a system of modified competition for part of the annual intake. This was not satisfactory to the directors, who got an amending Bill enacted the following year. When competition as the sole means of selecting candidates came in 1853 the examinations were held in England, and it was long before Indian candidates were able to participate. The disfavour into which the Indian services had fallen between the two world wars led to the necessity for nomination to be returned to in England, while examination remained in India.

Lord William Bentinck's fame perhaps rests chiefly on his suppression of *sati*, the custom by which a widow might immolate herself on her husband's funeral pyre. This must not be confused with the Rajput rite of *jauhar*, when the women sacrificed themselves by fire and the men sallied out in a final charge before a Muslim enemy. There have been *satis* in the West, and the bodies of most barbarian kings of old times were burnt with hundreds of slaves and horses and cattle to accompany them to the other world. In India, however, it had continued, though the Mughuls tried to stop it. British administrators, always reluctant to interfere with the religious beliefs of people under their charge, hesitated for long to interfere. Attempts were made to regulate it by rules, which naturally caused great criticism, especially by missionaries. The great Hindu reformer Ram Mohun Roy was in favour of abolition, but counselled a waiting policy, though his own family had exhibited a case of 'an hysterical and unhappy sacrifice.' Custom or family pressure often forced unwilling victims to the flames. The directors in 1823 finally pressed for action to be taken, and Bentinck determined to act. A law was passed in 1829 declaring *sati* to be illegal, and anyone abetting became liable to prosecution for culpable homicide, while anyone enforcing it would incur the penalty of death. An appeal made to the Privy Council was rejected, and the regulation became law, and *sati* ceased gradually, though it lingered for a time in Rajputana in the Rajput states, and when Ranjit Singh died many of his women were immolated on his funeral pyre.

The suppression of *Thagi* was another of Bentinck's reforms, though it was not completed in his time. The Thugs were organized bands of men who combined together to rob wealthy travellers and who invariably strangled and buried their victims to conceal the crime. Their organization was secret, and their campaigns were conducted under religious auspices with the goddess Bhowanni as their patron. They assembled at the Dasehra at the end of the rains, and set out on their task with an elaborate organization of spies, gravediggers, and finally the experts, the stranglers who operated with the dreaded *rumal* (handkerchief). When their spies gave intimation of a worthwhile prey they joined the party of travellers, and at the selected place the victim or victims were throttled and buried and their goods appropriated with no traces left. This was no new form of crime. It had existed for centuries, but so far no effort had been made to root it out. Now Colonel Sleeman was made head of a special department for the abolition

of *Thagi*, and his success was remarkable. Evidence was carefully collected, special courts set up, and informers promised forgiveness. Those convicted were hanged, and in 1836 a special Act was passed making it a criminal offence to be associated with a band of thugs, the penalty being transportation.

Infanticide was another crime which was tackled. It arose largely from the inferior position of women and the cost of marriages, so that parents were reluctant to nurture girl babies. This operated especially among Rajputs, and it was particularly difficult to discover, since if mothers refused to feed their babies no-one could very well interfere in their secluded life. Thus persuasion was the main weapon, and the carrying out of the reform took a long time.

The slaying of *meriahs* or human victims for the fertility of the fields by the Khonds of Orissa was also tackled though the custom was not extirpated until later.

Naturally with the emancipation of slaves throughout British territory in 1833 the condition of slavery in India was also affected. The importation of slaves into India had already been forbidden in 1811. But slavery was an ancient institution and hard to eradicate. Men sold their children and even themselves to avoid starvation, or to pay off debts they could not meet. Then the village servants were little removed from serfdom. It is only very recently that the Doms in Kumaon have asserted their freedom from village serfdom. In 1832 it was forbidden to traffic in slaves brought from outside the district, but it was not till ten years later that the Act was passed forbidding courts of law to recognize slavery.

These humanitarian enactments were the result of the great wave of humanitarianism which had come over England under the influence of Wilberforce and others. Lord William Bentinck was a Whig holding the new Radical doctrines, of which Bentham had been the great exponent. He was the son of a great family, the Dukes of Portland, and had no axe of his own to grind. He had learnt the art of government by hard experience as governor of Madras, and was determined to introduce into India the new ideals of the West. The work of missionary bodies had much to do with the spread of these ideas. These had been discouraged at first, and William Carey the Baptist had to establish himself and his mission in Serampore, the Danish settlement on the Hugli, while other missionaries were sent back or refused permission to land. It was the Charter Act of 1813 which reversed

this policy with the appointment of the first bishop in India, and the allowing of missionaries to settle under license. After 1813 the need for a licence was ended and much missionary activity took place. This was especially advantageous in the sphere of education.

Education

The great anarchy which resulted from the break-up of the Mughul empire and the disorder which spread over India north and south alike had offered no soil for education to flourish. Benares still continued to be a centre of Sanskrit learning, and some of the Muslim academies still maintained an uncertain existence, but education among the masses must have suffered greatly. The idea of mass education is, of course, a modern idea, and though there were still some elementary teaching in the mosque schools and by Hindu *gurus* in rural centres, the people generally were sunk in ignorance and apathy.

The East India Company was too occupied in a struggle for existence to do much, but Warren Hastings had founded the Calcutta Madrasa, and Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Benares, formed the different schools of Sanskrit pandits at Benares into a Sanskrit College in 1791, still the chief centre of Sanskrit learning. The Act of 1813 had contained the first official provision for educational expenditure, but it was used chiefly for scholarships in classical languages and translations. All this was education in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. William Carey and Marshman at Serampore had done much work in translating the scriptures into Bengali prose, and their work bore remarkable fruit. It was David Hare, a watchmaker in Calcutta, who first pointed the way to more modern studies, and the demand for Western knowledge largely came from liberal-minded Indians like Ram Mohun Roy. The result of this desire was the foundation of the Hindi Vidyala, later to become the Presidency College. This was followed by the Bishop's College at Calcutta in 1823, founded by the missionaries, and three years later the Agra College up country showed that the desire for a Western type of education was widely spread.

The Committee of Public Instruction, which had been set up to distribute the educational grants, was the battlefield in a struggle between the Orientalists and the moderns, and the latter demanded English education. The demand was logical, for the classical

languages—Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit,—were not sufficiently widespread for use as a vehicle for the conveyance of Western knowledge for which there was now a general demand. The vernaculars had not yet developed the necessary vocabulary for anything in the nature of advanced studies, Hindi prose indeed was late in development as was Urdu and was chiefly standardized by the missionaries in the course of the next twenty years. Thus if Western knowledge was to be taught, and that was the demand, it could only be taught through the medium of English. Macaulay, who was made President of the Committee of Public Instruction when he arrived in India in 1834, was strongly in favour of English. He knew nothing about Sanskrit classics and Sanskrit systems or Arabic and, with his usual liking for dismissing opposition in a phrase, in his celebrated Minute waxed contemptuous about classics he knew nothing about. But his influence has been exaggerated. Once it was agreed that higher education should be set up, English was the only medium possible in the then stage of the vernaculars. The ' filtration ' theory that the higher learning would filter down to lower levels also helped—an academic theory founded on little but hope. Bentinck recommended the policy to the home authorities as being logical and necessary, and thus an English literary tradition was established. English literature became the core of educational curricula, and the Indian classical languages were relegated to the old-fashioned *pathshalas* and *madrasas*. It was hoped that men with a sound knowledge of English and English ideas would be available for higher appointments, not for clerkships, but no provision was made for anything beyond an academic literary education, because in England no such provision was yet contemplated. In England, however, the classical languages of Greek and Rome were the basis of higher education, and it is conceivable that Arabic and Sanskrit might have filled a similar role in India, but the attempt was not made, and is only now being uncertainly attempted. Thus a common language for India was decided on, and there is no doubt that the choice of English as that language has been a unifying bond without which no sense of solidarity could have been achieved. None of the Indian languages was, at that time, sufficiently advanced to take its place, and none would have been universally accepted. Now that these languages have developed there is still a reluctance to accept any one as a *lingua franca*, but the development of education on the lower levels in the vernaculars has produced a problem for a higher

educational medium which is at present far from a satisfactory solution.

Administration

The revenue settlement in Bengal had had one unexpected effect, the results of which have been felt until the present day. The existence of a permanent settlement meant that the assistants which the *ryotwari* system needed did not exist, while the superintendence of the police by the zillah judge left little excuse for the collector to tour his district. Thus the machinery of administration in Bengal was wanting when any great and sudden crisis arose—as has been shown conclusively even as late as the famine of 1943. Under the enthusiasm engendered by Cornwallis' reforms the permanent settlement was extended to Madras, where it proved a complete failure, and to the parts of the present United Provinces round Benares. Elsewhere, however, the *ryotwari* system which Munro introduced in Madras was adopted. At first it led to excessive assessment, but in course of time a more scientific method was adopted. In Bentinck's time a revision on these lines was begun in Bombay. In Agra after some trial and error, Regulation VII of 1822 laid down definite rules and a definite system of survey and assessment. The joint villages of Agra were mostly cultivated by tenants, and Bentinck in 1832 passed the important regulation which recognized tenancy rights of occupation for twelve years as giving a heritable claim on a rent which could be settled by a lawsuit.

In the realm of justice Bentinck greatly extended the powers and numbers of the subordinate judiciary, the *sadr amins*, and created a new grade the principal *sadr amin*, who could try cases up to the value of Rs5,000. Commissioners were set up in Bengal by Bentinck with a general control over groups of districts and to act as a court of appeal in place of the provincial bodies which existed. This was for both revenue and criminal appeals, but the criminal appeals were in 1832 transferred to the zillah judges. In Bengal the police were still under the zillah judge, but the system of *thanas* with a *darogha* in charge was instituted, and a force of paid police recruited in addition to the village *chowkidars*. Four superintendents were appointed for the whole province, for Calcutta, Dacca, Patna and Mursidabad, while in the districts the zillah judge still exercised control. In Madras, chiefly through the representations of Munro, the collector was

entrusted with control of the police, and the Bengal system was discontinued. This was also followed in Bombay and Agra, the *tahsildar* instead of a *darogha* being in immediate control. This was an improvement, but more remained to be done, especially with regard to the staffing of the force.

Agra had become the North-Western Province in 1833, and was administered on more sensible lines than the older provinces, though it too was bound by many out-moded regulations. The various departments of government were now beginning to appear as well as the police. Madras had started an organization for the upkeep of irrigation reservoirs in 1819, and this was placed under the Board of Revenue in 1825 with regular engineers in charge. In the North-Western Province the canal of Firuz Shah Tughluk was restored to use in 1827 by Royal Engineers. This is the present West Jumna Canal. Other canals also were repaired, and in 1836 the great project of the Upper Ganges Canal was begun. It was in connection with this latter project that the great college of civil engineering at Rurki was started.

Thus the foundations of a modern system of administration had been laid and developed. It had proceeded very much under a system of advance by trial and error, but it had advanced. The Mughul system had made the executive official the ruler without any counterbalancing checks. The Cornwallis Code in Bengal had uncertainly attempted to introduce the English local government system of control by courts of law. The final result, which was being worked out, was a compromise, with various departments of administration in the district under the overall control of a collector and magistrate responsible for revenue collection and law and order, but with a zillah judge in charge of the administration of justice.

Chapter XXV

THE FINAL CONQUESTS AND THE FRONTIER PROBLEM

The search for security now became the keynote of Indian foreign policy. The sea routes were safe—Trafalgar had seen to that, and they were not to be really threatened again until Pearl Harbour and its results, when a Japanese fleet cruised in the Bay of Bengal for a short time and the navy had to withdraw to the shelter of African ports.

It was the land approach which now once again, since the inroads of the Mongols, became a danger. Napoleon's plans were to advance by land to attack India, and thus Egypt, the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan became the far gates to Indian security.

In the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea the Bombay government had for long established relations. The Bombay Marine was first built to deal with the coastwise pirates, the Angrias and others, but in 1759 it was given the duty of protecting Indian vessels trading to the Red Sea and the Gulf as successor of the Mughul admirals. It is interesting to note that as a mark of this position until 1829 the flag officer of the Bombay Marine flew the Mughul colours on the mainmast and the Company ensign at the peak. Much service was seen in clearing away the pirates in the Gulf and the Red Sea. A treaty was made with the Sultan of Aden in 1802, and the pirate stronghold of Ras-ul-Khaima in the Persian Gulf was taken in 1819.

Lord William Bentinck was responsible for organizing a steam route, Suez to Bombay, which was continued from Alexandria to England, and an overland route was maintained by Muhammad Ali, the Khedive, from Suez to Alexandria in connection with the monthly service of steamers. Aden became the great coaling station on the route after the Sultan had in 1837 seized and plundered an Indian vessel which had run ashore, and refused redress. This led to the capture of Aden by a Bombay force in 1839.

The Russian Advance

Under Catherine the Great Russian power advanced to the shores of the Euxine, and under her successors penetrated into the

Caucasus and Georgia, and gradually began to strike out farther towards the borders of Persia and the khanates. It will be remembered that Napoleon had made a treaty with Persia, and promised to protect it against Russian attacks, but at Tilsit shortly afterwards he had thrown them over in making an agreement with the Czar Paul.

This turned Persia to negotiations with England, and the treaty of Teheran had been entered into by which help was promised in case of attack, and British officers were lent to train the Persian armies. It was not till the Persians in 1836 attacked Russian troops that the treaty was called into operation. Canning, the Foreign Minister, gave a subsidy but no troops, as he was engaged in the Greek War of Independence against the Turks. The result was the defeat of Persia, and a treaty which led to the establishment of Russian influence in Teheran. Russia encouraged Persia to recover her eastern possessions, and Khiva was one objective, Herat another. Plans for the recovery of Kandahar were made, and in 1837 Herat was besieged.

The Russian advance threatening Afghanistan through Persia was real enough, and now began to attract the attention of the government in India, viewed from its effects on the situation in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan

The Durani tribe had for some time been rent by internal feuds, and the reigning Sadozai family was threatened by the Barakzais. Shah Shuja of the Sadozai family had been driven out, and only Herat remained in the hands of the family, while Dost Muhammad of the Barakzai family was now amir in Kabul. The position was very different to the days of Ahmad Shah. The Punjab was in the hands of Ranjit Singh, Sind was practically independent, Kashmir had been lost, and now Persia backed by Russia was threatening on the west. Shah Shuja was always a dangerous rival, and in 1834, with the support of Ranjit Singh and the English, had attempted to regain the throne without success. In these circumstances Dost Muhammad was in a very difficult position, and he had to play off one against the other, Persian, Russian and English, with the knowledge of the inveterate enmity of the Sikhs. It was really the enmity of the Sikhs which decided the question and made Lord Auckland, the new Governor-General, take sides with Shah Shuja, the ex-amir

and claimant to the throne of Afghanistan against Dost Muhammad. It was a position forced on him by circumstances. Dost Muhammad demanded as a price of an alliance against Persia backed by Russia the return of Peshawar from the Sikhs. He had also received a Russian representative in Kabul in 1837. This was the determining act. It was impossible to agree to the return of Peshawar, and in any case it would have to be taken from the Sikhs by force. Nor could any forces be sent into Afghanistan except by way of the Punjab or Sind, and without Ranjit Singh's assistance either of these was impossible. For all these reasons the only possibility was to support Shah Shuja, whom the Sikhs would approve of. An arrangement was come to with Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja in 1838 through the agency of Macnaghten, the political secretary and a tripartite treaty was signed.

Auckland had only envisaged a general support to Shah Shuja in his effort to regain Afghanistan, but gradually found himself forced into the position of taking the lead. Thus a design which started with the intention of placing some obstacle to Russian intrigues led in the end to the invasion by a British force of Afghanistan. There is no doubt that there was a Russian danger. What has been argued is that it did not demand intervention—and armed intervention at that—at the present stage. The siege of Herat by the Persians, which had been the origin of the trouble, had been raised in September 1838 owing to representations from England that the act was considered one of hostility, together with the movements of a English fleet in the Persian Gulf. The Russians ceased from encouraging the Persians, and one of their agents committed suicide on the failure of his plan.

There is little doubt, however, that pressure was brought to bear on Auckland from England by Palmerston, and opinion at home was confused by a garbled account in an official blue book of the attitude of Dost Muhammad. But this was after the expedition had started.

The First Afghan War

An attack on Afghanistan must advance through the Punjab or Sind. The route through the Punjab was not acceptable to Ranjit Singh, and therefore the alternative through Sind and the Bolan Pass was decided on in spite of the opposition of the Amirs of Sind, and the understanding that the Indus was only to be used for commerce. The expedition had developed into an

entirely British effort, as Ranjit Singh supplied no contingent and Shah Shuja's men had no transport. The Amirs were frankly bullied into allowing passage, and finally in March 1839 the expedition, which was composed of a Bengal army force of 9,500, marched from Firozepur to Bahawalpur, and crossed the Indus at Bukkur. A Bombay contingent under Sir John Keane of 5,600 men landed in Sind and marched up the Indus to join them. The forces joined at Quetta with Macnaghten as political officer. Kandahar was occupied, the Barakzai sirdars fleeing before the advance. Shah Shuja was now proclaimed Amir, but he had been restored by a foreign army and was never popular. The advance so far had been hard, but it was necessary to push on and drive out the opposition. Ghazni was taken by storm, and the advance continued to Kabul, while a Sikh contingent was advancing through the Khyber. Dost Muhammad set out to dispute the English forces' advance, but now found that his troops were not likely to fight and fled outside the country. Kabul was entered on 7th August, and Shah Shuja had been restored. Lord Auckland's enterprise was thus crowned with success, and he was rewarded by a promotion in the peerage, while Keane the Commander-in-Chief was made a baron, and Macnaghten a baronet for his political services.

But it was one thing to restore Shah Shuja ; the English now found they had to keep him there. His own forces were of little use, and it was found necessary to leave a garrison in Afghanistan to maintain the Amir in power. To Macnaghten was entrusted the task of administering Shah Shuja's government. The Bombay contingent returned to India, taking Kalat-i-Ghilzai on the way, because Macnaghten had been dissatisfied with the Khan's support on the way up. The Khan was killed in the fighting, and part of the territory was handed over to the Amir. This was an example of Macnaghten's judgment—for it was undoubtedly ill-judged and unjust as well. The English force was distributed in Kabul, Ghazni, Kandahar and Jalalabad, which was on the face of it a mistake, as it could not be rapidly concentrated. Macnaghten's attempt to collect taxes for the Amir was resented—the Afghans did not approve of taxation—and Shah Shuja, as has been said, was unpopular. Macnaghten introduced the practice of subsidizing the most important chiefs to keep them quiet, and as the taxes were not collected these subsidies had to be paid by the Indian government. There was disturbance all round. Russia advanced on Khiva, the Amir of Bokhara imprisoned the British

agent, and there were sporadic revolts. Ranjit Singh had died before Kabul was occupied, and his death led to trouble with the Sikhs. The position was undoubtedly disquieting, even though the Russian expedition to Khiva failed. Macnaghten was incurably optimistic and the warnings were ignored. The escape of Dost Muhammad from Bokhara and his attempt to invade Afghanistan in 1840 was another source of trouble, but his defeat and capture strengthened Macnaghten in his views.

There was little that Lord Auckland could do, however, and he now received orders from home to reduce expenditure, which could only be done by reducing the occupying force and cutting down the subsidies in 1841. The results were soon apparent. The country was out of control and little was done to restore order. Towards the end of the year the unrest culminated in an outbreak in Kabul itself. Here there was a brigade consisting of one battalion of British infantry and three sepoy battalions, with some cavalry and guns. They were in cantonments outside the city, separated from their stores, a position quite indefensible against attack. The general, Elphinstone, was elderly and ill. At the beginning of November a riot in the city led to the murder of Sir Alexander Burnes, who was to succeed Macnaghten when the latter went to take up the governorship of Bombay, to which he had been appointed. An Afghan regiment sent by Shah Shuja to restore order took no action, and Macnaghten and the general also betrayed indecision. Soon the city was lost, but Macnaghten still tried to restore matters, and Elphinstone awaited orders, for he was subordinate to the ' politicals.' He had only 4,500 troops all told, and more than double that number of unarmed followers. He was now besieged in the cantonments and had difficulty in maintaining himself, and his men, bewildered by the incompetence of the commanders, lost heart.

The son of Dost Muhammad, Akbar Khan, had become leader of the insurgents, and Macnaghten entered into negotiations with him for a withdrawal. It was agreed that the English should evacuate the country, and as soon as the troops reached Peshawar Dost Muhammad would be released. Shah Shuja might stay or go with the British, but his family and four British officers would remain as hostages. The Afghans would not enter into any treaties without the consent of the English. This seemed better than might have been expected, but Muhammad Akbar Khan had never any intention of carrying it out. Macnaghten, too, still hoped he could make terms with other chiefs, and play them

off against Muhammad Akbar Khan. This was on 8th December, but delays and conferences still went on, and finally on the 23rd Macnaghten was murdered by Muhammad Akbar Khan at a conference. Even then the general did nothing—perhaps nothing could be done. Negotiations still went on, and finally it was agreed to give up guns, ammunition, everything.

At last on the 6th of January the retreat began. It was harassed by the Afghans from the start, and Muhammad Akbar Khan was apparently quite unable to keep them in hand even if he had wanted to. They made only ten miles the first two days. Discipline soon collapsed among the 4,500 troops and 12,000 followers. In the Kurd Kabul Pass they suffered terribly, losing over three thousand. The women and the married officers were handed over to Muhammad Akbar Khan. Soon the general followed. At Jagdallak the way was blocked and more were massacred. The final confused fight was at Gandammak, and only a half-dozen survived. Of these Dr Brydon alone reached Sale's brigade on 13th January at Jalalabad. Thus perished a whole brigade, horse, foot and artillery, one British battalion, three Indian battalions, four Indian cavalry regiments, six guns of horse artillery, and a regiment of Shah Shuja's, with some sappers and miners, the greatest disaster which had ever befallen the Company's forces in India, due to bad leadership and political incapacity.

Sale's brigade had been withdrawing from Afghanistan when news of the murders at Kabul came in. He resolved to dig in at Jalalabad. Soon he was surrounded, but held out for eight weeks until relieved by General Pollock. There were other garrisons in Afghanistan, one a brigade strong under Nott at Kandahar, and one a small contingent at Ghazni, which surrendered and was massacred. Auckland seems to have lost his head, and had thoughts of retiring to the Indus, but the men on the spot were ready to try and the government agent at Peshawar tried to get the Sikhs to help. General Avitabile promised to help in taking Ali Masjid in the Khyber, but when the time came drew back, and the attempt to force the pass failed. This was on 24th January. A force from Bombay had tried to force the Bolan Pass and go to the relief of Nott in Kandahar, but it was beaten in March and had to retire to Quetta. Auckland had been succeeded by Lord Ellenborough, who reached Calcutta at the end of February 1842. He determined to relieve the garrisons, show the reality of the Company's power, and then withdraw

from Afghanistan, a policy which was just and sensible. The change seemed magical.

General Pollock marched through the Khyber, defeating the Afghans and relieved Sir Robert Sale on 16th April. Nott dispatched a force to effect a junction with the Bombay force, which pushed through the Khojak Pass to Kandahar. In Kabul Shah Shuja had been exercising a nominal rule, but when he left to join the English at Jalalabad he was murdered on 5th April. Ellenborough was doubtful of the Sikhs, and felt that the forces in Afghanistan were in a very difficult position, but he realized that it was necessary to re-establish the reputation of the British arms. At first he ordered Nott to blow up the defences of Kandahar and Kalat-i-Gilzai and withdraw to Sukkur, but as the situation developed he was left with discretion in case General Pollock was able to advance to join him at Kabul. He was to try to capture Ghazni and bring away the gates of Somnath, which Mahmud of Ghazni had carried away. This episode has been ridiculed by some, but Ranjit Singh had made a similar proposal, and it may be taken as certain that he knew what he was doing. Now in mid-August Pollock had collected sufficient transport and supplies and marched on to Kabul, whither Nott was already moving. The murderous Gilzais were defeated at Jagdallack and Muhammad Akbar Khan beaten at Tezin near the Kurd Kabul Pass, where Elphinstone's force had been decimated. On 15th September he reached Kabul, and Nott joined him two days later with the gates, which proved to be modern. The prisoners were rescued by their own efforts and those of Sir Richmond Shakespear and joined the army. Then an army collected by the Barakzais was given a sound beating by General McCaskill at Istalif in Kohistan.

The time had come to depart. As a reprisal for the murder of Burnes and the rioting in the Great Bazaar it was blown up—a most un-English gesture—and on 12th October the army marched away to India. Ellenborough issued a proclamation stating that he would recognize any government capable of maintaining friendly relations which the Afghans might set up, and Dost Muhammad was released. He returned and established himself once more. Thus all the loss of lives and reputations was completely useless. Palmerston, the British Minister, and Lord Auckland between them had done great damage to the reputation of British arms and policy. The army, especially the sepoys, felt they had been betrayed, and the 'politicals' were thereafter

distrusted by the army on the Indian frontier. The Russian threat had faded, and a visit by the Czar Nicholas to Queen Victoria in 1844 led to an arrangement which freed Afghanistan from danger from Russia and restricted its advance eastward.

Sind

The Afghan war had drawn attention to the position in Sind. It had been subordinate to Afghanistan while Ahmad Shah and his successors had been strong enough to keep it. But with the decline of the Durani amirs of Afghanistan the Sind amirs had established a real independence. The main families were the Talpura *mirs* with their centres at Hyderabad under the Shahdapur family, at Mirpur under the Manikhanis and the Sobrahanis at Khairpur. It was in 1873 that the Talpuras had overthrown the Kaloras, who had held the chief power before.

The Company had a Resident at Hyderabad, and it was this Resident, Colonel Pottinger, who arranged the treaty with the Mirs by which the Indus was opened to trade in 1832. There were Sikh designs against Sind, especially in the vicinity of Shikarpur, and Ranjit Singh was unwillingly persuaded to give up the design. When it was decided to intervene in Afghanistan the Tripartite Treaty of 1838 expressly stated that Shah Shuja gave up all claims to supremacy over Sind on consideration of a payment which would include fifteen lakhs for Ranjit Singh. The changed conditions owing to the Persian attack on Herat and the designs of Russia necessitated the cancellation of the clause in the treaty with the Mirs by which the Indus was only to be used for trade. It had become one of the chief channels of an attacking force. At the same time it was to be made clear to the Mirs that any advances to Persia would be regarded as hostile. Three of the Mirs were Shias, and thus had a sentimental attachment to Persia, and messages had been dispatched. The advance of the troops through Sind led to the occupation of Bukkur in 1838, and of Karachi in 1839. The British had in effect replaced the Afghan supremacy by their own. When the disaster at Kabul occurred the Mirs, who had only agreed because they had to, began again to exchange messages with Persia. Lord Ellenborough found this situation when he arrived. Sind had in effect been placed under British control by treaties with the different Mirs, reluctantly entered into though they were. The Mirs in fact would copy the Afghan example had they the power to do so.

Sir Charles Napier was given command over all the troops in Sind and Baluchistan in 1842, and civil control as well, which brought Outram the Resident under his control. A new treaty was now proposed to the Mirs, ceding Karachi and Thatta, and adding to the territory of the Khan or Nawab of Bahawalpur, 'the ever faithful ally and friend of the British Government.' Sukkur, Bukkur and Rohri were to be handed over to the British. The Mirs gave verbal assent, but began to gather troops, and over the question of the succession to Khairpur some of the family fled to the impregnable desert fort of Imamgarh, where Napier with a small force on camels pursued them and took the place. There was no war at the moment. This was a precautionary movement of Napier's in support of Ali Murad, who had succeeded as chief. Outram was now sent with the treaty to Khairpur, where the Mirs were instructed to meet him. They did not come, and Outram now asked to be sent to Hyderabad, believing he could still persuade them to sign. But they were gathering troops and only playing for time. Finally he was attacked in the Residency and had to leave by river. The Mirs had now concentrated an army of more than twenty thousand at Miani. Napier had under three thousand. Notwithstanding this disproportion he attacked on 17th February 1843. His brother, the historian of the Peninsula War, describes the scene when the 22nd Cheshires attacked. 'Thick as standing corn and gorgeous as a field of flowers stood the Beloochs in their many-coloured garments and turbans.' The Baluchis displayed the greatest courage, but they could not prevail, and five thousand died to two hundred and fifty-six British. The Mirs of Hyderabad immediately surrendered, but others held out, led by the Mir of Mirpur. Reinforced, Napier defeated him at Dabo near Hyderabad the following month. Napier pressed the pursuit relentlessly before summer should make movement impossible in the desert, and occupied Mirpur. Ali Murad was given Khairpur, and the Mir of Mirpur finally defeated and driven out by Jacob. Sind with these exceptions was now annexed.

The annexation of Sind has been variously attacked and defended. It was represented as aggression on innocent rulers. Their innocence is certainly untrue, and they had themselves dispossessed the Kaloras not long before. There seems to have been no decision at first to conquer and occupy the country, but the force of circumstance led to that result. Napier himself characterized it as 'a good honest useful piece of rascality,' but if he did send

the imputed message attributed to him,' Peccavi ' [I have sinned (Sind)], it did not mean he was conscious of guilt. It is difficult to see how annexation could have been avoided in the circumstances, including the legacy of the invasion of Afghanistan through Sind. That it was ultimately greatly to the benefit of the people of Sind there can be no doubt. Napier's administration of Sind was a success. It was more a military than a civil administration, in the sense that the elaborate machinery of the settled provinces was not adopted but a much more simple method.

The Sikhs

The settlement of Sind undoubtedly was due largely to the position in the Punjab, where Ranjit Singh's death had taken away the only hand which could maintain order. With his death frontier questions obtained a new urgency. Kharak Singh, his son, was an imbecile, Shir Singh, his brother, whose legitimacy was doubtful, hoped to replace him ; while Kharak Singh had a son, Nao Nihal Singh, young and dissolute, who aimed at taking his father's place. The power was exercised by the Jammu rajas Dhian Singh, the wazir, and his brother Gulab Singh, who were opposed by the Sindhianwala family. Then followed a series of murders and intrigues. Finally in 1843 Hira Singh, son of Dhian Singh, who had been murdered by the Sindhianwalas, proclaimed Dalip Singh, the reputed son of Ranjit Singh by the Rani Jindan, as maharaja.

The army was courted by each one of the pretenders for power ; discipline disappeared, and a system of regimental *panchayats* ruled in fact. Naturally all this caused apprehension in the minds of the English, especially the tendency to increase the troops on the east side of the Sutlej above the numbers agreed with Ranjit Singh in the Sikh posessions still remaining in that direction. The Afghan campaign had led to the massing of troops in that part of the Punjab under the Company's government at Ludhiana and the new cantonment Lord Auckland had established at Ferozepur. Lord Ellenborough increased the numbers, and his successor Sir Henry Hardinge had strengthened the army of reserve in view of the threatening situation, when he came out in 1844. The Rani Jindan got rid of Hira Singh and installed her brother Jawahir Singh as wazir. Intrigues and murders continued. Finally the army took control and installed Lal Singh, the lover of the Rani, as wazir and Tej Singh as

Commander-in-Chief. The army was suspicious of the English, and viewed the natural dispositions taken to mass troops as an intention of invasion. It has been stated that many of the Sikh chiefs, including Lal Singh and Tej Singh, welcomed war as a means of destroying the army which, with its system of *panchayats*, really ruled. However that may be, the army took matters into its own hands and crossed the Sutlej in December 1845. This was a declaration of war.

First Sikh War

The British Commander-in-Chief was Sir Hugh Gough. The Viceroy, an experienced soldier, served as a volunteer under Gough. The first clash was at Mudki, where the British were attacked by the Sikhs after a long march. This was a preliminary engagement, and the Sikhs were defeated with the loss of seventeen guns. The troops now waited to enable General Littler from Ferozepur to join them before attacking the main Sikh concentration at Firoshah. Mudki had been fought on 18th December, and on the 21st Littler joined Gough, bringing up the number of troops to 18,000. The impetuous Gough attacked the same afternoon, and took the Sikh camp after heavy fighting. The next morning led by Gough and the Governor-General in person the attack was renewed. The Sikhs resisted fiercely and there were heavy losses, but finally after a charge with the bayonet the Sikhs were heavily defeated with the loss of several thousand men killed and 73 guns captured. The Governor-General was appalled at the cost, and at the end of December wrote home suggesting that Gough should be recalled, as his methods were too costly. Before an answer could be received, however, Gough had made the position safe. The Sikhs threatened Ludhiana, and reinforcements were sent from Meerut under General Wheeler. This force was under the command of General Sir Harry Smith, and on 28th January he won a victory at Aliwal, where the entrenchments of the Sikhs were carried and destroyed and fifty guns taken. This threat having been dealt with, the main force advanced to attack the main Sikh body, also in an entrenched position, at Sobraon ghat on the Sutlej near Ferozepur. After an artillery duel which failed to silence the Sikh guns, Gough ordered his usual bayonet charge, which was everywhere triumphant. This famous fight occurred on 10th February 1846. There were over ten thousand Sikh casualties, and all the guns



Map 22 Sind and Sikh Wars

were captured. This was the end. Ten days later Lahore had been occupied. Sir Henry Hardinge later received a letter appointing him to command and recalling Gough, but he did not publish it, nor was its existence known till fifty years after.

The settlement with the Sikh government at Lahore embodied terms which were in their nature not final as they bolstered up a feeble government, and to enable that government to rule a British force had to be left to support it. The Sikh territory east of the Sutlej, which had always been a trouble in Sikh hands, was annexed and Kashmir and the Jalandhar Doab as well. Kashmir was handed over to the Dogra Gulab Singh, not for money, as has often been incorrectly stated, but in place of the indemnity of one and a half crores of rupees which was imposed on the Lahore Durbar, but which they could not pay, and so handed over the Hazara country and Kashmir. Gulab Singh, having obtained Kashmir, was responsible for paying the indemnity on it, which amounted to seventy-five lakhs. There was no wish to annex the Punjab, and opportunity was given the Sikhs to redress their policy and govern themselves.

The minor Dalip Singh was recognized as maharaja. Naturally the army had to be reduced, for it was the cause of the trouble, but each man was to have his claims satisfied when discharged. Yet twenty-five infantry battalions, the nucleus of a strong military force, were to be kept up and twelve thousand cavalry. These were the main points of the treaty of Lahore, signed on 9th March. But the terms could not be kept. Lal Singh the wazir connived at an insurrection in Kashmir, which it took a British force in addition to the Sikhs to put down, and Lal Singh was removed to British territory at the end of the year, much to the wrath of the Rani. The men discharged could not be paid, as there was no money, and the durbar asked for the retention of the British force. This resulted in a new treaty and a new system. A council of regency of eight members was set up, but the administration was to be under the control of a British officer, with sufficient assistants to enable him to control all departments, though internal administration still remained with the Sikhs. A British force would remain, and for its maintenance twenty-two lakhs a year was to be paid. This arrangement would continue till Dalip Singh's attainment of his majority (sixteen years) in 1854. This revised treaty was signed by thirteen great Sirdars, with the unanimous consent of all in December 1846. The superintending agency was placed in the efficient

hands of Henry Lawrence, who had been Resident since the occupation. He was given a most remarkable staff of assistants, including such men as his brother John, John Nicholson, Edwardes and Lumsden, the founder of the famous Corps of Guides later. The Rani Jindan, a centre of plots and intrigues, was removed to Benares.

But the task was beyond even these men. Their efforts to reduce oppression and try to educate the Sikh officials into a new type of administration failed. The country was divided into *jagirs*, which had been handed out by Ranjit Singh to his Sardars, and they resented any interference with what they regarded as their rights. The Sikh agency, which was intended to carry out the actual administration, failed to function, and the plan of education in modern methods of government did not work. Then in the beginning of 1848 Henry Lawrence, whose personal influence was great, went on leave to England with Lord Hardinge, whose time as Governor-General was up.

In April the governor of Multan, Mulraj, had got into trouble over his accounts. A new governor was sent, accompanied by two British officers. Mulraj, who had regarded his position in the light of an hereditary right, had the two officers murdered in April 1848. The escort joined Mulraj, and he immediately set to work to improve the defences and gather men. This was the spark which set fire to the smouldering resentment of the army and the big Sardars. Lord Dalhousie had now arrived in India, and in consultation with Gough resolved on gathering a large force which should settle affairs once for all. The hot weather was beginning, and the concentration of troops would be difficult. Meanwhile the local forces made an attempt on Multan, which failed, and a rebellion in the Hazara country led to the capture of Peshawar, which was promised by the rebels to Dost Muhammad in reward for his aid. It soon became clear that the whole of the Punjab would be involved.

Second Sikh War

Shir Singh now took the lead and the siege of Multan had to be given up in September. Early in November Lord Gough crossed the Sutlej, and on the 13th reached Lahore with 20,000 men. He moved on at once and drove the Sikhs across the Chenab. The Sikhs had concentrated under Shir Singh on the Jhelum near the village of Chillianwala, and Gough attacked

them on 13th January 1849 after his usual long approach march of four hours. It was a severe engagement, and though the Sikhs were worsted it was at heavy expense, and three regimental colours were lost. The killed were over 2,000, and though the Sikhs lost very many more and many guns, and were driven out of their entrenchment, there was an outcry at home, and Gough was superseded by Sir Charles Napier. But, as in the first war, this took time, and Gough was able to continue his plan. It was really the fall of night which had robbed him of a great success, and the weather now made him immobile. The Sikhs received large reinforcements, and moved towards the Chenab at the beginning of February. Reinforced by the troops which had taken Multan, Lord Gough on the 21st felt strong enough to attack the Sikh position, again entrenched near Gujrat on the Chenab. It was a short decisive encounter, and the Sikhs were finally broken and scattered. They were pursued across the Jhelum and surrendered on 12th March. Peshawar was soon reoccupied and the Afghans decamped.

The experiment had failed and the Punjab was annexed. There was no alternative. A board of government was set up with Henry and John Lawrence and Charles Mansell. Dalip Singh was given a pension and had to live outside the Punjab. No other arrangement was possible. The eagerness of Dost Muhammad to take Peshawar showed what would happen if the Punjab broke up into independent states, as the Sikhs alone were a minority, and disunited at that.

The Punjab administered by the Board set out on its way to prosperity. Henry and John Lawrence were diametrically opposed in their ideas, and had to separate in 1853, when John became Chief Commissioner and Henry went to Rajputana, but the work of the Lawrences for the Punjab remained, and it has never looked back.

The Second Burma War

The treaty of Yandabo in 1826 was not observed by the new king, Tharawaddy, who succeeded in 1837. The Resident was withdrawn in 1840, and from then on there was no relations between the Burmese court and India. British ships visiting Rangoon were harshly dealt with, and in 1850 a man-of-war, H.M.S. *Fox*, was sent to demand redress. A new governor was appointed by the king, Pagan, and arrived with a large force, but

refused to receive the naval officers sent to meet him. The captain of the *Fox* then declared a blockade of Rangoon and the shore batteries opened fire. There is no doubt that the action of the captain was ill-advised, but the court at Ava gave no reply to Lord Dalhousie's ultimatum and war ensued.

It was a very different affair from the first war. Dalhousie saw that supplies and organization were properly planned. The Talaings, who had never acquiesced in their conquest by the Burmese, rose in support of the British, and the Shan hillmen refused recruits. Rangoon was taken ; Bassein, Prome and Pegu were occupied. Lower Burma was annexed in December 1852, and the Ava court warned that if they gave any more trouble it would end in ' the entire subjection of the Burmese power.'

The Problems of Administration

The annexation of the Punjab and that of Lower Burma had extended the power of the Company—with the exception of Afghanistan—even beyond the limits of the Mughuls. But the relationship of the Indian states with the central power was different in kind and in degree. To the Mughul empire the Rajputana states had been in a fashion tributary, and their rulers had been officials of the Mughul government. The relationship between the new states and the British was different. As in the case of the Mughul government no foreign alliances or even inter-state alliances were tolerated, and in both cases internal administration was left to the rulers. But the Indian states in many cases were new, the relics of Mahratta supremacy, or later arrangements, as in the case of Kashmir. The Nizam's dominions were a part of the old Mughul state, whereas Mysore was in essence a new creation after its freeing from Tipu Sultan. The Mahratta states were the creation of warrior chiefs who had conquered parts of the Mughul empire, and then tried conclusions with the new power. The Rajputs had been overrun by the Mahrattas, and owed their restoration to the British. Oudh, like the Nizam's dominions, had been part of the Mughul empire, where a viceroy had set up an independent government.

The question was how to maintain their independence without destroying it. It was a difficult problem, because their security was guaranteed by the British power, but the purity of their administration could not be safeguarded. Thus a despotic ruler

was maintained in power, and his subjects could not rebel against his ill government. Treaties had been made with each state, treaties which promised continuity but had no provisions for good government. The principle of the subsidiary treaty, which protected the ruler against external attack only, provided a Resident to give advice. If it was not taken little could be done unless the state was annexed for its better government. In Mysore administration became so scandalous that it was put under British administration for forty years, but the same thing was not done with Oudh, where things were as bad. When troubles broke out in Gwalior in 1843 Lord Ellenborough marched there and found himself opposed by the whole Gwalior army, which had to be defeated at Maharajpur before order could be restored. Here was an example of interference which was not covered expressly by the latest treaties, but which was required by the situation at the time, and it well illustrates the difficulties. In fact, this action led to his recall. No action was taken to effect reform in Oudh, though Lord Hardinge warned the king that pursuance of his course would lead to the annexation of the state. But the Sikh wars occupied most of his attention. This was the situation which faced Lord Dalhousie when he became Governor-General in January 1848. The question which he had to deal with in a number of cases was the succession to states when there was no heir.

The Doctrine of Lapse

The succession when direct heirs were available presented no difficulties, but there was the case of adoption recognized by Hindu law. It may be considered as certain that the Mughuls required their previous approval before an adoption was made. The Mahratta state invariably demanded this. But adoption could be made by the ruler's widow, which might lead to dissension.

The recognition of the Company's right to regulate succession in such cases had not been disputed, and many cases of recognition or refusal of permission and annexation had occurred before Dalhousie's time. He, however, laid down principles which may be summarized as follows. States were of three kinds—those which had been old-established independent states when they made their treaty with the Company, such as the Rajput states of Jodhpur or Jaipur ; those which had recognized the suzerainty

of another power, such as the Central India or Bundelkand states, which had held from the Mahrattas ; and thirdly the creations of the Company, such as Mysore and Nagpur. The principle of lapse to be applied was that the first class of old independent states would be granted permission to adopt when it was requested ; in the second class it might be granted or not according to circumstances ; while in the third, when the ruling family died out no adoption would be permitted.

It was on these lines that the particular cases which came up for decision were dealt with. In the case of Satara the raja adopted a son without informing the Resident. When he died in 1848 his state was accordingly annexed. It was a dependent state, and thus came under the principles laid down, though they had not at the time been precisely formulated.

Nagpur was another case. The raja died in 1853 without an heir and without adopting one. The state was annexed, as it was a creation of the Company. In the case of Jhansi, which had been a provincial government under the Peshwa, annexation was inevitable and natural as the subhadar was never a ruling chief. When he died in 1854 the territory became part of the Company's dominions.

These were all cases where the heirs had failed, but now the question of bad government arose and demanded settlement. Mysore had been administered by the Company's officers. Hyderabad's administration had become so ill-directed that the state was in heavy arrears for the payment of the maintainance of the subsidiary force. The debt was so great that it could not be paid, and finally in 1853 Berar was assigned on lease for the maintainance of the force and the liquidation of the debt.

When Baji Rao the ex-Peshwa died at Bithur in 1852 he left no heir and his pension lapsed. He had adopted Dhondu Pant, who inherited his property, but had no claim to the pension, though he considered he had. This was the man later notorious as the Nana Sahib. There was also the case of the Nawab of the Carnatic, who died in 1853 without leaving a son. The actual possession of the Carnatic had long passed to the Company, and now his title ceased, though the title Prince of Arcot was retained in his family.

There remained the case of Oudh. The administration of this kingdom had gone from bad to worse and warnings had had no effect. The power of the ruler depended not on his own strength but on the British arms, and thus a despotic and cruel administra-

tion was maintained by British bayonets. Without the British support Oudh would never have maintained itself, and now that the Company's territories surrounded it on every side it remained an island of misrule in the midst of the British provinces. Thus was posed the question which now demanded an answer. Is bad government an excuse for annexation? It is a problem which meets all protecting powers. Dalhousie was averse from annexation. Sleeman the suppressor of Thagi was ordered to report on the condition of the country, and his report revealed a terrible state of affairs. The king Wajid Ali Shah was dissolute, and in the hands of worthless favourites, and the administration was disgraceful. Dalhousie was in favour of the precedent of Mysore being followed, by which the administration should be taken over for a period of years by British officers but the state should not be annexed. This was indeed what was laid down in the treaty of 1837 made by Lord Auckland, but not ratified by the Court of Directors, though the king had never been informed of this and Lord Hardinge ten years later in warning the king referred to this treaty as being still in force. The actual treaty which was in force, that of 1801, bound the king to follow the advice of the Company's officers and demanded reformation without any promise of a temporary taking over of the administration. Finally Dalhousie recommended that the king should retain his rank and position, but the administration should be handed over to the Company, not for a period, but for ever.

The general opinion, however, was that the king should abdicate and the state be annexed, and this was the decision arrived at by the directors, who ordered Dalhousie to carry it out in 1856. Outram the Resident was instructed to try and persuade Wajid Ali to abdicate voluntarily, but he refused with tears and protestations, and Dalhousie now had to carry out the orders of the directors and proclaim the annexation of Oudh. Sleeman, though he knew more about the state of Oudh than anyone, was against this policy of annexation. When the decision had been made the necessary steps to make it safe should have been carried out at once. Dalhousie, indeed, had instructed Outram to disarm the troops, but Canning on succeeding him cancelled these orders, which had a direct bearing on the Mutiny. The decision in this case, therefore, was not Dalhousie's but the Company's, and he was not an advocate of wholesale annexation, as he is so often represented. The case of Oudh indeed was the first test of the doctrine of paramountcy. Was the Company bound only by the

treaties made with the various states, or was there a residual power which conferred the right of intervention when the good of the people or of India as a whole demanded it? The substitution of rule by the Company for rule by the King of Oudh was undoubtedly for the benefit of the people, but it is clear that the big talukdars and many Oudh natives in the Bengal army did not recognize this fact. They held positions of privilege and were loth to give them up. Other princes also throughout India who had not taken much notice of the cases of Satara, Nagpur and Jhansi were shaken by the annexation of Oudh, though they had made no comments on the annexation of the Punjab or of Sind. It was a change of policy, and the different treatment of Mysore and Hyderabad emphasized it.

Dalhousie's Civil Administration

There is a tendency to accuse Dalhousie of being an overhasty reformer, but it was not so much Dalhousie as the spirit of the times. After all, the Company's administration had done little for the economic and social condition of India till Lord William Bentinck's time. Now lost time was being made up for with a vengeance. Bentinck's abolition of *sati* had aroused much feeling. The growth of missionary effort also excited fears. Many of the leading officials, like John Lawrence and George Herbert in the Punjab, were strong believers in conversion, and in the army too there were proselytizing officers. Dalhousie in 1855 introduced a Bill legalizing the remarriage of Hindu widows, and in 1850 he had passed an Act which allowed persons who had changed their religion to inherit the family property. Both these were bitterly objected to. This was an interference with social customs, and was resented all the more because it affected material interests. But even the educational reforms caused the greatest disquiet among the mass of the people.

Education

The famous dispatch of Sir Charles Wood, afterwards Lord Halifax, was the model which has influenced all types of education in India ever since. This dispatch was issued by him in 1854 as President of the Board of Control after considerable discussion with the Governor-General. It laid down a skeleton organization for education throughout India, and has influenced educational development for good or bad ever since.

Three universities of an examining type were to be set up at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, the three Presidency towns. Departments of Public Instruction were to control education in the provinces, while the *halkabandi* system of elementary schools started by Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, was to be followed. This was a system by which circle schools were established for rural areas where the landowners were willing to pay an additional 1 per cent. educational cess on their land revenue. Thus vernacular education was encouraged. For the Anglo-vernacular schools a liberal system of grants was evolved to encourage schools where English should be taught.

In 1844 in Bengal Lord Hardinge had announced that candidates having a knowledge of English would be preferred for government appointments, but this was for Bengal and not the other provinces. The number of schools in Bengal in 1853 where English was the medium of instruction was, however, only thirty, including colleges, and thirty-three schools were maintained where Bengali was the medium. In Bombay there were 233 vernacular schools. In Madras the missionary bodies had concentrated on English high schools. The North-Western Provinces *halkabandi* schools prospered, but elsewhere the emphasis was on Anglo-vernacular high schools, aided by grants, which prepared for the new universities. The grant-in-aid system favoured the high schools where English was the medium of instruction, and the literary classes were wholeheartedly in favour, as they offered good prospects for the future for their sons in government service. The education given was purely literary, but so it was in England at the time, English taking the place of Latin and Greek, while the Indian classical languages, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, were studied as sidelines and not as the main subjects of the curriculum. Persian indeed had ceased to be the language of the courts by this time, and though a Sanskrit college had been founded at Poona, the Arabic madrasas continued on their own lines. The Muslims as a whole were not attracted by the new English schools, and fell behind in the educational race for a time. Thus the Wood Dispatch except in the North-Western Provinces weighted the scales unconsciously in favour of English education, and most of the funds available were devoted to this.

Renewal of the Charter

The Charter Act of 1853 reduced the directors from 24 to 18, six of whom were Crown nominees. An open competitive examination for Company's servants was at last instituted. Bengal obtained a Lieutenant-Governor for itself, as the North-Western Provinces of Agra had in 1835.

In the legislative sense the Governor-General was given the power of over-riding his Council, which he had not had before, while the new Law Member who had been temporary under the Act of 1833 now became a permanent part of the Council. With this proviso the legislative part of the Council now became more sharply defined, and legislative councillors were added, consisting of a covenanted servant nominated by each head of a province, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, and one of the puisne judges, and two covenanted servants in addition. This made the new Council of 1853 a much more independent body.

Communications, Irrigation, etc.

Metalled roads are a modern invention. In Europe after the Romans metalled roads did not exist until the industrial revolution. Asoka established caravansarais and lined the routes with trees, and the Mughuls did the same, but they did nothing for the surface. It was during Dalhousie's time that attention was devoted to this very necessary question of communications. It was Thomason of Agra who pushed on the provision of metalled roads and bridges in the North-Western Provinces. In the Punjab the example was vigorously followed, and the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to the north was extended and metalled.

Irrigation too attracted attention, and the old irrigation canals of Firuz Tughluk and of the Mughuls were reopened or rather entirely reconstructed. Under Dalhousie the great Ganges Canal, begun in 1839, was completed by Sir Probyn Cautley, and in the Punjab similar works were started. A Department of Public Works was set up under the Government of India in 1854. The construction of railways was declared necessary in a minute of 1853, and work was begun on the East Indian Railway from Calcutta.

Dalhousie's financial measures were a success, and he introduced the practice of loans for public works. It is interesting to note that the total revenue was over thirty millions sterling, an

increase of a little over six million pounds. It was not only roads and railways which were improved or started, but other forms of communication were speeded up, including the transfer of messages.

The Post Office

It was Lord Clive who introduced the regular postage system in India in 1766, first for official use only. In 1774 in Warren Hastings' time private letters could also be sent, and the office of Postmaster-General was instituted. Postage on private letters was two annas for a hundred miles. These had to be prepaid, and copper tokens, value two annas, were issued for this purpose. In 1837 a proper public postal system was established and made a monopoly of government. The cost had to be prepaid, the charges varying in accordance with distance and weight. From Calcutta to Bombay the rate was one rupee per *tola* (less than half an ounce). To Agra it was twelve annas.

The Commission of 1850 placed the Post Office under a Director-General with Postmaster-Generals in each province. It was recommended that the English system of postage stamps should be copied. There was much correspondence on whether the stamps should be printed in India or England, and actually the first postage stamps used in India were in Sind, where Sir Bartle Frere issued stamps of his own design in July 1852, known as the Scinde District Dawk. They were of the value of a half-anna. These were in circulation until the first all-India stamps were issued in October 1854. These were stamps bearing the Queen's head of the value of a half-anna in indigo and one anna in vermilion. They were lithographed in Calcutta, and four-anna stamps were also issued in two colours—a blue head in a red frame for foreign postage. Forty-seven million stamps were prepared in Calcutta, but in 1855 they were obtained from England, where arrangements were easier, and they continued to be obtained thus for the next seventy years.

India thus was not long behind England in introducing the penny and half-anna post. Rowland Hill had done this in England in 1840.

Another boon pushed on by Dalhousie was the electric telegraph. The first message sent by this means was in 1844, and Dalhousie before he left introduced the system to India.

Dalhousie's Contribution

It has been the fashion to decry Lord Dalhousie's achievements and to blame him for happenings which followed, especially the Mutiny. He tried to introduce to India the benefits of modern discovery, and if he may have been impatient of delay, so are all great benefactors and administrators. He laboured without cease and spent himself in the service of India, dying from the results of overwork four years after he returned home in 1856. It was not Lord Dalhousie who was responsible for what followed, but the inexorable course of events. It has often been said in a somewhat patronizing manner that it is unwise to hurry the East, though why only the East should be more irresponsive to influences which affect others is not explained.

Sharp and sudden shocks to the existing structure of India had been given for the last hundred years, but it cannot be said that the mutiny of the Bengal army was an expression of national Indian resistance to western influences. There was then no Indian nation as such. The building up of Indian nationality over the sub-continent has been the result of a common language, and administration and higher education, English in essence, and the establishment of quick and cheap communications, by road, railway, and the Press, all under the protection which British arms have given the country, allowing it to develop during a hundred years of peace.

Literature

The decay of the Mughul court at Delhi had led to a change in the centre of Urdu literature. The rise of Urdu poetry in the Deccan has already been referred to, and Wali's influence had spread to Delhi, where a succession of Urdu poets had begun to polish its metres and vocabulary. Mir ' Dard,' who died in 1785, was the first important writer in the new medium. Mirza Muhammad Rafi, known as Sauda, who lived from 1713 to 1781, left Delhi for the Bangash Nawab's court at Farrukhabad, and later in 1772 to Lucknow, where he wrote under the patronage of Shuja-ud-daula. He more than anyone made Urdu into a fit vehicle for poetic expression and originated the Urdu *kasida*. His influence was marked. Mir Taki Mir from Agra came to Lucknow in Asaf-ud-daula's time, and is perhaps the greatest of the school of Urdu poets of this period. With the degeneration

of the Oudh court poetry also degenerated. Syed Insha, who had been patronized by Shah Alam II at Delhi, who was a poet himself, migrated to Lucknow and wrote the first Urdu grammar in Persian. He was the boon companion of Saadat Ali Khan, and his verse is coarse to the verge of obscenity. Verse degenerated still further after his death in 1817.

Poetry was always a kingly accomplishment, and in Delhi Bahadur Shah II himself composed under the name of Zafar. In Lucknow Wajid Ali Shah, who squandered two crores on the Kaisarbad, was also something of a versifier, writing under the name of Akhtar.

But the two names most prominent at the time are those of Mir Babbar Anis (1802–74), and his rival, Mirza Salamat Ali Dabir (1802–75). Anis was a poet of the foremost rank, and his elegies are written in the purest Urdu. He was an ornament of the court of the Bahu Begum at Fyzabad, and did not descend to the sensual type of the Lucknow school. Under Ghazi-ud-din and Nazir-ud-din Haidar the celebration of Mohurram was conducted with the greatest splendour, and the *marzias* or elegies of Anis and Dabir were greatly admired.

But poetry had not died at Delhi where the Mughul court still attracted poets. Momim Khan (1800–51) founded a school of lyric poets of whom the chief were Zouk and Ghalib. Sheikh Ibrahim ' Zouk,' a poor soldier's son, was patronized by Bahadur Shah II. He was a master of the *ghazal*, *kasida* and *masnavi*, though most of his work perished during the Mutiny. He greatly developed the language and was an artist in words, not florid and bombastic after the manner of the Lucknow school, but one of the sweetest singers of all Urdu poets.

Mirza Asadullah Khan ' Ghalib ' (1796–1869) was a man of good family, born at Agra, who went to Delhi and became the ' ustad ' (master) of Bahadur Shah in succession to Zouk. He was a scholar of Persian and a fine Persian poet ; indeed, his Urdu poetry was only secondary in his own opinion. Ghalib is one of the greatest Urdu poets, original and thoughtful, full of wit and humour. Urdu as a language owes as much to him as to Zouk, and between them they set a standard for all who followed.

The change from Persian to Urdu as the official language in 1823 gave a marked impetus to Urdu and the need for translations for the young officers in the college at Fort William led to the development of Urdu prose. Nor was Hindi neglected, and Hindi prose too developed. Lord Metcalfe's Press Act in 1835, which

freed the Press, gave an impetus to the vernacular papers, which naturally had its effect. Lalulalji's *Prem Sagar* in Hindi was a result of activities of the Fort William College under Dr. Gilchrist.

Art

Painting had not died with Aurangzeb's discouragement of it, and though the Mughul school declined from lack of patronage the princes of Rajputana still encouraged the Rajput school, whose centre was at Jaipur. The study of Indian art has been neglected, but of late some interesting studies have been made which make it clear that the so-called Pahari school of painting of which Kangra was the centre was only a continuation of the main *kalam* or style (literally 'pen'). The Pahari school had another offshoot in Tehri, where it was apparently established by painters in the following of Sulaiman Shikoh when he took refuge there from Aurangzeb. However that may be, it was Munni Lal whose paintings are the most characteristic of the Tehri school in recent times. Kapur Singh was the foremost artist of this style in the Sikh court. The Rajput school concerned itself with scenes connected with the Hindu pantheism, and is especially noteworthy for its landscape and sketches of ordinary life.

Religious Movements

The Brahmo Samaj founded by Raja Ram Mohun Roy was a kind of Hindu Unitarianism, and was developed further by Keshava Chandra Sen, but its influence had declined before the end of this period, and some of its followers were attracted into the Theosophical Society, founded in 1875, while those attracted by political developments sought the new Arya Samaj, which was also founded the same year.

Among Muslims the Ahmadiya sect founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani (1839–1908) was a reforming movement aiming at a revival of the true Islamic doctrines which included purdah and polygamy, but discouraged the worship of saints and other accretions which had grown up. It was a missionary movement, and its founder claimed to be a Mahdi, though the orthodox regard the sect as heretical. It gathered adherents not only in the Punjab, its place of origin, but all over India and in Afghanistan, Ceylon,

Burma, and elsewhere. The headquarters of the movement are at Qadian in the Punjab. The Wahabi or puritan Islamic movement also spread to India, and its followers have increased in recent times, possibly encouraged by the success of Ibn Saud in Arabia.

Chapter XXVI

THE MUTINY OF THE BENGAL ARMY

Lord Canning arrived in India in February 1856, and was fated to be the last Governor-General under the East India Company.

He found a situation which, on the face of it, appeared to be tranquil enough. The frontiers of India had been extended to the mountains on the north and west, and on the east the Bay of Bengal was entirely surrounded by the territories of the Company. The foreign relations of the Indian states were regulated by the paramount power, and the leading states had subsidiary forces stationed within their territories to maintain the status quo. The annexation of Oudh had taken place without any overt disturbance, and the doctrine of lapse had been applied to Satara, Nagpur and Jhansi without any appearance of perturbation among the other princes. The state of Mysore was progressing under British administration, the Nepalese were allies and Gurkha battalions served in the army; while in the Punjab the labours of a remarkable band of administrators were leading the Sikhs from a war economy to peaceful pursuits and Sikh battalions had been recruited with success. The Pathan tribes had responded with alacrity to similar service in the Punjab Frontier Force, and the raiding propensities of the past were being canalized into legitimate and disciplined channels. In Sind, so lately the home of bandits and robbers, a paternal administration had won the people to a whole-hearted support of the new rulers. In the older provinces roads, railways and public works were being pushed on, education encouraged, and prosperity as evidenced in the increasing revenue was the result of better methods of land taxation, better police administration, and more understanding government.

This was not the atmosphere in which revolt was likely to occur, and indeed the Mutiny was not a revolt of the people, but a mutiny among the troops, and not all of them. The three armies into which the armed forces of India were organized—the Madras, Bengal and Bombay armies—had shared in the recent wars against the Afghans and Sikhs in varying degrees; the Madras army hardly at all, and the Bombay army only in the initial operations of the first Afghan War and the war in Sind. It was the Bengal army which had borne the brunt of the hard actions

in Afghanistan and the Punjab. The terrible retreat from Kabul had left unpleasant memories in the comrades of those who had fallen, and the battering-ram tactics of Gough had shaken the confidence of many of its units in their leaders. Most of all, however, were they affected by the annexation of their main recruiting ground of Oudh. As members of an independent state they had obtained many privileges which were now abolished. The irregular corps which had been maintained by the King of Oudh, and in which many of their relatives had served were disbanded. The forts, however, were not dismantled nor were the arms withdrawn, and this constituted a great temptation to men trained to warfare all their lives. The army had been on a war footing for many years, accustomed to violence and unused to the routine of peace. They believed they were invincible, and they had the example of the Sikh army before them to nurture ideas of their power without remembering its inevitable result. There were, too, other influences which had their effect on these men drawn from the most conservative of all the territories in India. Among the sepoys of the Bengal armies especially the traditions of martial castes were strongest. The new oath for recruits making them in future liable to serve anywhere in India or overseas was unpopular, and the idea of crossing the seas repugnant to their caste scruples, as these men were invariably high-caste Brahmins and Rajputs. They looked with suspicion on the new education, and regarded it as a method of proselytizing. The activities of the missionaries or the ' padres ' as they called them, also gave rise to dissatisfaction, while the tendency to interfere in old customs like *sati*, infanticide of female children, and the passing of the widow remarriage act, and the interference with property in favour of converts shook their confidence, while the proselytizing zeal of many commanding officers confirmed them in their fears. They felt that the soldier caste and its privileges were threatened, and thus were ripe for any sudden wave of disaffection. Discipline had been poor for some time. The best officers of the Bengal army had been drawn away into the administration of the non-regulation provinces, like the Punjab and elsewhere, and those who were left were many of them too old, owing to the system of promotion, to heed warnings, or too young to appreciate the dangers. By the Muslim sepoys the new education was distrusted, and fanatical theologians preyed upon this unease, while the dethronement of a Shia ruler, the King of Oudh, had its effect on the more fanatical sect among them.

The knowledge that the death of the last Mughul would mean the end of the dynasty may also have had some effect.

These were not, however, predisposing causes, but only culminating effects. Had the initial outbreak at Meerut been dealt with immediately there would probably have been no Mutiny at all. There had been other mutinies before which had not spread, but undoubtedly there was now inflammable material owing to the impact of western influences on eastern conservatism which had not existed before. Initial success and pockets of discontent here and there, and the delay in meeting the outbreak, were the causes of its spread. It failed because it was only an army mutiny, and only part of the whole army proved disloyal ; the Madras and Bombay armies stood firm, while the Sikhs and the Punjab generally stood by the British, and the Nepalese helped. The people as a whole except the robber tribes, like Gujars round Meerut and Delhi, and the disbanded sepoys of Oudh, stood apart, except where local grievances, as in Jhansi and a few other places, caused them to join hands with the mutineers, or where fanatical Muslim leaders raised the cry of ' Islam in danger,' as in Rohilkand, or the royal family in Delhi saw an opportunity of evading their approaching dissolution. In Gwalior and Indore it was the Oudh sepoys of the Gwalior and Indore contingents who revolted, not the Mahrattas, while the Nana Sahib's effort at Cawnpore was due to a private grudge, though he was in correspondence with some of the discontented among the Mahrattas.

Oudh produced its own problems, and the chief centres of the Mutiny were Oudh, where Canning's determination to introduce a system of village revenue settlements had unsettled the talukdars, already accustomed to resist by arms the government demand for land revenue, and Delhi, where the presence of the last Mughul was a magnet for revolted battalions.

Canning himself undoubtedly procrastinated in his measures, hoping that the trouble would not spread or would pass over, and it was John Lawrence in the Punjab who by his firmness was the first to stop the rot and organize the attack on Delhi, the crucial point. Most British battalions were on the frontier, and Allahabad, a focal point in the communications, had none, Lucknow only one, and Delhi none at all. Several British regiments had been sent to the Crimea and never replaced, so the British troops were fewer than ever before. The Bengal army numbered seventy-four Indian battalions, ten regiments of cavalry, and twelve irregular cavalry regiments, with seventeen batteries

of artillery. In addition the Oudh irregular force consisted of four batteries, three cavalry regiments and ten battalions. The Gwalior contingent numbered four batteries, two regiments of cavalry and seven infantry battalions. The Madras army was smaller, fifty-two battalions and eight cavalry regiments, while the Bombay army was twenty-four battalions and six cavalry regiments, with the usual proportion of guns.

The British troops consisted of the Company's European battalions and artillery, and the Queen's battalions and regiments and gunners ; but these had been reduced, and instead of one to three there was now one British soldier to six sepoys. Of the Bengal army only ten original battalions are to be found in the latest army list, six being Rajput battalions, represented later by the 7th Rajput Regiment, which did not mutiny.

The incident which started the mutiny was the introduction of a new rifle, the Enfield, which required that the rounds should be greased before being inserted in the barrel. The grease used was mutton fat or non-animal grease, but the story was spread by interested persons that it was the fat of cows, and later, to reach the Muslim troops, pigs' fat. This was quite untrue, but it served its purpose. The mysterious *chappatis* of small mud cakes passed from village watchman to village watchman, of which much has been made, had apparently no connection with any mutiny preparations, and there is no evidence that they were at the time connected with the outbreak. Similar exchanges were used to transfer disease away from a locality.

Meerut

The first mutiny in connection with the cartridges occurred early in January 1857 at Dum Dum arsenal at Barrackpore, and a British officer was assassinated. Rapid punishment followed, but on 23rd April of the same year at Meerut ninety of the 3rd Light Cavalry refused to use the cartridges. They were court-martialled and sentenced to imprisonment, and the whole garrison was paraded to witness their degradation on 9th May. On the 10th, while the British troops, consisting of the Carbineers, R.H.A., and the 60th Rifles, were parading for evening church men of the 3rd Cavalry rode up to the Indian infantry lines and said the troops were coming to disarm them. The 20th Native Infantry then shot the officers who tried to restrain them, and the 3rd Cavalry rode through the cantonments of the Indian troops cutting

down every European they met. They released the prisoners in the jail, and were joined by the cut-throats of the city, and the European bungalows were burnt and women and children relentlessly killed. Meanwhile the General kept the British troops under arms, but did nothing to protect the cantonment of the Indian troops or the civil lines which were at some distance from the European cantonment. He expected that the Gujars and other *badmashes* of the surrounding country would flock in, and determined to keep his force concentrated. So for some hours the work of devilry went on until the mutineers made off to Delhi in small parties. Immediate and resolute action would have enabled the authorities to deal with them and prevented them from reaching Delhi, also it would have saved some of the unfortunate women and children who were murdered, and the mutiny would have been scotched on the spot ; but this was not to be.

The 3rd Cavalry rode into Delhi the next day, followed by the 11th and 20th Native Infantry. The Commissioner Fraser had had a letter late at night describing events at Meerut, but he was tired and did not open it. The sepoys of the Delhi garrison —there were no British troops—joined the Meerut mutineers and released the prisoners in the jail, and attacked the arsenal. The small ammunition dump in the city was blown up by Lt. Willoughby and other brave men, but the main arsenal with its stores of munitions passed into the hands of the mutineers. Bahadur Shah, who had welcomed the mutineers, was recognized as emperor, and his sons tried to take command. The British in the city and cantonments were murdered, though some were taken into the Fort, where the followers of the last Mughul put them to death. On 13th May Lord Canning got news of the mutiny. It had been telegraphed to Lahore by two brave Eurasian telegraphists from Delhi before they made their escape. John Lawrence at Lahore was at once empowered to take what steps he could, and Henry Lawrence was to deal with Oudh.

But there was much delay. Certain regiments in the Punjab had to be disarmed, for now no risks could be taken. Finally a force to take Delhi was concentrated at Karnal, but the death of the Commander-in-Chief delayed it, and it was not till 8th June that the force reached the ridge before Delhi. Among them was the famous Guides under Captain Daly, who had marched 567 miles in three weeks, or twenty-seven miles a day, the Sirmoor Gurkhas, now the 1st Gurkhas, and the 60th Rifles from Meerut. The emperor at Delhi issued a proclamation ordering the rebels

to advance and destroy his enemies. The princes tried to take command, but they proved incapable, and finally control was assumed by the rebel officers themselves, and the Fort was invaded by sepoys demanding pay. There was also Hindu-Muslim dissension when the Muslims hoisted the green standard over the Jami Masjid and the Hindus objected. An attack at once might have been successful, but the Punjab forces were weary, and the Bareilly brigade which had mutined now joined the rebels. The siege of Delhi went on for three months, and the delay in taking it and breaking up the chief place where the mutinous troops had some semblance of national objectives to sustain them, had its influence on the progress of the Mutiny elsewhere. Aligarh, Agra, Nasirabad and Bareilly were scenes of mutiny among the troops. This was followed by Lucknow and Jhansi, and attempts at Allahabad and Benares, while the contingents at Gwalior and Indore followed the dangerous example encouraged by the seeming lack of counter offensive. The Bengal native army was in the process of breaking up. There were exceptions—the 47th at Mirzapur remained loyal, and there were parts of many battalions and regiments which remained firm. The 13th Native Infantry at Lucknow mainly kept faith, and from them and other remnants who held the Bailey Guard in the Residency was raised that distinguished Rajput battalion, the Lucknow Regiment, still addressed on parade as Bailey Guard.

The Madras and Bombay armies were practically unaffected, nor would the Bengal army have gone if steps had been taken quickly. The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, John Colvin, betrayed indecision, and as a result the mutiny of the Bareilly brigade occurred, which caused much trouble and nearly precipitated a crisis at Agra.

The Punjab

Here measures were taken in time. Doubtful battalions were disarmed as a precaution by Robert Montgomery at Lahore and Edwardes at Peshawar with John Nicholson's help. Punjabi troops took part in disarming sepoy battalions. The Sikh chiefs, especially Patiala, raised levies, and soon thirteen battalions and four cavalry regiments with 8,000 levies were on the way to join the force on the Ridge at Delhi. This reached Delhi under Nicholson at the beginning of September, and on the 14th the attack began with the famous mining of the Kashmir Gate. It

took five days and the loss of the gallant Nicholson to clear the streets. The Fort was captured, and the emperor and his sons escaped to Humayan's tomb, where they were captured, and the sons, trying to escape, or suspected of doing so, shot down by Hodson, the famous commander of Hodson's Horse, later to die at the final relief of Lucknow. The capture of Delhi really broke the Mutiny.

Lucknow

Here Henry Lawrence had moved the women and children into the Residency on 25th May. The Fort would have been more easily defendable, but he had collected grain in the cellars of the houses round the Residency, which in itself was not very suitable for defence as it was surrounded except on the river side by houses. The troops in the cantonments over the river on the Sitapur road mutinied, except the loyal 500, on the 30th, and there was rioting in the city. The only British regiment was the 32nd Foot (the present Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry). This was the signal for the Oudh troops to mutiny at Sitapur, Gonda, Partabgarh, Bahraich, Sultanpur, Fyzabad, Secrora, all over Oudh, though Lucknow itself was not immediately affected; but an injudicious attempt to break up the sepoys mustering at Chinhat outside Lucknow was repulsed on 30th June, and from that day the siege of the Residency commenced. Two days later Lawrence was wounded by a shell, and died after two days more. As the inscription on his grave in the Residency cemetery still reads, ' He tried to do his duty.'

The siege of the Residency is a measure of the chances of the mutineers to have any hope of success, and an example of their futility. Ten thousand sepoys with numerous guns besieged, in an exposed position unsuitable for defence, a small force of one British battalion and civilian volunteers, among whom were the boys of La Martinière School, amounting to a thousand at most, and seven hundred sepoys, who held out for three months alone, and then were strengthened by Havelock and Outram's relief, and finally freed by Sir Colin Campbell in the middle of November, though Lucknow was not cleared of the enemy until February 1858.

Suppression of the Mutiny

In order to defeat the revolted sepoys it was considered necessary to proceed with care and collect a large force. Men on the spot have recorded that more rapid action with the forces available would have restored order much more quickly, and the ease with which civil government was restored in places like the Meerut area and around Benares and Allahabad and all along the route to Cawnpore seems to confirm this.

At Cawnpore the general, Sir Hugh Wheeler, on receipt of the news from Meerut was in a difficult position. He only had four hundred British troops, some invalids, and there were four doubtful sepoy units. The magazine was the obvious place for defence, but he feared to provoke a mutiny by changing the sepoy guard, and threw up some feeble entrenchments near where the church now stands. On 4th and 5th June the 2nd Light Cavalry Regiment mutinied, and was followed by the 1st and 53rd Native Infantry, and the other battalion followed when Wheeler opened with his guns. Still a few remained faithful and joined the Europeans in the entrenchment. The position was hopeless, and the Nana Sahib had now joined the mutineers, with whom he had been in communication. On 26th June Wheeler surrendered on a promise of safe conduct down the river to Allahabad. The safe conduct was not carried out—the survivors, men, women and children were fired on in the boats, and the men were killed, while the women and children were imprisoned by the Nana Sahib. There is little doubt that he was responsible for the massacre, as a diary of the time * states before the surrender that treachery was intended the whole time. The losses incurred in the attack on the entrenchment had determined the Nana Sahib to engineer a surrender, and then massacre the survivors when they had given up their arms. Only two officers escaped and made their way down river to Allahabad. The men survivors who had been imprisoned were killed shortly after, and the women and children imprisoned in a small house called the Bibigarh. On 15th July, after days of misery and ill-treatment, they too were massacred by the Nana Sahib's orders, as were those who had been brought in from Farrukhabad. This, as well as the killing of women and children at Meerut and Delhi, was the chief cause which led to the severity with which the mutineers and others who had joined them were treated. Naturally some innocent

* Diary of the Mutiny at Cawnpur, U.P. Hist. J., 1926, Vol. 3, Pt. II

men were included in the reprisals, and some incidents can admit of no excuse. There were, on the other hand, many who remained loyal, and not all the sepoys had joined in the mutiny, some having gone into the entrenchment with the troops. The name Cawnpore has had an evil effect on relations between Indians and Europeans, and left behind it feelings which did not soon die down. The reason for the massacre has been said to have been the approach of the relieving column under Havelock, and the fear that the women would inform on the perpetrators of atrocities. But it appears that the Nana Sahib believed he would win, and it was apparently natural ferocity or his inability to control the assorted crowd of mutineers, followers and desperadoes from the city and surrounding country who had swarmed in that caused the massacre.

Relief of Lucknow

General Neill from Madras had arrived in Calcutta with the Madras Fusiliers, and proceeded to make good the route up river. The unreliable regiments at Barrackpore were disarmed, and by 3rd June he reached Benares, where the disarming of the doubtful Sikh battalion was bungled and some fighting occurred before the mutineers were cut down or scattered. With Benares secure Allahabad was the next stage. He arrived there on 7th July, and news of his approach caused a mutiny of the sepoy battalions and a murder of officers. The Fort, however, was held by a few British invalids and Captain Brasyer with a company of the Ludhiana regiment of Sikhs, other companies of which had mutinied under bad handling at Benares. Neill's measures to put down the mutiny at Allahabad were stern and ruthless, but he was consumed by an overriding anxiety as to the fate of Cawnpore, and felt he had no time for discrimination—at any rate many innocent persons suffered, as they always do suffer in similar situations. Major Renaud was sent on in advance to Cawnpore on 30th June, and on 7th July General Havelock, who had now arrived with reinforcements, set out to catch him up.

He joined up with Renaud on the 12th and entered Cawnpore on the 17th, after defeating the Nana Sahib and a much larger force. Neill, who had now arrived, showed similar sternness in taking reprisals for the massacre of the women and children. In the circumstances it can be understood, though not approved. But this was only a stage on the way to Lucknow, and now began

Havelock's attempts to advance on Lucknow. He had few troops, and had to leave some to hold Cawnpore, where the Nana Sahib was still in the vicinity. He made two attempts to advance to Lucknow, but he had too few troops, and though he defeated the opposing mutineers, sickness and lack of reserves compelled him to return to Cawnpore. Seeing this the Oudh talukdars, who had not actively supported the mutineers, now began to assist them with men and supplies, and also delivered over to them, with the inevitable result, the European refugees whom some of them had taken in from the stations throughout Oudh where mutinies had occurred. Outram was now appointed Chief Commissioner of Oudh, and given reinforcements and the chief command. Wisely, however, Outram refused to take over the command from the more experienced general, and remained under his command during the advance on Lucknow, though he could not refrain from interfering occasionally, generally to the disadvantage of operations. Delhi had now fallen, and on 21st September the final bid for Lucknow was made with 3,000 men. They reached the Alambagh outside the city, and on the 25th made the final effort to break through to the Residency. The relief, however, was rather the strengthening of the garrison than its relief, and Havelock and Outram were now in their turn besieged and had to await relief themselves. The fall of Delhi had caused those who escaped to come to Lucknow, and the talukdars' retainers also swelled the besiegers. It was necessary to await the assembling of the reinforcements from England and from the troops who had been intended for China.

Central India

It will be remembered that the Gwalior contingent had mutinied in June, though Sindhia held firm. At the beginning of July the Indore contingent also mutinied. Sir Hugh Rose was given command of a Bombay column and set to work to restore order. He put down the mutiny at Mhow, and then marched on Jhansi, where the wife of the late raja had seized the opportunity to recover the estate lapsed under Dalhousie's system. Before this Sir Colin Campbell with the reinforcements had reached Cawnpore early in November.

He found the place threatened by the Gwalior contingent now under Tantia Topi, one of the Nana Sahib's lieutenants who had been active in the operations against General Wheeler in

Cawnpore, and bore his share of the responsibility for the massacre. Leaving a small force to hold him off, Sir Colin Campbell pushed on to Lucknow, and on 17th November occupied the Residency quarter after heavy fighting. At last the women and children could be evacuated, and Outram with 4,500 men was left in the Alambagh to hold the mutineers, while Sir Colin made a hurried return to Cawnpore to deal with Tantia Topi. On 6th December he drove him off, but failed to defeat him sufficiently to prevent his marching to Jhansi, where the rani was now besieged by Sir Hugh Rose. Jhansi, however, was captured on 3rd April 1858, and Sir Hugh Rose now turned his attention to Tantia Topi and the Gwalior contingent and defeated them in two engagements. The campaign seemed over when Tantia Topi and the rani, who had escaped from Jhansi, marched to Gwalior and were joined by Sindhia's army, which had been so far kept uneasily quiet by the efforts of his minister, Dinkar Rao. On 1st June they proclaimed the Nana Sahib Peshwa. But this was too late. Rose marched to Gwalior and defeated Tantia Topi without difficulty. In the action the rani, who fought as a man, was killed and Tantia Topi fled. He was pursued but was able to evade capture until early in the following year, when he was at last captured and paid the penalty for rebellion and murder. The Nana Sahib fled to the jungles of Nepal and was never apprehended.

Meanwhile Sir Colin Campbell had begun a slow but methodical clearing of the Doab. This done, at the end of February 1858 he undertook the settlement of Oudh, where Outram was besieged in the Alambagh by no less than 120,000 men. This proved to require some stiff fighting, and 30,000 managed to escape and continued their resistance after Lucknow was cleared on 21st March. The subjugation of Oudh, being in the nature of a guerrilla operation, took some time. The talukdars had been confirmed in their resistance by the Governor-General's proclamation that the lands of those who had assisted the mutineers would be confiscated. Most of the talukdars had done this, and it was not until Outram had prevailed on Canning to announce that immediate submission would mean better terms that they showed any tendency to submit. However, by the end of the year Oudh was free of rebels, and the work of pacification could go on.

There had been during the suppression of the Mutiny many cases of wholesale punishments, in which there is no doubt innocent men perished. The minds of the relieving forces were inflamed

by the atrocities committed on helpless women and children. Reprisals, however, generally lead to worse excesses and feelings of desperation. The policy of Canning which had at first hindered the rapid suppression of the Mutiny when he deferred stern measures with suspected regiments, was in the long run an advantage for it led to a clemency in the treatment of the less involved which restored confidence. Some villagers had welcomed the opportunity of anarchy to kill moneylenders and others who had oppressed them, but they soon came back to peaceful ways once civil government was re-established.

The great princes had not joined in, and had supported, some hesitatingly it is true, the forces of law and order. Some smaller zemindars and many of the talukdars of Oudh had, when Delhi still held out and the Residency in Lucknow remained besieged, consulted their own interests by joining the mutineers, while the tribes like the Gujars and others accustomed to robbery and violence welcomed the opportunity for loot. But it was the sepoy army which was the core of the revolt, and not the people, and there was no central direction or national idea behind it. Without their officers the sepoy battalions fought bravely but lacked initiative, and had no real objective. Indeed, the early success was only due to the unexpected nature of the revolt and the lack of troops to suppress it, or the lack of resolution to take immediate action. It never at any time had the slightest chance of success. The pity is that it was ever allowed to materialize. This was the reason that led to the abolition of the East India Company, which was saddled with the blame which belonged to all.

The Mutiny is a landmark in the history of the British connection with India. It was also a step in the road of development. It underlined the dangers of a mercenary army when there was no longer any scope for the employment of that army, as the action of the Sikh army in disregarding its government and attacking the Company's forces had once before underlined it. Malcolm and later Munro had recognized this danger. But the armies of the time were all mercenaries in the ultimate sense, and it was only one of the three Indian armies which mutinied. Thus while the Mutiny was a stage in Indian history it was largely fortuitous. There was at the time no idea of an Indian nation—and it was not a revolt against a foreign occupying power. The sepoys rose as Thomas Munro had prophesied, ' not for the sake of asserting the liberty of their country, but of obtaining power and plunder.' The idea of a revolt for liberty was not within their mental horizon

except for their own liberty to do what they liked. The idea of liberty was not then even remotely glimpsed at in any mind in India, but the whole character of British administration after the Mutiny was directed to two things—the creation of an Indian nation, and the leading of it towards eventual independence. This may have been accelerated by the Mutiny, but it was not a conscious result of it.

Chapter XXVII

INDIA UNDER THE CROWN

The reorganization after the disturbance of the Mutiny furnished an opportunity for transferring control from the Company to the Crown in appearance as well as reality. All excuse for the existence of a trading company had gone even before this, and though the control of large territories by a chartered company was not necessarily considered as an anomaly—as the existence of the Hudson Bay Company, the British North Borneo Company, and later Rhodes' Chartered Company shows—yet the very size of India, the recognition of its development, and the fact of its position as a strategic centre made it inevitable that indirect control would no longer suffice. There was also a tendency to blame the East India Company for the recent troubles, though that body had had no real hand in the government for many years.

Almost up to the Mutiny the energies of the English rulers had been occupied in wars forced upon them by the circumstances of the times, by the need for protecting the Company's territories and by the aggression of the despotic rulers who had established themselves on the ruins of the Mughul Empire. There had been little time for consolidation, for remedial action or for planned development. Dalhousie in the interval of quiet after the Sikh wars had made a start and modern communications were outlined, and education in the great educational dispatch of 1854 for the first time placed upon definite foundations. Even during the turmoil of the Mutiny the universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay had been founded. The declining state of Indian industries which had been caused chiefly by the disturbed conditions, poverty of communications, and lack of foresight was recognized by that great Governor-General and steps taken as a first stage to improve financial conditions.

The Queen's Proclamation

The first necessity, however, was to restore confidence, and the intentions of the Government were embodied in a Proclamation from Queen Victoria read by the Governor-General, Lord

Canning, in Allahabad on 1st November 1858. This has been widely regarded, and with truth, as the Magna Carta of Indian liberties. In it she declared, 'We have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the Territories in India heretofore administered in trust for Us by the Honourable East India Company.'

The Governor-General, now for the first time designated Viceroy and Governor-General, was 'to administer . . . and generally to act in Our Name and on our behalf subject to such orders and regulations as he shall from time to time receive through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State.' All officers of the East India Company, including the army, were taken over, and a special reference was made to the treaties with the Indian princes—'all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company are by Us accepted and will be scrupulously maintained.' Further, a declaration of equality of standing among all citizens of the Empire were made in these terms. 'We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of the duty which binds us to all our other subjects.' There was a promise of religious toleration, made necessary by the rumours which had no doubt had some influence on the mutineers that their religion was in danger. 'We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be any-wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law, and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.'

Promises of freely and impartially admitting to office all of whatever race or creed when qualified by education, ability and integrity opened to all a career in the different services of the Crown in India. As to land and succession, there was another promise, protection in the rights of their ancestors, and further that in framing and administrating the law due regard would be paid to 'the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.' Finally a promise of clemency was made by 'pardoning the offences of those who have been misled but who desire to return to the path of duty.' Clemency was promised to all offenders save those convicted of directly taking part in murder, but instigators of revolt and even those who shielded murderers would have their lives



Map 23 India in 1875

East India Company's territories stippled

guaranteed, and 'large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in the credulous acceptance of false reports.' To all others in arms unconditional pardon was promised on their return to peaceful pursuits by the first of January of 1859. The terms of the Proclamation were quickly embodied in a series of Acts.

The Act of 1858

This Act gave legislative sanction to the change from Company to Crown. The President of the Board of Control became the Secretary of State for India, and the Board was replaced by the Council of India, consisting of fifteen members, of whom eight were nominated by the home government, and seven elected by the last directors. These were to give the Secretary advice, but had also powers of seeing all correspondence with India and giving their opinion except in cases which the Secretary of State declared urgent or secret ; but if he refused to lay correspondence before them he had to give his reasons. In financial and some other matters it was definitely laid down that the Council was to be consulted, but a majority had to concur as well. The Secretary could overrule its decisions, and it could originate no business itself, but it had distinct powers which were increased by its interpretation of the financial clauses, and by its power of co-opting to vacancies. Both of these powers had to be circumscribed.

In 1869 the duration of members' office during good behaviour was changed to ten years, and the right of co-option was taken away and all were appointed by the Crown. The future developments of the Council may be given here.

The numbers were in 1889 gradually to be reduced to ten, but were in 1907 increased again to fourteen. It was in this year that Indian members were first nominated. For some time members with special qualifications had been appointed in some of the vacancies, and always the majority of the members must be persons who had at least ten years' service or residence in India. The idea was undoubtedly to set up a council which should be a check on an autocratic Secretary, much as the directors of the Company had been. The reduction of office to seven years, however, instead of the original ten during good behaviour, and the reduction of salary to £1,000 a year, took away from its importance, and an autocratic Secretary of State did the rest.

The Councils Act of 1861 defined the scope and duties of the Governor-General's Council. The Executive Council was fixed at five members, two of whom might be chosen from outside the services. One was a financial expert, and James Wilson was the first sent out from England specially to reform finance. The other member was the Law Member. A military member and two members of the Civil Service completed the ordinary membership, but the Commander-in-Chief became an extraordinary member. The members now for the first time were given definite portfolios and assigned to departments of government. Where the Governor-General and the member in charge did not agree the question was discussed at meetings of the whole council. The practice now arose of the Governor-General himself taking over the portfolio of the Foreign Department. Thus the seed of cabinet government was planted. The Governor-General also discussed affairs with the secretary in charge of a department as well as the member in charge of a portfolio, which included several departments, and thus was able to inform himself of the whole business of administration and policy. He had of course always the power of overruling his council in case of sudden emergency, but this power was very much in the background, in fact it has only been used twice. Additional members were added later. In 1874 a member for public works was added, who in 1905 became the member for commerce and industry. It was not until 1909 that a member for education was specifically nominated, and his duties also included health or, as it was then called, sanitation. This member took the place of the military supply member, who had been substituted as a result of the Curzon-Kitchener controversy.

The addition of two judges and delegates from the Presidency governments to form the legislative council of 1853 had led to difficulties and disputes. The new council was to be made by the addition of from six to twelve additional members, half non-officials, holding office for two years. This was to be the sole legislative body, but the Governor-General had the power of issuing ordinances valid for six months in cases of emergency. The legislative assembly was the beginning of a real parliamentary body, and has developed greatly to its present practically paramount status. But as constituted in 1861 it was only a law-making body. It could not pass resolutions or debate questions of policy or deal with finance or ask questions.

The members of the new council included Indians from 1862,

when the Maharaja of Patiala, the Raja of Benares, and Sir Dinkar Rao were nominated. Later Sir Sayyid Ahmad, who had been an official, on his retirement became a member.

Bengal, Madras and Bombay by the same Act were given the same powers, and this was later extended to the other provinces. Certain subjects of legislation required the previous consent of the Governor-General before a Bill could be introduced in a provincial legislative.

Law

On the abolition of the Company the opportunity was taken to reduce the parallel jurisdiction of the two sets of courts, and by the High Courts Act of 1861 the Supreme Courts of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay ceased, and new High Courts, which included the Company's Sadr Adalats, or courts of appeal, were constituted with judges appointed by the Crown. Recruitment was so devised as to give opportunity for a wide experience, one-third being recruited from barristers-at-law of the English, Irish and Scottish bars, one-third from senior Civil Service judges, and one-third from those who were neither, but had either practiced before the High Courts or belonged to the judiciary.

Indians were thus eligible and appointed under this clause. The three High Courts of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were joined by Allahabad five years later. At the same time a Chief Court was set up in Lahore for the Punjab, and later Sind, the Central Provinces, Burma, and Oudh at Lucknow were given Chief Courts, where the judges were appointed by the Governor-General and not by the Crown.

Lord Macaulay's Criminal Code had never been put into force, and it was not until 1860 that a revised edition was published. This was a great advantage, and the Indian Criminal Code has won the admiration of all. It is clear and concise and simple. The Criminal Procedure Code of 1861 defined procedure, laid down police powers and investigations, and regulated the procedure for giving of evidence and constituting courts. The codification of civil law was a different matter. A Code of Civil Procedure was issued in 1859, and added to from time to time, and defines procedure and lays down rules, but the civil law of Muslim and Hindu is still administered according to local customs, though certain codes have been from time to time

framed for contracts, transfer of property, evidence and other special cases.

Regulation and Non-regulation Provinces

The regulation provinces were those older provinces where the regulations (as the later Acts of the Governor-General were called) applied. The non-regulation provinces were the new provinces, like the Punjab, Oudh and Sind, where the methods of administration, though not rough and ready, as the name seems to imply, were not circumscribed by the forms of the old provinces of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-Western Provinces. The recasting of the judicial machinery led to a general levelling up of methods of administration. The courts subordinate to the High Courts exercised the duties, on the judicial side, of the district officer. They were the sessions court and the district court for criminal and civil cases, and the other subordinate courts of the subordinate judges and the munsiffs for civil cases. The appeal from the district judge went to the High Court, and from the other civil courts to the district judge. The small cause courts dealt with lesser cases. Certain criminal powers remained with the district officer ; while revenue cases were dealt with by him exclusively with an appeal to the commissioner.

Growth of Departments

The district magistrate responsible for all the activities in the district was a most valuable officer when administration was paternal and simple, but the growing development of all kinds of beneficial activities naturally made essential the setting up of other agencies. The district officer, called collector or deputy commissioner, has a general supervisory responsibility. His main duties are connected, of course, with the collection of land revenue, but he is also a judicial officer, compiler of multifold statistics, has control of the treasury, and is of course reponsible ultimately for law and order within his charge.

He is assisted by other officials—joint magistrates, deputy collectors or deputy magistrates, the former members of the Civil Service, the others of the provincial service, and by tahsildars, who are revenue officers of the subordinate grade. For police purposes a police department was set up in 1861, with an inspector general at the headquarters of a province, and superintendents in each district. In the district the superintendents were responsible to

the district officer as they still are. The superintendents were generally members of the Indian Police Service, recruited in England.

The Public Works Department also came into existence with a chief engineer at headquarters and executive engineers in the districts, and a great programme of roads and buildings was started. Indeed, it had already started under Dalhousie, and though interrupted by the Mutiny it continued its work with renewed energy afterwards. A branch of this department was responsible for irrigation, and something has already been said about the great developments which had begun before the Mutiny. The Thomason Civil Engineering College at Rurki had come into existence as a result of Cautley's great Ganges Canal, with its headworks at Hardwar not far off, and this college has continued to supply engineers for the whole of India.

The Educational Dispatch of 1854 had provided for Departments of Public Instruction in the various provinces, with a director and a staff of inspectors. This began in 1856, and the inspector of schools of Meerut was murdered during the Mutiny. The collector, however, had most to do with vernacular education, as it was financed from the educational cess in some provinces, and the duties of the department were first concerned mainly with secondary education, though the inspection of primary schools came under its control. Possibly had education in the primary stages been handed over entirely to the educational department results would have been better.

A Forest Department was formed for India in 1869, with a chief conservator for each province and conservators in the different circles. For the first time efforts were made to preserve the forest wealth which had been so squandered in the past, and to prevent floods by careful planting in the precipitation areas. Forests were divided into reserved, where a proper system of preservation and planting was carried out, and protected, where the rights of grazing and lopping were carefully classified.

Rights in Land

The Cornwallis settlement in Bengal had been definitely unjust to the cultivator. In many cases he had been undoubtedly deprived of land which was his in favour of the zemindar. As a tenant he was subject to rack renting of the worst type. The first effort to redress this was by the Bengal Rent Act of 1859.

Certain tenants who had held lands for more than twelve years were classed as occupancy tenants, and their right was recognized to pay a fixed rental and to enjoy a certain security. It was a beginning, but led to various expedients by which it was evaded, and necessitated the passing of further Acts later. In Agra the Act was also applied, but there the collector was later given power to settle disputes between landlord and tenant. The Oudh Act of 1868 went further, and other classes of tenants were protected against raising of rent for periods of seven years.

Famine Relief

The great famine of 1837 had been a lesson that mere provision of relief works was not enough, and other methods were devised. One method was obviously to provide the water for irrigation which failure of the rains made necessary. The provision of canal irrigation was therefore pushed on with great energy, and other means of storing water investigated. This search still continues, as the great system of hydro-electric pumping set up in the western United Provinces has recently shown.

Quick communications was another element in dealing with scarcity of food in any one part of India. The East India Railway was completed as far as Allahabad in 1862, and the Great Indian Peninsular Railway from Bombay had reached four hundred miles up country. The provision of metalled roads and bridges was pushed on everywhere. The provision of test works had been tried, but had not proved the solution, and various commissions reported. The great Orissa famine of 1866 showed the results of famine in areas where communications were few, but it was not until ten years later that final decisions enabled a scheme to be drawn up for the proper administration of famine relief. The failure of the rains in India has an effect on life and livelihood unknown anywhere else in the world, and famine conditions cannot be prevented ; but by proper organization they can be alleviated so that famine becomes little worse than scarcity, which can be dealt with. But any omission in watchfulness or in administration will still bring consequences like those of the famine in Bengal in 1943, where enemy action, the cutting of communications by flood and sabotage, and weak and divided counsels brought great suffering and loss.

Reorganization of the Army

The old Company's Bengal army vanished in the Mutiny. The Bengal as well as the Bombay army was mainly recruited from the Brahmans and Rajputs of Oudh. Madras recruited from its own confines. There was also the Punjab Frontier Force, greatly extended during the Mutiny, composed of Sikhs and Pathans and other warlike tribes of the Punjab. It was a provincial force and not under the Commander-in-Chief. There were also four Gurkha regiments (the present 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Gurkhas). Besides the British regiments from England, the Company had its own European infantry and artillery, who served permanently in India and numbered about 14,000. Most of the artillery of the three Presidency armies outside the European battalions or companies were Indian. One of the results of the Mutiny was the decision that the proportion of Indian to European troops should be two to one, or a little over. The artillery, with the exception of mountain batteries, was manned by Europeans. The European battalions of the East India Company ceased to exist or became Queen's battalions or batteries. The mistake of enlisting from one class and locality was realized, and the system of class company battalions of mixed origin was later introduced. Pathans, Punjabi Muslims, Dogras and Sikhs were now recruited in greater numbers, together with Rajputs and Brahmans. The loyal Rajput battalions were retained as class battalions, and still exist as the 7th Rajput Regiment, while the Gurkhas remained as entire battalions, as did the later Garhwalis and the Mazbi Sikhs of the Pioneer battalions. The three separate armies were, however, retained, as well as the Punjab Frontier Force, which gradually grew into an élite corps. The name 'Bengal army' had from the start been a mere name, for it had never contained troops recruited in Bengal proper. The officers in 1861 became the Bengal or Madras or Bombay Staff Corps, and were drawn from the East India Company's forces, and later recruited from junior officers of British regiments. This reorganization of the army led to a great reduction in numbers, as many battalions had been used for purely police duties, and the reorganization of the police released them from this.

The Civil Services

The Civil Service in India was divided in 1854 into two classes, the covenanted and the uncovenanted. It was the covenanted

services which were after 1853 recruited by open competition in England and became known as the Indian Civil Service. To them alone were open executive posts in the regulation provinces, with pay of £800 a year and above. They were an administrative service which had grown out of the old writers of the East India Company, whose work in the commercial service had ceased when the East India Company ceased to be a commercial company. The interest of the service, its assured pay, promotion and pension led to its great popularity, and the competitive examinations for the service attracted the cleverest brains at the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The competitive basis of selection, which had been Lord Macaulay's chief idea, certainly produced many clever administrators, and while the public schools and older universities produced the candidates, drew recruits from the landed and well-to-do classes, whose life and training had prepared them for an outdoor life and had given them high ideals of service. But it ensured that the terms of the Queen's Proclamation throwing the services open to all could not be carried out in the higher posts, because the examination was based on the classical curriculum of England, and few Indians could compete, with the result that for many years they were entirely shut out from participation in the high administrative posts, and the service became a service of Englishmen and Scots, with a few Irishmen. Efforts were made later to redress the balance, but at the time this was not considered. The name refers to the covenant dating back to 1793, by which the servants of the Company entered into a covenant not to engage in trade, not to receive presents, and to pay subscriptions towards their pensions, and some other details. The posts reserved for them included all secretaries to government, civil and session judges, magistrates and collectors of districts in the regulation provinces (soldiers and others were appointed in the non-regulation provinces until comparatively recently), joint and assistant magistrates and collectors, the accountant general, and members of the board of revenue.

The uncovenanted services originally included every public servant who was not a member of the Indian Civil Service, including army officers holding posts in the non-regulation provinces like the Punjab, the Central Provinces, Sind and Oudh. It also included Indians holding the great majority of the government posts, such as deputy collectors, munsiffs, and other judicial officers, as well as experts in the other departments of government. The Public Works Department included officers of the Royal

Engineers, others recruited specially in England, and some from the great civil engineering college at Rurki, both European and Eurasian. The Educational Service was also recruited from England (though only for the highest posts), but the majority of officers, lecturers and inspectors were Indian. But these services suffered in parity of esteem, were paid less and received smaller pensions, and it is only lately that they have been regarded as anywhere on a par with the Indian Civil Service.

The same applies to the officers of the police. The alterations in methods of recruitment will be dealt with later, but it may be said that the exclusiveness of the covenanted service in time produced a feeling of resentment on the part of Indians who could not obtain an entry to it owing to the method of entry in the past. The number of Englishmen employed in the Indian services has always been small. In 1909 there were 1,244 members of the Indian Civil Service—a very small number when the great variety and importance of their duties are considered. Thus India was ruled by a very small caste of higher administrators, and administered in detail by Indians.

Communications and Industry

The policy of Lord Canning was to concentrate the authority of the central government over the provinces, and his system of dealing with his council by dividing business into portfolios accentuated this. The growth of rapid communications accelerated this tendency, as the telegraph brought the provinces into closer communication with the central government than had been possible before. In the same way the Secretary of State was more concerned with the government of India than the President of the Board of Control had been. Communications everywhere were quicker, with the Red Sea route now working and the overland telegraph soon in being. It was not, however, until the laying of the submarine cable down the Red Sea in 1870 that the real subservience of the Indian government to Parliament began. In India, however, things moved more quickly. The new Finance Member, James Wilson, an economist of repute, introduced financial regulations which enforced a very close supervision of provincial expenditure. Prior sanction for all expenditure was required. All sorts of reports were called for; budgets were framed and estimates had to be kept to.

In 1860 an income tax of 4 per cent. on all incomes over

Rs500 was imposed, and half that amount between Rs200 and Rs500. This brought in nearly £2,000,000. Import duties of 1 per cent. were also imposed, and there was a duty of 3 per cent. on certain exports. These had existed for some time and were not new. Trade had been growing, and in 1857 the value of the sea-borne merchandize was £55,000,000. Twenty years later it had doubled. The trade was with some exceptions the export of raw material and the import of manufactured goods. Before 1851 there were no cotton mills in India. Twenty years after the Mutiny there were several. The American Civil War had offered the opportunity. There was a great increase in industry in India, including jute, and jute mills were started in Bengal. Iron foundries also were established, sugar factories, paper, cement, and oil-crushing mills. Tea was becoming a great industry. Lord William Bentinck had started the first tea gardens, mostly in Kumaon, but this was China tea, and it was not till later that it was discovered that the tea bushes grew in India when great developments took place in Assam and the Duars. Since then Indian tea has largely taken the place of China tea and become a great industry.

Agriculture

But India is an agricultural country, and agriculture will always be the most important occupation. In the north—the part which has retained the name of Hindustan—there are two crops—one sown in July, when the monsoon rains occur, called the *kharif*, consisting largely of millets and pulse, especially *juar* and *bajra*. This is also the time for rice, but rice is not the main food crop of these parts, but only of Bengal, Madras, and parts of Bombay. Cotton and maize are also sown and sugar cane is planted. These crops, except for sugar, are harvested in October. After the harvest of the *kharif* crop the *rabi* crop is sown. This is chiefly wheat and barley. Other pulses are also grown, and mustard, tobacco, linseed, oil seeds and opium, though this is nowadays a small crop. They are harvested in March or April, and these are the crops which especially need irrigation.

Those who cultivate the land are of many types. Some are proprietors paying direct to the State, others tenants paying rent to a landlord, who is responsible to the State for the land revenue demand. The system by which land revenue is collected has been explained in other chapters, but by the time the Crown

had taken over the control of the government it had become crystallized into two main methods outside Bengal. In Madras and Bombay it is known as the *ryotwari* system, where the land is held direct by individual proprietors from the State. It is assessed by regular settlements lasting for thirty years. In north India the system is one of village settlement, where a whole area is assessed and the result divided among the sharers.

In the Punjab the village proprietors cultivate the land themselves as a general rule, but in the United Provinces there are a large number of tenants who pay rent to zemindars, or, in Oudh, talukdars. Tenants are of two kinds, those who have a permanent occupancy right as long as they pay their rent, which cannot be raised without a decree of a court, and the non-occupancy tenants who are cultivating holders of the land for a landlord. Their position is far from being secure, but of late years they have obtained certain rights. The trigonometrical survey has measured the whole of India, and each village is mapped with each field shown. On this depends the accuracy of the decision as to rights and boundaries, and it is a remarkable achievement. Such a record exists nowhere else in the world and the reports of the settlement officers are surveys of local statistics and documentation which are invaluable for the investigation of the social, economic, and general conditions of the area.

The permanent settlement in Bengal has been referred to before, and similar arrangements were entered into for Benares and the three eastern districts of the present United Provinces, then part of Bengal. In Oudh an arrangement based on much the same ideas as the Cornwallis settlement in Bengal was arrived at after the Mutiny under the idea that the talukdars were the real owners of the land. Thus many peasant proprietors and permanent tenants were deprived of their lands, and only gradually has restitution been made. The result was cultivation by tenants with no rights, and rack renting of a competitive type.

Lord Canning had steered India through a difficult time, and his clemency was well justified and well repaid. After the storm of the Mutiny India now began to go ahead and develop along the lines of peace and prosperity. But before giving an outline of the form which these developments took it is necessary to consider the frontier problems which now demanded settlement.

The North-West Frontier

Russia had as a result of the Crimean War been warned off Turkey, and now began to advance to the east in Asia. They gradually conquered the khanates and occupied Tashkent in 1865, and two years later the state of Russian Turkestan was formed, and in 1873 Khiva was occupied. This was a direct threat to Afghanistan and so to India, and was meant to redress the balance of Russian influence in Europe, where she had been defeated. In India Lord Lawrence, the Viceroy, who had always distrusted adventures over the border, pursued his 'policy of masterly inactivity,' in other words a policy of drift. Dost Muhammad died in 1863, and his death led to a dynastic struggle for succession. When the rival brothers showed a disposition, however, to seek aid from Russia and Persia, Lawrence gave a subsidy to Shir Ali, whom Dost Muhammad had nominated his successor, and Shir Ali finally in 1868 became supreme. Lord Mayo met the Amir at Ambala in a conference in 1869, but could only give non-commital answers to his request for a definite statement. He renewed his request in 1873 when the Russian advance was becoming a menace, and sent an envoy to Lord Northbrook, but Gladstone's policy of peace, retrenchment and reform did not contemplate any entanglements on the Frontier, and no promise was made. A request to recognize his son, Abdulla Jan, as his heir received a similar non-committal reply. Shir Ali then turned to the Russians, who had received his exiled nephew, Abdur Rahman, at Tashkent, and an exchange of letters took place which did not add to a feeling of confidence. This was the position during Gladstone's first ministry, and the policy he enjoined of appeasement, like all policies of appeasement, bore ill fruits. There were, however, two developments which had considerable bearing on the situation. One was the opening of the Suez Canal—de Lesseps' remarkable achievement, which had been opposed shortsightedly by Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Minister, but which changed the position as regards India very considerably. The other was the laying of the cable from Bombay to Aden up the Red Sea, and then across the Mediterranean to England.

The change of government in 1874 saw the Conservatives under Disraeli in office, and Lord Salisbury became Secretary of State for India. The result was a change of policy. Now was born the 'forward policy' which strategic considerations

demanded. Quetta was occupied by an arrangement with the Khan of Kalat in 1876. The next step was to send a British agent to Herat. This proposal was disliked by Lord Northbrook, who resigned, and was succeeded by Lord Lytton, who entered into negotiations with Shir Ali on this subject, which dragged on for over a year. In Europe the situation also deteriorated when war between Turkey and Russia broke out, and a Russian break-through to the Mediterranean seemed possible. Disraeli countered this by sending Indian troops to Malta to stop any such attempt. The Russians now demanded that Shir Ali should make a treaty with them. In 1878 a Russian envoy was received by the Amir. He was followed up by troops. Lytton now demanded that a British envoy should be received. On the advice of the Russian envoy the British mission was stopped at the Khyber. But the Russians had overreached themselves.

Second Afghan War

War in Europe did not break out, and the Congress of Berlin brought what Disraeli called ' peace with honour.' The Amir was thrown over by the Russians and left to explain his actions. No answer was returned to an ultimatum sent to Kabul. The Amir had expected help from Russian troops, but they had been recalled to Tashkent, though they had set out on their march. He had certainly invited trouble, and he was foolish enough to take no steps to stop it. Thus the second Afghan war began. The British advanced through the Khyber, the Bolan, and the Kurram Passes and Shir Ali fled. His son, Yakub, signed the treaty of Gandammak in May 1879, agreeing to receive a mission and to follow advice as regards his foreign policy. Sir Louis Cavagnari reached Kabul in July, but found he could do little. In September the Afghan troops in Kabul mutinied, or pretended to mutiny, and attacked the Residency and killed Cavagnari and his small escort of Guides. General Roberts soon occupied Kabul and defeated with ease all attempts to eject him. Yakub now took refuge with the British and was sent to India. Thus no ruler was available with whom to enter into negotiations. Yakub had declared his total inability to deal with the Afghans. For a time there were ideas of dividing Afghanistan and giving Herat to Persia, while one of the Sadozai family was suggested as ruler of Kandahar. Shir Ali had died in Russian territory, and now Abdur Rahman put forward his own claim. The Russians let

him go, hoping that he would prove an embarrassment to the British in Afghanistan. Lytton was disposed to enter into negotiations with him when a change in the government in England led to another change of policy with the return of Gladstone and the Liberal policy of divesting themselves of encumbrances. Lord Lytton resigned, and Lord Ripon was sent out to reverse the 'forward policy.' Arrived on the spot, however, practical considerations effected a change of mind, and Ripon was compelled to enter into negotiations with Abdur Rahman. Ayub Khan, Shir Ali's son, had raised a force to enforce his own claims, and had inflicted a defeat on a British force at Maiwand. Roberts then made his celebrated march to Kandahar and totally defeated Ayub Khan. Roberts had been assisted by Abdur Rahman, and now at last in 1881 a treaty was concluded by which he was recognized as Amir and given a subsidy. He agreed to follow British policy as regards his foreign relations, and made over Pishin and Sibi to the British.

Frontier Policy

There were two schools of thought on frontier policy—one which even contemplated falling back on the Indus. But it was the steady advance of Russia which caused the greatest uneasiness. Russian policy was devious, and they denied any intentions of advance while still advancing. It was indeed the Russian encroachment on the frontiers of Afghanistan which accounts for the somewhat confused policy which was followed. Gladstone and his party were opposed to any entanglement which they thought would lead to further commitments, and the Russians made the most of this attitude. Gladstone's policy led to disaster in the Sudan, and the need for steps to redress the situation. Taking advantage of this preoccupation the Russians advanced their frontier to Merv and threatened Herat in 1884. It was obvious that some arrangement would have to be reached to delimitate a frontier between Russian territory and Afghanistan, and a frontier commission was appointed for this purpose.

The Russian advance, however, was not complete, and they delayed until they should have obtained the ground they coveted, and which the Afghans claimed with justice as their own. This led to a clash at Pandjeh in 1885, where the Afghans were driven back. This action in the face of the boundary commission, which was already assembled on the spot, was going too far even for the

peace-loving Mr. Gladstone, who was already responsible in many people's eyes for the neglect to relieve Gordon at Khartoum and his consequent death. Gladstone therefore had to move and mobilized the forces. The Russians at this realized their bluff had failed, and finally the commission was allowed to set to work, and the frontier was at last settled.

Abdur Rahman was at the time on a ceremonial visit to Lord Dufferin, the new Viceroy, who had impressed him with a big parade of troops. The Pandjeh incident, however, made him realize that England would not go to war on his behalf, and this somewhat cooled his feelings. He had reduced Afghanistan to order by a policy of the greatest rigour, and put down disorder with a heavy hand. This did not incline him to regard with a favourable eye the Indian government's difficulties with the tribes on the frontier between the Indian and Afghan border, and it is here that the real frontier problem arose. The Mahsuds, Mohmands, Wazirs and Afridis of the tribal territory between Peshawar and the Afghan frontier were a difficult lot to handle. An advance right up to the Afghan frontier would have meant a major war, and the attitude of Afghanistan would not have been favourable. This led to an attempt to establish influence among the tribes by political action, subsidies and punitive expeditions when raids became too frequent or successful, Finally in 1893 the Amir agreed to define by a boundary the tribes in his sphere of influence, and those in the British. This was the Durand line, called after Sir Mortimer Durand, who had been responsible for getting the Amir to agree, and increased his subsidy to eighteen lakhs. But the Afghan authorities were tempted to intrigue, and considerable and almost continuous trouble simmered. The famous Guides in their cantonment at Mardan were always ready to move out on half an hour's notice, and the Punjab Frontier Force was engaged in continual patrolling and the preventing or punishing of raids. One of these affairs developed into a regular campaign, the Chitral campaign in 1895, and two years later came the large-scale operations against the Mohmands and Afridis, while in 1898 came the Tirah campaign against the Afridis, who had attacked the British posts.

When Lord Curzon became Viceroy in 1899 the question of the frontier at once engaged his attention. His solution was to withdraw the troops from forward positions and to establish militia of local tribes and local levies or *khassadars* to man the forts, while the troops were cantooned in the rear, and rail and road communi-



Map 24 The Frontier, showing the Durand Line

cations greatly improved to facilitate rapid concentration. A new province was set up in 1901, as it was felt that the Punjab could not supervise satisfactorily. This was the North-West Frontier Province, with its headquarters at Peshawar, and a Chief Commissioner in charge. This policy succeeded in maintaining peace for many years.

Burma

The Burmese king, Pagan, who had been defeated in the second Burmese war in 1852, had been replaced in a palace revolution by his brother Mindon shortly after its conclusion. Mindon set up a new capital at Mandalay and tried to improve trade, encouraging British merchants to engage in trade with the country, and in 1862 a British Resident was again appointed to his court. There were disputes about ceremonial, as the British officers objected to the humiliating court ritual, and in 1876 the Governor-General refused to permit the Resident to kneel before the king. The result was that Mindon would not see him any more and relations deteriorated. When Mindon died he left no less than forty-eight sons. The ministers chose one of the younger sons, Thebaw, a poor creature married to Supayalat, who intrigued for her own ends. Seventy possible rivals were strangled or otherwise done to death in 1879, and this act led to the withdrawal of the British Resident. There was great demand for intervention from missionary and commercial interests owing to Thebaw's misrule, but the policy of non-intervention held the day and nothing was done. Probably nothing would have been done had not Thebaw entered into relations with another foreign power, the French, who were already established in Tonkin. This led to the appearance of a French consul in Mandalay, and schemes for French commercial expansion in Upper Burma. Thebaw undoubtedly expected to play off one against the other, but France was occupied in her own territories, and British remonstrances led her to cease from these designs.

The financial position of Upper Burma was serious owing to embezzlement, mismanagement and recklessness. Thebaw now demanded a big loan from the Bombay and Burma Trading Company, to which he had given a licence for cutting the valuable teak of the forests. The company had already advanced £100,000, and a further £200,000 was now demanded. It was refused. The ministry then accused the company of cheating and not paying its

employees, and the court sentenced them to pay a huge fine. It also cancelled the lease, which was to be given to a French company. There was no truth in any of the charges, but they were only an excuse to exact money. Here the Governor-General intervened, and demanded that the case should be placed before him for arbitration. This demand was refused, and in 1885 a proposal was put forward in the form of an ultimatum demanding a permanent Resident at Mandalay without the humiliating conditions, the submission of the Bombay Trading Company's case to the Viceroy's arbitration, and that the Government of India should undertake the foreign relations of the state, much the same terms as in the case of Afghanistan. Thebaw refused and war ensued.

Thebaw was ignorant of the forces he was challenging, and when his own untrained men were easily scattered hurried to surrender. Lord Dufferin the Viceroy himself proceeded to Mandalay, and on the 1st of January 1886 declared the annexation of Upper Burma. But though Thebaw's army would not fight, when disbanded it formed bands of dacoits, who spread all over the country raiding, robbing and murdering their own people, and the reduction of the countryside where law and order had disintegrated under Thebaw's demoralizing government took fully five years, partly owing to the nature of the country and partly owing to the complete disappearance of all authority. There has been criticism of the annexation, and indeed it is very similar to the results of the non-intervention policy in the case of the Indian states. The system of buffer states invariably invites intervention, as had happened in the case of Afghanistan. It has been suggested that there was an alternative in the setting up of a Burmese prince, but at the time it appeared that no suitable candidate offered, and the ideas of the Indian government and the somewhat medieval Burmese court were bound to clash. When the modern and medieval meet the medieval cannot survive. A period of tutelage was necessary before the new conception of government could spread—but for the Japanese it would have no doubt have come to fruition in 1939. The mistake appears now, looking back, to have been the application to Burma, a distinct country, of the administration of an Indian province, which it was not and never will be. Indeed, the whole idea of administrating it from India was a mistake, and led to an Indian-Burmese problem which would never have arisen had it been a separate entity.

Internal Development under the Crown

It has been stated that the transfer of responsibility for Indian government to the Crown had meant the lessening of the independence of the Governor-General. The extension of quick means of communication had made this permanent, and the appointment of Secretaries of State, who were men of greater standing and ability than the presidents of the old Board of Control and exercised far greater powers, established a new relationship. The Viceroys after Lord Canning, Lord Lawrence, the last of the covenanted servants to be Viceroy, and Lord Mayo, murdered by a fanatic in the Andamans in 1872, together with Lord Northbrook and Lord Lytton, were concerned with the Afghan frontier problem, but they were also responsible for various developments internally.

The influence of party programmes in England was felt in the different policies carried out, the Liberal programme of Gladstone's administration, and the more adventurous policy of Disraeli. Lord Ripon, who was Viceroy from 1880 to 1884, was a man of pronounced Liberal views, and this was shown in his internal as well as his external policy. It is not proposed to deal individually with each Viceroy's term of office, but to describe generally the various developments in administration and the constitution of India up to the time of Lord Curzon.

Finance and Trade

Lord Mayo was the first to attempt to break the rigid control over finances in the provinces by the central government, and he introduced a measure of independence in the use of savings and conferred on the provincial governments the power to impose taxation for certain purposes.

It was in his time that the question of the salt tax was first investigated. Salt, a commodity of universal use, had before the time of the Company been used to impose a sort of poll tax. The duty, however, varied from province to province. This had led to the setting up of an inland customs barrier to prevent smuggling from more favoured provinces or from the States. This was perhaps the most remarkable customs line in the world. It was a high hedge of cactus or thorn, reinforced with a moat and stone walls, which stretched from north of Attock on the Indus to the Mahanadi in Madras, a distance which at one time extended to 2,500 miles. It demanded a large establishment of

watchers and patrols, and was not only an interruption to trade but an occasion for corruption. It was the existence of this barrier which induced Lord Mayo in 1872 to attempt to stabilize the price by obtaining control of the sources of manufacture, especially the Sambhar Lake in Rajputana. Lords Northbrook and Lytton carried on the negotiations with the different states with a view to obtaining a monopoly and stabilizing the price all over India. By 1882 the duty was reduced to Rs2 a maund (82 lb.), and the price stabilized and the Salt Hedge was abolished. Duties on salt were not an innovation of the British, and were common in European taxation schemes, and provided the price is kept low there is no hardship. But in a country like India, where suitable sources of taxation are restricted, the temptation to increase the duty on salt is often hard to resist in times of financial stringency.

Lord Lytton developed still further the system of financial decentralization, first introduced by Lord Mayo. The custom began of making definite arrangements with the provinces for a longer period than a year, so as to do away with the hurried and uneconomic spending of savings at the end of the year which this led to. Now allotments to the provinces were made for five-year periods, and savings could be properly budgetted for. An income tax was introduced after the Mutiny, but discontinued in 1865. It was once more restored in 1868, but did not become a regular item of revenue until 1886. It was no more popular than it is in Britain.

The American Civil War (1861–65) had the effect of causing a greater demand for raw cotton, and much speculation by Indian traders unused to a world market resulted, which led to a slump when American cotton came back into competition.

The slump was accentuated by serious famines. The Orissa famine of 1865 was especially severe because of the lack of communications for the distribution of relief in the area affected. There were further famines in 1867, 1873 and 1877. The last coincided with the Afghan war and was severe in Madras, Bombay, Mysore and Hyderabad. It was clear that the provision of relief works for the able-bodied only did not meet the situation. The Famine Commission of 1880 recommended the setting up of a Famine Relief Fund and a regular organization for dealing with further visitations.

One of the results of famine was the great loss among cattle and the consequent impoverishment of the peasantry. Advances at a low rate of interest to buy seed and for the sinking of wells,

known as *takavi*, were introduced, but the increase of population led to a greater pressure on the land and the increase of indebtedness. Moneylenders increased their activities and their rates, and the peasants' need for money increased with the realization that their rights in land, conferred or secured by the new rent Acts, placed at their disposal property which might be mortgaged. Religious rites demanded expenditure which was ever increasing when prosperity rose with higher demands for products. When the slump came the prices fell, but marriage and other similar expenditure did not fall, and the moneylender was always at hand. Various attempts were made to protect the cultivator, but with little success, as the highly technical legal processes served mainly to enrich the lawyers and protect the moneylender.

The Liberal doctrine of Free Trade was pushed to its extreme by Lord Ripon when in 1882 Major Baring (the later Lord Cromer of Egyptian fame) introduced a Free Trade budget abolishing all import duties except those on salt, wines and spirits. This left the land revenue as the main source of income and it was inelastic. During Lord Lytton's viceroyalty the cotton duty of 5 per cent. which had been imposed after the Mutiny for revenue purposes had been taken off, apparently owing to representations of the Lancashire cotton interests that it acted in restraint of trade. Actually it was removed because it was no longer needed as a revenue-producing tax. The Viceroy's Council was not, however, in favour of removing it, because it might be interpreted as a protectionist device, but they were overruled by the Viceroy, one of the few occasions on which this power was ever used. A countervailing internal duty or excise on Indian textiles was imposed of the same amount when Lord Elgin (1894–97) re-imposed the import duty, but the following year this was reduced to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The reason for the renewal of the duty was the rise in exchange. The effect of the cotton excise was negligible, as the increase of Indian mills from 58 in 1880 to 144 in 1895 shows. It has been criticized, however, as a Protectionist device to help Lancashire mills against competition in India from Indian textiles. Actually there was little direct competition, as the range of products differed.

Currency

The fall in the value of silver as a world commodity, which was due to various causes, including changes in the coinage in

Germany and France, was another instance of the effect world economic changes were now exercising on Indian conditions. In 1873 the exchange value of the rupee began to decline from the normal exchange rate of two shillings, at which it had remained for a long time. By 1890 it had fallen to 1s. 4d., and in 1892 it was only slightly above one shilling. This was a serious matter, as the so-called ' home charges '—that is, the expenditure of the Secretary of State in England on behalf of India and the service of the various loans which had been subscribed for in England for extension of railway and irrigation projects—had to be paid in gold. This loan expenditure could not have been financed from revenue in India, and Indian money was not then available, as the habit of investment was unknown. The fall in the exchange value of the rupee compelled the reimposition of the income tax, the raising of the salt duty rate, and later the reimposition of the import duties. Finally in 1893 the mints were closed to the unrestricted coinage of silver, and gold was accepted for rupees at the rate of fifteen to the £1. In 1898 gold was made legal tender along with the rupee, and the exchange was stabilized around 1s. 4d. to the rupee. In order that funds might be available for maintaining it at this rate a Gold Standard Reserve was set up financed by the profits of coining silver.

Administration

Lord Ripon believed that representative local government bodies would form the best training ground for higher responsibilities, and between 1883 and 1885 various Acts were passed setting up local boards. The powers of existing municipal boards were increased, and they were given the power of electing their own chairman, while district boards were entrusted with definite duties and given funds for expenditure on roads, health and education.

Local self-government suffered, however, because of the general lack of interest among the people in these new institutions and the reluctance of the educationally advanced to offer themselves for election, which soon took the place of nomination. The funds put at the disposal of the boards were the results of cesses added to the revenue demand and collected by the local officials. Perhaps it would have been better to place the duty of imposing taxes on the boards themselves from the start. The collector or district magistrate and his staff formed the executive, and the boards were content to let them remain so. Local self-government

in England had been evolved after centuries of development, and it is probable that the attempt to graft English ideas and methods on Indian bodies, which were a new creation, was a mistake. The history of local self-government in India has been a record of continual interference by the provincial governments to prevent inefficiency, corruption and indifference. There have of course been exceptions, but on the whole the development of responsibility and initiative has been slow.

Education

The Hunter Commission in 1882 pointed out the excessive growth of secondary education at the expense of elementary and suggested measures by which this could be redressed. The results, however, were not impressive. Secondary education was in the main English education, and had become the preserve of the higher castes, or rather the literary castes, while elementary education was, as it was in England as well, carried out on academic lines, lacking in interest for the agriculturalist, who regarded literacy as quite unnecessary, and felt that the village school taught little or nothing which was useful. The education of girls was precluded by social custom, caste and religion, and thus an unbalanced system had grown up leading only to the learned professions and government service. It has been said that as Sanskrit in the past was the preserve of the Brahman and the higher castes so English tended to be jealously restricted to certain castes, and there was a general reluctance among them to allow any money to be spent on elementary education for the lower castes or for those who did not desire it. The idea of educating girls was something almost impious. Certain missionary bodies had, however, begun the education of girls, and women's education in India owes much to the Christian missions. But the provision of education purely for boys accounts largely for the uneven development of education in India.

The needs of the backward Muslim community were realized by Sir Sayyid Ahmad, who in 1878 founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, which has had such an influence on Muslim education.

The original universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were added to by the establishment of another university for the Punjab at Lahore with affiliated colleges in various centres in the province in 1881. In 1887 another university for the North-

Western Provinces, Rajputana, Central India and the Central Provinces was set up at Allahabad. All these universities were examining bodies only with constituent colleges in different large centres of population.

Social Legislation

The spread of factories necessitated the passing of Acts to safeguard, as far as the state of public opinion allowed, the employment of women and children. The employment of children below the age of twelve was restricted to nine hours a day. The railing off of machinery was made compulsory in 1881. Ten years later a Factory Act was passed making the inspection of factories compulsory, and forbidding more than an eleven hour day for women. Weekly holidays were also enjoined.

The Age of Consent Act of 1891, which aimed at the protection of young girls married before the age of twelve, was regarded as an interference with Hindu customs, and was strenuously opposed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a Chitpavan Brahman, who now came forward as the champion of orthodox Hinduism.

The Ilbert Bill

Sir Courtenay Ilbert, the Law Member of the Viceroy's Council, brought in a Bill to remove the disqualification of Indian magistrates from trying Europeans on criminal charges. Indian judges had long been capable of deciding civil cases where Europeans were concerned, and it was felt that Indian members of the Civil Service who had now reached the requisite seniority should not be precluded from trying them on criminal charges also. The proposal, however, was met by a storm of opposition from the European commercial community especially which led to counter agitation by educated Indians. A compromise was effected by which Indian magistrates were given the right to try Europeans, but with a jury half of whom must be European. This led to ill feeling between the races, and was exploited by ill-advised newspaper publicity on both sides. The right to trial by jury was undoubtedly a much-prized privilege among Englishmen, and there was nothing in this which should have offended Indian opinion, but the controversial methods employed embittered feelings on both sides, and was to say the least unfortunate.

Constitutional Reform

Disraeli's realization of the need for some tangible link between India and England led to the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India in 1877. The affection with which the Queen Empress was regarded was shown by the great rejoicings on the occasion of her jubilee in 1887.

Lord Dufferin had been eager for some time for a constitutional advance, and in 1892 the Indian Councils Act was passed by Parliament, which enlarged the legislative councils both at the centre and in the provinces by nomination from certain bodies. The North-Western Provinces had been given a legislative council in 1886. The non-official members of the provincial legislatures were nominated on the recommendation of local government bodies, the senates of universities, and some trade or other associations.

Four members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council were recommended for nomination by the four provincial councils, and a fifth by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. But there was a further and more important change from the Act of 1861, which had set up these bodies for legislative purposes alone. This was the transference of the legislatures into debating and informatory chambers, where the Budget could be discussed and questions asked and answered.

The Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress first met at Poona in 1885. It derived from a meeting of the Theosophical Society at Madras the year before. Originally it was composed of members chosen rather haphazardly from all sorts of bodies with no very definite authority. Muslims were not prominent, and the Muslim reformers like Sir Sayyid Ahmad did not favour it. Its early demands were for an expansion of the legislative councils, and the right of discussion and interpellation, the abolition of the Secretary of State's Council in London, simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service in India and England, and the reduction of expenditure on defence. From the first there was a feeling that the Congress was the embryo of an Indian Parliament. The members were drawn from the educated classes, especially from lawyers, and there was no idea of any representation of peasants or lower castes. It was essentially a middle-class movement, as it has continued to be. The great names of its early

days are those of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Phiroz Shah Mehta of Bombay, Dadabhoi Naoroji, ultimately a member of the British parliament, Surendranath Banerji and Bhupendranath Basu, all Liberals of the Gladstonian type. At first it was liberal and moderate with Englishmen like Sir David Yule, Sir William Wedderburn and Sir Henry Cotton giving advice and help. Mr. A. P. Hume, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, had had much to do with its organization. Government servants were at first allowed to be members, but as criticism of government increased this permission was withdrawn, not necessarily from ill feeling, but to spare them embarrassment. But it was implicit in the situation that such a body as it gathered support and influence would be opposed to a government which was now constructing its own representative bodies, and it was always a target for attempts by more advanced or extreme agencies to obtain control. Congress started by being an institution, it ended by becoming a party.

Nationalism

The introduction of English education giving a common language for the educated classes throughout India, and the expansion of railways and quick communications and a general system of administration united India as it had seldom been united before. Various movements now strove to extend this new feeling of a common nationality among the educated minority of the populations of the different provinces. Though it was a very small minority it was very vocal. The old ideas of the Brahmo Samaj which had been responsible for the demand for English education and for a more modern outlook now gave way to a more extreme form of Hinduism tinged with political affinities. Ramakrishna and his disciple Swami Vivekananda preached a ' back to the Vedas ' gospel, which developed into an exaltation of the golden age of Hindu supremacy existing in a somewhat misty past. In this age it was claimed all modern discoveries had been discovered—and discarded. Dayananda, who founded the Arya Samaj, an aggressive missionary Hindu body, went to the Punjab in 1877 and spread his doctrines there. Tilak stood out as the champion of orthodoxy, and formed his ' Cow Protection Association ' in 1882. This was definitely anti-Muslim, and began the unfortunate dissension between the two communities. As a Mahratta he spread his cult of Sivaji, in which historical accuracy

was often sacrificed to emotional partizanship. He was the first to enlist students as the spearhead of his agitation, and went even further with his doctrine of physical force as a means of redressing political grievances. He organized so-called gymnastic societies for this purpose. The outbreak of bubonic plague in Poona in 1896 gave him his opportunity, and his paper the *Kesari* attacked the policy of segregation in unmeasured terms, alleging cruelty in its execution and hinting at the molestation of women and even rape. The atmosphere of hatred and violence which resulted led to the murder of two officers engaged on plague duty. Tilak was charged with incitement and sentenced to a term of imprisonment, and the agitation died down for a time, but the example had been set.

The Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon

The viceroyalty of Lord Curzon marks a definite epoch in the post-Mutiny history of British India. He was young, energetic and talented, with definite ideas for India's welfare, and a certain impatience at her ways. He saw so clearly what was necessary that he was inclined to be impatient of delay and scornful of impediments, human and material. He was not popular, but he achieved a great deal in many ways.

On the one hand he extended decentralization in the provinces, especially in finance, where now provincial and central sources of revenue were more closely defined, and where provincial governments were given greater control over detail, though on questions of general policy they were brought under the Viceroy's orders more definitely. He introduced reforms in education ; famine relief was again considered as a result of the widespread famine of 1899–1900, which he found on his arrival, and which on top of that of 1896–97 caused great distress ; and the frontier problem was handled with success, while Lord Kitchener's army reorganization had his general approval. The treasures of India's architecture found in him their greatest admirer, and the Taj Mahal was only one of the great jewels of Indian art which he rescued from decay and neglect. He established the Archaeological Survey to preserve and maintain the great monuments of Hindu and Muslim architecture—long before the value of their great artistic possessions had been brought home to the Indian mind. The restoration of Indian art and architecture and the revival

of interest in her great inheritance was an English gift to India, still too little appreciated.

Frontier Policy

His solution of the frontier problem and the creation of the North-West Frontier Province under a chief commissioner in 1901 has already been described. This led to the change of name of the existing North-Western Provinces to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, with its capital at Allahabad.

The old Amir Abdur Rahman died this year, and his son Habibullah succeeded. The murder of the Mehtar of Chitral in 1895 and the siege of the small British mission led to the dispatch of troops for their relief. As a consequence a small garrison remained in Chitral, and Lord Curzon, when he withdrew the forward troops on the Frontier, retained this mission with its escort, and began the building of a road through the Swat Valley to Chitral as part of his Frontier policy, which elsewhere had led to a withdrawal. Railways were built to the mouth of the Khyber at Jamrud. The new Frontier Province was divided into an administered area, and an area occupied by the partly independent tribes who occupied about two-thirds. The expeditions of Sir Bindon Blood with the Malakand force against the Mohmands, and Sir William Lockhart against the Afridis in 1897–98 were due to a rising of the tribes uneasy on account of the forward policy which had occupied Chitral, or instigated by trouble makers. There were various factors at work, but Lord Curzon's arrangements certainly improved matters for the time being.

Tibet

The position in Tibet had changed owing to various causes, chief among which was the fact that the Dalai Lama, regarded as the incarnation of the Buddha, had not died before attaining manhood, as had been the fate of his predecessors. This was believed to have been due to a Russian subject called Dorjieff, who seems to have aimed at Russian infiltration. An agreement had been made with the Tibetans in 1893 for the purposes of trade after an invasion by them of Sikkim had been frustrated. China too was suspected of meddling, though her control over Tibet was no longer recognized except in form by the Tibetans. Tibetan missions to Russia headed by Dorjieff increased suspicion. These suspicions seemed to be confirmed when the Russian

Government protested in somewhat provocative terms against the Indian Government's attempt to obtain contact with Tibetan plenipotentiaries. Finally an advance was decided on, and in the spring of 1904 Colonel Younghusband advanced into Tibet, and, brushing the opposition of the Tibetans aside, reached Gyantse, and on the refusal of the Dalai Lama to treat pushed on to Lhasa whereat the Dalai Lama fled. The council of regency agreed to the setting up of a commercial agency at Gyantse, and to pay an indemnity, which was soon reduced. The expedition was successful in resisting Russian penetration into this country on the borders of India, and three years later the 1907 agreement with Russia settled the dispute both as regards Tibet and, more important, Afghanistan, where Habibullah had been attempting the traditional policy of fishing in troubled waters.

Revenue, Irrigation and Agriculture

The lesson of the famine years was put to good account, and a much more generous policy for remissions of revenue in bad seasons and for sudden catastrophes was introduced towards the end of Lord Curzon's tenure. The Department of Agriculture was reorganized, and attention directed to cattle breeding, and the improvement of seed by the establishment of experimental farms and centres for research. A regular plan was laid down for the extension of irrigation, which has been of the greatest benefit.

The Co-operative Societies Act of 1904 started on its way a movement which, though it developed slowly, has had in parts of India remarkable results to show, and will undoubtedly grow.

The Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900 was aimed at the prevention of the mortgaging of agricultural land from agricultural classes to moneylenders, banias, and others. This had increased to a great extent, and the cultivators needed protection, which this Act gave them. Land could not now be sold for debt, nor could mortgages be effected on agricultural land belonging to an agriculturist. This had a marked effect, and some, at any rate, of the present prosperity of the Punjab must be attributed to this enactment.

Education

The condition of education was far from satisfactory, and the standards of colleges and high schools were low. An educational

commission on university education was appointed after a conference of educationalists in which the deficiencies in the whole educational structure were pointed out. These were summed up by the Viceroy as too large a degree of *laissez faire* in the maintainance of educational standards in higher education, too excessive trust in examinations, the neglect of primary education and of technical instruction. More expert advice was necessary, and a Director General of Education was appointed to advise the central government on policy. Larger grants were given to the provincial governments for the improvement of education generally. All this criticism was deserved, but little was done to educate the public and prepare them for changes. The University Act of 1904 was framed with the sole purpose of improving the control of the universities over the affiliated colleges and the high schools, and to ensure that a reasonable standard of recognition should be aimed at. But the Act was not favourably received. The fact that the Vice-Chancellors were to be appointed by the government, and that the provincial Directors of Public Instruction were to be members ex-officio of the senates was hailed by a vociferous opposition as an attempt to put chains on education. The Act proposed that post-graduate instruction should be given by the universities, which would thus become teaching and not merely examining bodies. The opposition was largely factitious, and is an interesting example of how the best intentions can be misrepresented and misunderstood.

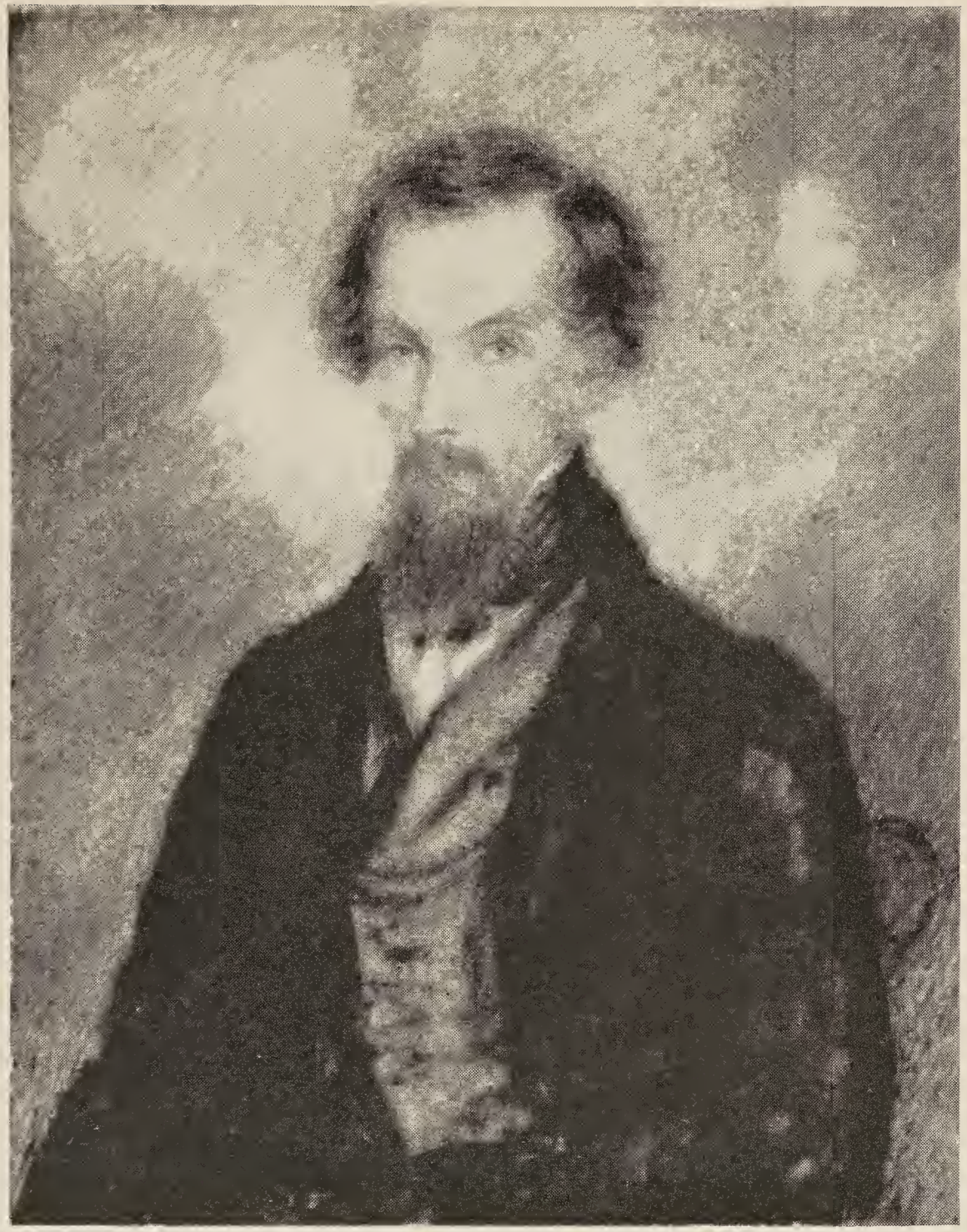
Partition of Bengal

Bengal had been very worked up over the Universities Act, especially the sections dealing with the control of private schools which flourished in that province, where they were little better than cramming institutions. The educated classes resented what they considered an interference with their means of livelihood, and the lawyers had been against the centralization of the law classes, which had been proposed for better instruction, but was interpreted as directed against the lawyers, who were in the van of the politically conscious.

While this feeling was still vocal the Act for the partition of Bengal was passed in 1905. The purpose of this was to make the administration more effective in view of the unwieldy character of the existing province—the eastern part of which was often neglected. A new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was

therefore carved out and Dacca was made the capital. This was not Lord Curzon's own idea. He was simply carrying out an administrative change which the force of circumstances had rendered necessary. It was objectionable to the Hindus, because it gave a Muslim majority in the new province, and because it divided up the area which had become the centre of an almost national sentiment—Bengal the home of the Bengalis. The lawyers, again the most vocal, objected because they envisaged a new High Court at Dacca taking away from the importance of Calcutta. This on top of the University Act, which was felt to be especially aimed against Bengal, led to an organized opposition in which the dangerous technique, started by Tilak, of enlisting immature students and schoolboys in political agitation was continued.

Now began that programme of strikes in educational institutions so peculiar to India, the boycotting of British-made goods and the founding of secret societies pledged to violence. All this was among only a section and that a small section, of the population, but the movement obtained advertisement perhaps out of all proportion to its importance in the Press especially the Indian-owned Press. Surendranath Banerji led the opposition, and preached an economic boycott of British cloth especially. This was the Swadeshi movement—the counterblast to Buy British—Buy Hindu or Indian. The emotional temperament of the Bengalis was fertile ground for such a campaign and the effects later spread among the middle or educated classes over much of India. The desire of the Government to control higher education with a view to improving standards seemed to threaten the prospects of employment of these classes, and accounts for much of the opposition. Education was regarded not as a good in itself but simply as an avenue for employment, and the matriculation or school leaving examination merely as a hurdle on the road. If it could be by-passed then employment was easy—if not the student did not contemplate alternative openings, but resigned himself to living on the joint family and for such agitation and political associations as he might join. It must be remembered that the distributive trades were in the hands of a particular caste, the bania, and there was no tradition of Brahmans or the clerkly castes joining in such activities. But posts in government departments were not capable of indefinite expansion—and the student generally placed a high value on his capabilities, and the idea of beginning at the beginning and working his way up was never popular. The increase of schools and colleges produced many more candi-



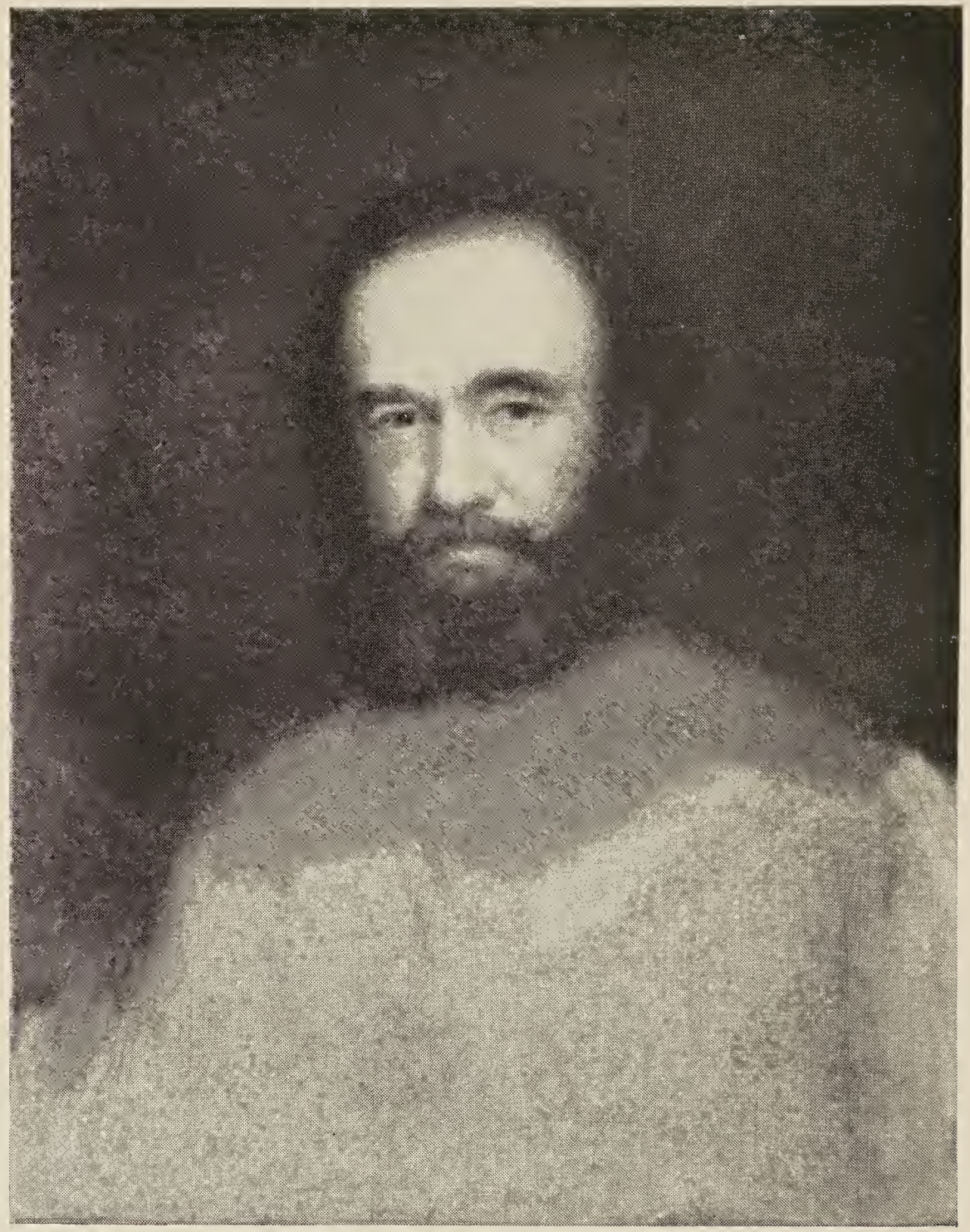


Plate 60 *left* Sir Henry Lawrence ; *right* General Sir James Outram (from portraits in the National Portrait Gallery)

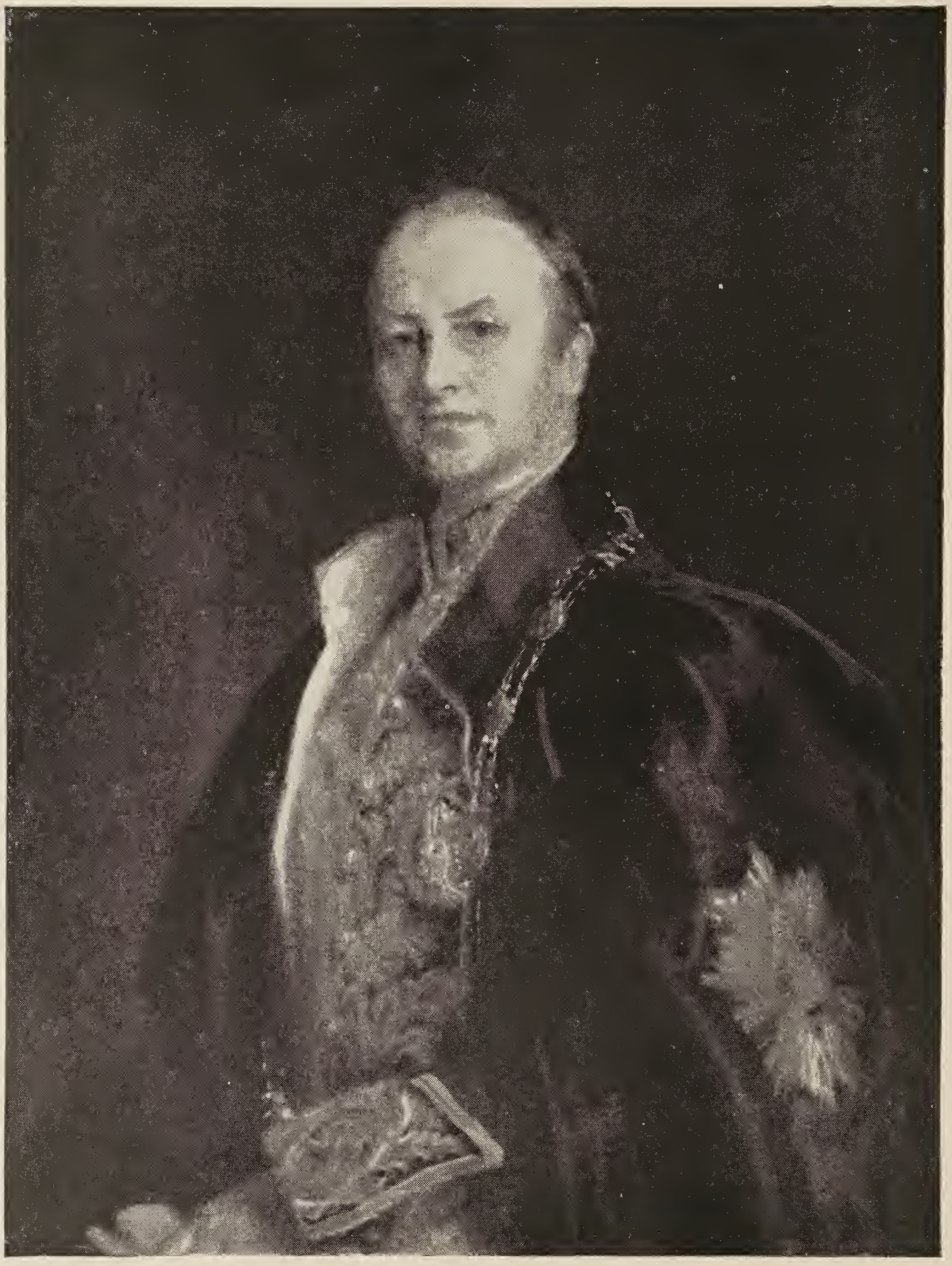


Plate 61 Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, from a portrait by J. S. Sargent R.A. in the National Portrait Gallery

dates for employment than there were posts, and thus in these classes there was unemployment and often hardship. This explains the existence of a body of young men who were discontented and ready to accept the irresponsible promptings of the Press as real truth.

Thus much of the real advances during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon have in Indian eyes been discounted by the two unpopular efforts to improve conditions in education and in administration.

The Indian States

Relations with the States naturally claimed much of Lord Curzon's interest, and he devoted great attention to their needs. The Imperial Cadet Corps was an attempt to cater for the military ambitions of the princely families, though it did not last. Those portions of the state forces maintained for employment with the Indian army, the Imperial Service troops, had already shown their value in the Hunza campaign of 1893, when the Kashmir Imperial Service troops performed good service, and this scheme was now extended by the improvement of training facilities, and making them a definite part of the military organization.

The question of Berar, which had been held by the British as security or rather as provision for the expenses of the Hyderabad contingent maintained in accordance with the treaty, was settled for a time by an agreement by which the province was made over on a perpetual lease and the payment of an annual sum. The sovereign rights of Hyderabad were preserved in name. This settlement was satisfactory at the time, but the claim has been lately renewed. The right of the paramount power to intervene was shown in the case of Indore, where the Maharaja resigned and was succeeded by his son (1903) and in 1905 full powers were restored to the Maharaja of Kashmir, acting under a council of state. The doctrine of paramountcy was fully maintained at this time. The case of the Gaikwar of Baroda in 1874, whose misrule was notorious, culminated in his trial for an attempt to poison the British Resident. He was removed and another heir selected. Other cases occurred, such as Bharatpur in 1900, and Panna in 1901, where the ruler was removed for wrongdoing. But the relationship between the States and the Crown was emphasized, and these important parts of the Indian empire received the most close attention and sympathetic consideration.

Further Reorganization of the Army

After the Mutiny the Indian army had been reorganized into Presidency armies, Bengal, Madras and Bombay each with a commander-in-chief. In 1895 these were amalgamated into one command under the Commander-in-Chief. It was not until after the Great War that the men were provided with a free issue of rations, but otherwise all supplies of uniform, arms and equipment were supplied by the State and rations on service. The cavalry, with the exception of the Madras units, however, supplied their own uniform, horses, and equipment except arms, on what was called the silladar system. The experience of the Great War, however, showed that this was impracticable for service in modern conditions, and the State became responsible as for the infantry. The Punjab Frontier Force mainly composed of Punjabis, Pathans and Sikhs, was a special force under the provincial government, but it now became part of the unified army. The British officers, transferred originally from the Company's forces and afterwards recruited from British battalions, formed after 1861 the Bengal, Madras and Bombay Staff Corps, which, on the amalgamation, became the Indian Staff Corps. This was changed in 1903, when they became Indian Army officers posted to particular units and recruited from the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, or on transfer from British units in India. Indian officers promoted from the ranks filled the approximate position of platoon commanders, and there is also the subadar or risaldar major, the commanding officer's chief Indian officer adviser. Lack of education primarily prevented their admission to King's commissioned rank, though Lord Curzon's Imperial Cadet Corps was an attempt to obtain officers of the princely families from the States.

The Governor-General-in-Council was the supreme authority over the Indian army, with the Commander-in-Chief in India as his executive officer. As a result of the change brought about by the Act of 1893, which abolished the separate Presidency armies, four commands were set up—Punjab, Bengal, Madras and Bombay. Lord Kitchener, who came out to India in 1902, set on foot a great reorganization, which made the army division the unit of administration. India was divided into ten divisional commands. The divisions were grouped into two armies, the Northern and the Southern army. The Northern army was echeloned on the North-West Frontier, and was composed largely

of what were called the martial classes—Punjabi Musulman, Sikh, Rajput, Dogra, Jat, Mahrattas and Gurkhas. The Commander-in-Chief was generally, though not invariably, an extraordinary member of the Viceroy's Council. In addition there was a military member who dealt with matters coming from army headquarters. Lord Kitchener, when Commander-in-Chief, objected to his proposals having to go through an officer subordinate in rank to himself, who criticized them in some cases, and was the channel through which all military business came before the council. This naturally led to friction, and finally the Secretary of State decided that the Commander-in-Chief should be head of a new department, the Army department, while supply should be placed under the military supply department, with an army officer in charge, but with no power of criticizing the purely military proposals of the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Curzon objected to this, as he felt it gave the Commander-in-Chief too much power, and over this controversy he resigned. Mr. Morley, the new Liberal Secretary of State, the following year laid down the rules of business of the new Army department, making it clear that the secretary of the Army department should have the status and powers of the other secretaries. An army finance branch of the Finance department was also formed to take over all military accounts. In 1909 the military supply department was abolished as unnecessary, and the Commander-in-Chief and the Army department were solely responsible for all military business, but the formation of an Army department on the lines of the other departments ensured that there was proper contact between the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief.

The Police

Army reform suggested police reform also. A police commission was set up which paid attention to the failings of this body. Pay was increased—it had been very low, which was an incentive to corruption—and the training was improved, while a more professional attitude was encouraged by the creation of a Criminal Investigation Department for the better detection of crime. Indian officers were given more responsibilities by the creation of a provincial service, and the strength of the force increased. It will be remembered that after the Mutiny the numbers of the Indian army were considerably reduced by as many as 90,000. The danger or threat from Russia had led to an increase of 30,000,

of whom 11,000 were British and 19,000 Indian. In 1909 the total strength was 225,000, of whom about 75,500 were British. The police battalions which had been before the Mutiny part of the Presidency armies had been abolished with the recruitment of a regular police force, and the numbers of the police were now increased to 175,000—a very small number in reality considered against the numbers of the population. But the cost of the army and the police had always been an article of political criticism, and law and order had become targets of emotional abuse. This was because there was little feeling among unwarlike castes that they were *their* army and *their* police, and because under political propaganda they were taught to regard them as instruments of foreign rule. Thus co-operation between the public and the police in India has always been to seek, while pride in the great achievements of the Indian army is only found among the martial classes.

Chapter XXVIII

CONSTITUTIONAL ADVANCE

The agitation against Lord Curzon's educational reforms and the partition of Bengal, together with emotional and often irresponsible Press polemics, led in Bengal and other parts of India to an expressed dissatisfaction with the constitutional position. In Bengal a wave of anarchic crime had broken out, fostered by the agitation and the Swadeshi movement among the *bhadralog* or middle-class youths. The Swadeshi movement was a boycott of British or rather foreign goods, and was based on economic considerations, chief among which was the political doctrine of the economic 'drain,' the payment of interest on investments and pensions in England. This can hardly be defended as having any valid economic basis in fact, but it was a useful political slogan and was made full use of. There were other causes. The long-drawn-out Boer war seemed to suggest that Britain could no longer cope with her responsibilities, while the defeat of Russia, a European country, by Japan, an Asiatic country, was hailed as a sign that the West was inferior to the East.

This was constitutional opposition, but there was another movement, though not a large one, which was frankly revolutionary. The Irish outbreaks were watched and Irish political crime was copied, as it had been by Tilak. Secret societies, especially among the students in Bengal, were formed. Robbery to collect money to buy arms was indulged in, and the cult of the bomb and political assassination openly advocated. In 1908 the first outrage took place at Muzzaffarpur, in which two English ladies were killed by a bomb. Elsewhere two district officers were assassinated, and an attempt made on the life of the Lieutenant-Governor. Terrorism was the work of a small body, but there was much sympathy with those convicted of what was, on any count, cold-blooded murder, and the emotions of schoolboys and students were deliberately played upon.

Still this was confined to Bengal sporadically, though there were also troubles in the Punjab, where Lajpat Rai was suspected of encouragement and incitement. Here large-scale riots took place, but they were largely agrarian in character. The situation

was met by various enactments, such as the Seditious Meetings Act, and in 1910 by a Press Act. Deportation without trial, under the Regulation of 1818, which was not a new use but a normal development, was also used by Lord Minto, the new Viceroy, and Lajpat Rai among others was deported, as well as some Bengali firebrands.

There was much criticism in England as well as in India, but Mr. Morley, the Secretary of the Liberal Government, was undismayed. It was always evident that agitation which might be without serious effects in England, where the people were accustomed to assess criticism and propaganda on their merits, was dangerous in India, where the educated element was so minute compared to the great mass of an ignorant and easily swayed populace, and where criminal agencies are always ready to take advantage of any remission of control. The agitators who pretended to lead opinion were quite incapable of controlling the forces their eloquence unleashed, and the controlling had to be done for them. But men nurtured on Mazzini, incited by Indian papers like the *Yugantur*, and intoxicated by a newly-imagined nationalism, which took the slogan *Bande Mataram* (Hail to the Mother), from a popular novel aimed against the Muslims, and made it the cry of nationalistic India, took no thought for the consequences. Meanwhile the ordinary life of India went on, seed time and harvest, birth and death, selling and buying, the cattle driven to graze in the morning, and returning at sundown to the village, this life was unaffected and uninterested. These were the agitations of the big cities, of the dissatisfied, and of those whose education brought them no jobs, or rather no jobs of the kind they wanted, for the growth of education had now led to crowds of applicants for every vacancy, and much of the agitation was the result of unemployment among the middle classes in the towns.

The Congress

The extremists tried to obtain control of Congress. Here even the moderate Mr. Gokhale, who was president in 1905, had declared that Lord Curzon's policy was as bad as that of Aurangzeb, an example of the tendency to use the most exaggerated language to describe policies which were disagreed with. Reality is often far from the picture drawn by politicians intoxicated by their own verbosity, and such talk is all the more dangerous in

an emotional and excited atmosphere. But Mr. Gokhale exercised a moderating influence, and was joined by Surendranath Banerji, and the moderates at Surat in 1907 were strong enough to resist the extremists' efforts to seize control of Congress. This was evidently the time to attempt to remove the causes of opposition while firmly maintaining every government's primary duty of maintaining law and order.

Minto recognized that there was a widely held desire among well educated and loyal Indians to obtain a greater share in the government of the country. He felt that a mere enlargement of the elective element was not the panacea so many declared it to be. Morley on the other hand considered that the vote was the cure of every ill. The Morley-Minto reforms were an amalgamation of these two ideas.

The Morley-Minto Reforms

The Government of India Act of 1909 was a definite advance, and was accepted as such by the Moderates. An Indian member was added to the Viceroy's Executive Council, and two were nominated to the Council of India in London. The provincial legislative assemblies or councils now had a majority of non-official Indians elected by local government bodies and other bodies—direct elections were not introduced as being entirely alien to Indian ideas. In order to lessen the excessively urban representation, and to give some voice to rural areas, landlords' constituencies were introduced. The idea of special constituencies was Lord Minto's own. There was also special representation for Muslims. The Muslim League had been founded in 1905 with a view to representing Muslims' special claims, and this was one of them. The possibility of self-government now in the air had brought to the fore the growing estrangement between the communities. The Muslim League was an answer to the Indian National Congress, necessary because the possibility of self-government raised the spirit of separatism which the intolerance of Tilak had emphasized. While the British were plainly determined to rule, Hindu-Muslim trouble was rare, but when the likelihood of self-government appeared the question of who was to rule India for the first time since the British supremacy became universal began to be asked. The powers given to the legislative councils were extended. Resolutions could now be debated and passed on matters of all kinds including finance.

This was a step on the road, but only a step, and it is more than a question whether it had not been delayed too long.

The Delhi Durbar

The visit of their Majesties the King Emperor George V and Queen Mary in 1911 was the occasion of a great outburst of loyalty. Traditional boons were announced, such as a month's pay to all soldiers and subordinate officials, and the declaration that Indian soldiers were eligible for the Victoria Cross.

An expansion of primary education was promised. Two announcements which were made gave rise to conflicting opinions, the change of capital from Calcutta to Delhi, and the revision of the Partition of Bengal. To take the last first, this seems to have been decided with Lord Hardinge without consulting the Executive Council. Instead of retaining Eastern Bengal and Assam, Assam was to become a separate charge under a Chief Commissioner; Bihar became another province under a Lieutenant-Governor with an executive council, which Bengal also obtained under the same Act and was now restored to something like its old prestige, though Orissa and Chota Nagpur were joined to Bihar. The change was welcomed by the Hindus, but it gave great offence to the Muslims who lost their large majority in Eastern Bengal, though they maintained a small one in the reorganized province of Bengal. The change of capital to Delhi was in a way a sop to them for this loss, though it may equally well have drawn attention to their changed position from the days of Mughul Delhi. The cost of a new capital, too, was bound to be large, as it has proved to be in fact, with the necessity of building new accommodation on a scale commensurate with the importance of the new capital. This, however, would have had to be faced even in Calcutta. There is no doubt that one of the reasons was the believed necessity to move beyond the distractions of Bengal, now rife with discontent, and the influence of the commercial element of European Calcutta. The stately buildings which ultimately arose in New Delhi are more characteristic of a great capital than the constricted quarters of Calcutta itself, and for a great part of the year the climate is more conducive to work.

Lord Minto's viceroyalty was a tranquillizing episode in Indian constitutional advance, and for a time, helped by good harvests and favourable monsoons—the foundation of India's prosperity—

there was an appearance of peace and progress, though there were disquieting signs of future disturbance in the position of Indians overseas, especially in South Africa. The treatment of Indian traders by the Boers had been one of the causes of the Boer war. Mr. Gandhi led the opposition against the special taxes imposed on Indians, and when the Boer war broke out formed an Indian Ambulance Corps, which was present at the relief of Ladysmith. After the war he settled in South Africa and took up the cause of Indians in earnest. The grant of Dominion status to South Africa in 1909 removed whatever influence the British Government had in this matter, and the efforts of the Government of India to improve the position of Indians in the Union, though continuous, have not been markedly successful. It was in South Africa that Mr. Gandhi first tried his weapon of passive resistance or *satyagraha*. The position in South Africa was admittedly difficult, because of the still unhealed differences between British and Boer settlers, and the latter's very marked colour prejudices. The class of Indians who had settled in Africa, mostly indentured labour or low-caste traders, made agreement more difficult still, and the question is still a stumbling block in Commonwealth relations.

In India peace and prosperity, in spite of plague, which still raged, had led to a steady increase in population and a pressure on the land which was becoming serious. The great popularity of higher education had led to the production of large numbers of educated young men for whom there was no longer sufficient employment of the kind they preferred. This was not confined to India, but was becoming a world problem, which reached its height after the Great War. The economic condition of India was not healthy, but no plan for improvement was in sight, when the whole situation was altered by the outbreak of the first World War, and the false prosperity of war production concealed for a time the underlying weaknesses.

The First World War

When Germany made its first bid for world supremacy—which is now at last seen to have been a planned and determined endeavour to win by force a position of world control, and not the result of conflicting imperialistic policies by the powers of Europe, as many had represented it to be until the outbreak of Hitler's second effort in 1939, and the documented revelations of the trial at Nuremburg have finally proved it beyond dispute—India took

her place on the side of freedom. India played a great part, and her troops fought in France, in Gallipoli, Sinai and Palestine, Mesopotamia and East Africa with the characteristic gallantry which has always distinguished the Indian Army. India also raised large sums of money for war funds, and provided many of the munitions of war. All parties combined in the war effort, and the Indian princes put all their resources at the disposal of the King Emperor with their traditional loyalty. This spontaneous display of co-operation and loyalty to the common cause led to the declaration in Parliament in 1917 that the policy of His Majesty's Government was one of increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.

Meanwhile as the war had gone on new developments arose in the political situation. Mrs. Besant, a leading member of the Theosophist movement, founded a Home Rule League in 1916, and started a very active campaign supported by Tilak. Mr. Gokhale had died in 1915, and his moderating influence was much missed. At the Congress session held in Lucknow in 1916, attempts were set on foot to unite the Muslim and Hindu differences, and a pact was made by which separate electorates for Muslims were agreed to. This meeting of Congress was notable for its capture by the exponents of more extreme opinions and the reiteration of the goal of *Swaraj*—self or home rule within or without the Empire. A parallel meeting of the Muslim League, also at Lucknow under the presidency of Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, also defined Home Rule, but within the Empire, as the goal.

Mrs. Besant's activities led to her being interned by the Madras Government the following year, and she was sent to the pleasant climate of the Nilgiris. The unfortunate Khilafat agitation had been organized when Turkey entered the war and led to much agitation. Muhammad and Shaukat Ali, the main organizers, were interned, but were afterwards to give much trouble. Actually the agitation was based on imaginary grievances as there had been no Caliphate since the Mughuls had assumed the position in India themselves. The Turkish assumption had never been acknowledged until the attempt of Abdul Hamid to make capital out of his position before the war. Still it proved a useful weapon for agitation, and in any case the war with Turkey was never popular among Muslims, while the revolt of the Sherif of Mecca, especially Lawrence's support, was interpreted as a British

machination against religion—and the cry 'religion in danger' is always efficacious in India, even with those who have long since given up all religious practices. But the full force of this unhappy movement did not appear until after the conclusion of the war.

The question of constitutional advance had been discussed before the war, but the immediate needs had for a time laid it aside. The war itself had given opportunities for Indianization of the services, as no new recruits came out from England, and both Lord Chelmsford and others were in favour of a substantial advance. In 1917 Mr. Edwin Montague became Secretary of State for India, and adopted the formula, first employed by Sir Austin Chamberlain and then redrafted by Lord Curzon, which became the declaration of future intentions. It has been suggested that had this been issued in the form of a Royal Proclamation it would have had greater effect. The different purely India bodies had already been busy constitution making, and the joint meeting of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League at Lucknow in 1916 adopted a scheme which included direct election of four-fifths of the members of the provincial councils, and four-fifths of the elected members of the Central council, some of whom were to be chosen from the elected members of the provincial councils, others by direct election. A form of cabinet government, where half were to be chosen by the provincial legislature, was to be set up in the provinces under a Governor who was not a member of the services. Resolutions in the first instance might come under the veto of the Governor-in-Council, but if repeated would become law. An interesting point was the provision that any resolution or Bill opposed by three-quarters of either Hindus or Muslims as being against their community would at once lapse.

The attempt of Mr. Lionel Curtis of Round Table fame, who had been successful in bringing about the preliminaries of the Act of Union in South Africa, to introduce a round table form of study groups to discuss possibilities, was negatived by very questionable methods of propaganda, but he evolved the dyarchy system by which government would be divided into two separate compartments, with responsible ministers dealing with one set, and executive councillors with the others, both under the Governor. As confidence became established more and more duties might be transferred to the ministers. This scheme was ingenious, and reflected great credit on its original proposer, Sir William Duke, late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, an eminent member of the Indian Civil Service. It commended itself to Mr. Montague,

who now in 1917 proceeded to India determined to get it accepted. His whirlwind tour of India did not convince him of the difficulties, but rather of the stupidity of all who did not agree with his views. The Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, was one of those who did agree. The Congress, on the other hand, preferred their own plan, which involved immediate autonomy in the provinces. Gradualness was an essential part of Mr. Montague's plan, which was based on his opinion of what ought to happen. Lord Morley, though the most autocratic Secretary of State India ever had, was a Liberal in politics, and considered that parliamentary government was the panacea for every ill. Mr. Montague was even more doctrinaire, and felt he had a mission to rouse the Indian peasants from their sleep and direct their attention to the rare and refreshing fruits of parliamentary government and the vote.

But however many doubts there might be, it was parliamentary government with direct elections which the vocal portion of the population demanded—that meant the middle classes who represented the Congress, and the rump of the old Moderate party now calling themselves Liberals. The great mass of the people were completely indifferent and unconscious that decisions affecting their whole future were being debated. The result of Mr. Montague's visit was embodied in the Montague-Chelmsford Report, so called because it was signed by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. The conclusions there reached were embodied in an Act in 1919. This was the Act which introduced the theory of dyarchy to India. Dyarchy perhaps illustrates more clearly than anything else the fundamental contrast between the British and the Indian ethos. Dyarchy was a form of government which was taken, consciously or unconsciously, from the old classical tradition of Europe. It was an echo of Augustus' solution of the new political conception of the Princeps and the need to maintain the theory of senatorial responsibility. But it was entirely European and not Asiatic, and was in India a totally new conception —as indeed were all these constitution-mongering attempts. They were barren essays in imaginary political systems born of the brain and not of experience. Experience is the only way in which a real constitution can grow—it must evolve and not be imposed.

The Act of 1919

The object was to give practical autonomy to the provinces and to liberalize the provincial governments by the method of dyarchy.

This meant a dual form of government whereby the so-called ' transferred subjects '—education, local self-government, public works and public health—were under the control of elected ministers, and the ' reserved ' subjects—finance, law and order, irrigation, and forests—were retained by the Governor and his executive councillors. At the centre two bodies were set up consisting of both elected and nominated members, namely the upper house known as the Council of State, and the lower the Assembly. Dyarchy was not introduced at the centre, where the executive was still responsible to Parliament. A Chamber of Princes was set up where matters peculiar to the States were to be deliberated, but this was not a part of the constitutional machinery of government. After ten years progress was to be reviewed by a Statutory Commission appointed by Parliament with a view to a further extension of responsible government. Separate electorates were retained at the demand of the Muslims and other minorities, who were still apprehensive of the Hindu majority. The Council of State had an elected majority among its sixty members, of whom twenty-six were nominated. The Legislative Assembly also had a non-official or elected majority, 114 out of 140. The franchise was considerably widened, but still affected only a small proportion of the population and varied in size and qualifications for the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly and the provincial assemblies. It was mostly a landowners' franchise, but payment of income tax also counted. The provincial assemblies were doubled, and had 70 per cent. of elected members.

The budget was now to be passed by the whole assembly, but in the centre the Governor-General had the powers of certification in matters of supply, as had the provincial governors in that portion of the budget referring to the ' reserved ' subjects. Further if a Bill which was considered essential to the peace, order, or good government of the country was rejected by the Legislative Assembly, it might be certified by the Governor-General and sent to the Council of State, and, if passed, became law. The powers of the Secretary of State were restricted by a convention that he would not interfere in matters of purely Indian concern when the Government and the Legislature were agreed, and one of the results of this was the setting up of the Tariff Board and autonomy in fiscal matters. A High Commissioner was established in London to deal with trade and many matters formerly under the control of the India Office. The India Council was increased and more Indian members appointed. Now began the official division of

subjects and revenue into central and provincial, and the five major provinces, outside the Presidencies, were given Governors and Executive Councils in place of Lieutenant-Governors, namely the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, and Burma. India was now taking her place with the other Dominions of the Empire, and was a member of the new League of Nations.

The first elections took place in 1921, and though Congress did not accept the reforms, were successfully carried out, though even with the restricted franchise in force large numbers of the electorate had little understanding of what it was all about. The Congress would not work the new constitution, and the new ministers therefore were mainly drawn from the Moderates. Progress was made, but owing to the abstention of Congress the party system did not evolve as it might have done and as had been expected.

Non-Co-operation

As the war drew to a close the need to replace the Defence of India Act, which had been used to deal with revolutionary conspiracy, became urgent. Mr. Justice Rowlatt with a committee was appointed to report, and his report, which appeared soon after the Montague-Chelmsford Report, suggested definite steps to deal with this sort of crime. Two Bills were drawn up embodying the chief recommendations, which among other clauses gave judges power in certain affected regions to try political cases by special procedure, and the provinces were given the power to intern agitators.

This was made the occasion for a regular campaign, in which mendacity and misrepresentation was used as a fair weapon against imperialism. The Acts were stated to include clauses which demanded such caste-breaking novelties as the medical inspection of couples before marriage, the prevention of fairs and ceremonies where more than two or three people were gathered together, and even forbidding the possession of more than two plough oxen.

Mr. Mohan Das Gandhi, the lawyer who had had such great experience of passive resistance and opposition in South Africa, now came forward as a national leader with the two doctrines of *satyagraha* (a vow to maintain the truth), which became a form of passive resistance, and *ahimsa* (non-violence). The success of passive resistance in Ireland and during the suffragette

campaign in England had given the idea, and Mr. Gandhi added a religious sanctity to the conception. The strike or partial suspension of business was another weapon in his armoury, and the whole arsenal was extremely well designed to use against a people like the British, whose humanitarianism and love of liberty was averse from the forms of repression which less inhibited peoples would have undoubtedly used. This campaign inevitably led to violence, and disturbances became common. In Delhi, Lahore, Ahmadabad, and elsewhere there was rioting, and for the first time Europeans were attacked. The position was complicated by the outbreak of war with Afghanistan. The Amir Habibullah was murdered on 20th February 1919, and was succeeded by his brother Nasrullah. He was soon replaced by Amanullah, the younger son of Habibullah, who planned an invasion of India, undoubtedly attracted by the trouble in the Punjab, where on 11th April martial law was declared.

At Amritzar two leaders were arrested on 10th April, and rioting took place after an attempt to enter the civil lines where the Europeans live. The mob then proceeded to attack shops in the city, and among them the two British banks, whose managers were murdered. The railway station was then attacked and burnt and a European guard killed. The mob now attacked any European it met, and an English woman missionary was so roughly handled that she was left for dead. The position was serious, and it had all the appearance of a concerted rising. General Dyer from Jullundur arrived the next day and found the whole place in the hands of the rioters and law and order at an end. He immediately prohibited all public meetings, but he had hardly any troops with him, and the enforcement of his order was not possible by ordinary means. On the 13th a meeting was held, despite the orders, in the Jallianwallah Bagh. General Dyer, believing that it was the crucial moment in what he thought, on the information he had, was a planned revolt, took all the troops he had, in all under a hundred, mostly Gurkha recruits, to disperse the crowd. He found it being harangued by agitators and was faced with a terrible decision. He could only disperse the crowd by fire, and believing that he was in the presence of a revolt he ordered his men to fire. The casualties in that packed gathering were large—some being villagers who had come in for a fair, though many in the crowd were those who had burnt, pillaged and murdered, others again merely people who had gone out to see the *tamasha*. The results of this action have been

incalculable. Some believe that it saved the Punjab from revolt and other parts of India from similar attempts. The Hunter Commission, which inquired into the facts, stated that there was no evidence to show that the outbreak in the Punjab was part of a prearranged conspiracy to overthrow the British Government in India by force. Undoubtedly the imminence of the Afghan attack on India had much to do with General Dyer's action. But the effect on Indian opinion was immediate, and the Jallianwallah Bagh incident has undoubtedly embittered feeling in India, and the results have been far-reaching. It was a shock to the feeling of individual dignity that action could be taken against an Indian crowd which would not have been taken against, say, an Irish crowd. Of course this does not take account of the differences in self-control and responsibility, but whatever view is taken of the incident the effect has been disastrous.

The Congress meeting at Calcutta in 1920 laid down a policy of non-violent non-co-operation, inspired by Mr. Gandhi, which included the boycott of British goods, the giving up of titles, and the boycott of the law courts, withdrawal from government service, and non-participation in the elections. Finally all children were to be withdrawn from government schools. This initiated a policy of using school children as pawns in the political game which has been disastrous for both discipline and education generally. The atmosphere engendered was of course not conducive to the success of any constitutional experiments, and there was disorder, encouraged by this determined effort to work up ill-feeling against the British.

Muhammad and Shaukat Ali's Khilafat agitation stirred up the Muslims, and many ignorant Muslim peasants were induced to sell their lands and emigrate to Afghanistan, where they suffered great privation, ultimately returning to India. There were grave scandals centred round the finances of the movement. Finally in 1921 the Moplahs, descendents of Arab settlers in Malabar, started a *jihad*, or holy war, which culminated in the murder of Hindus, forcible conversions, and the desecration of temples, and required a regular campaign to put it down. Non-violent non-co-operation failed, and there were disgraceful incidents such as the Chauri Chaura massacre in 1922, when the Congress National Volunteers massacred twenty-one, mostly unarmed, Indian policemen. Other riots in Bombay and Madras showed that non-violence was a failure. Mr. Gandhi now published his Bardoli resolution confessing his 'Himalayan error.' His responsibility



Plate 62 Mahatma Gandhi

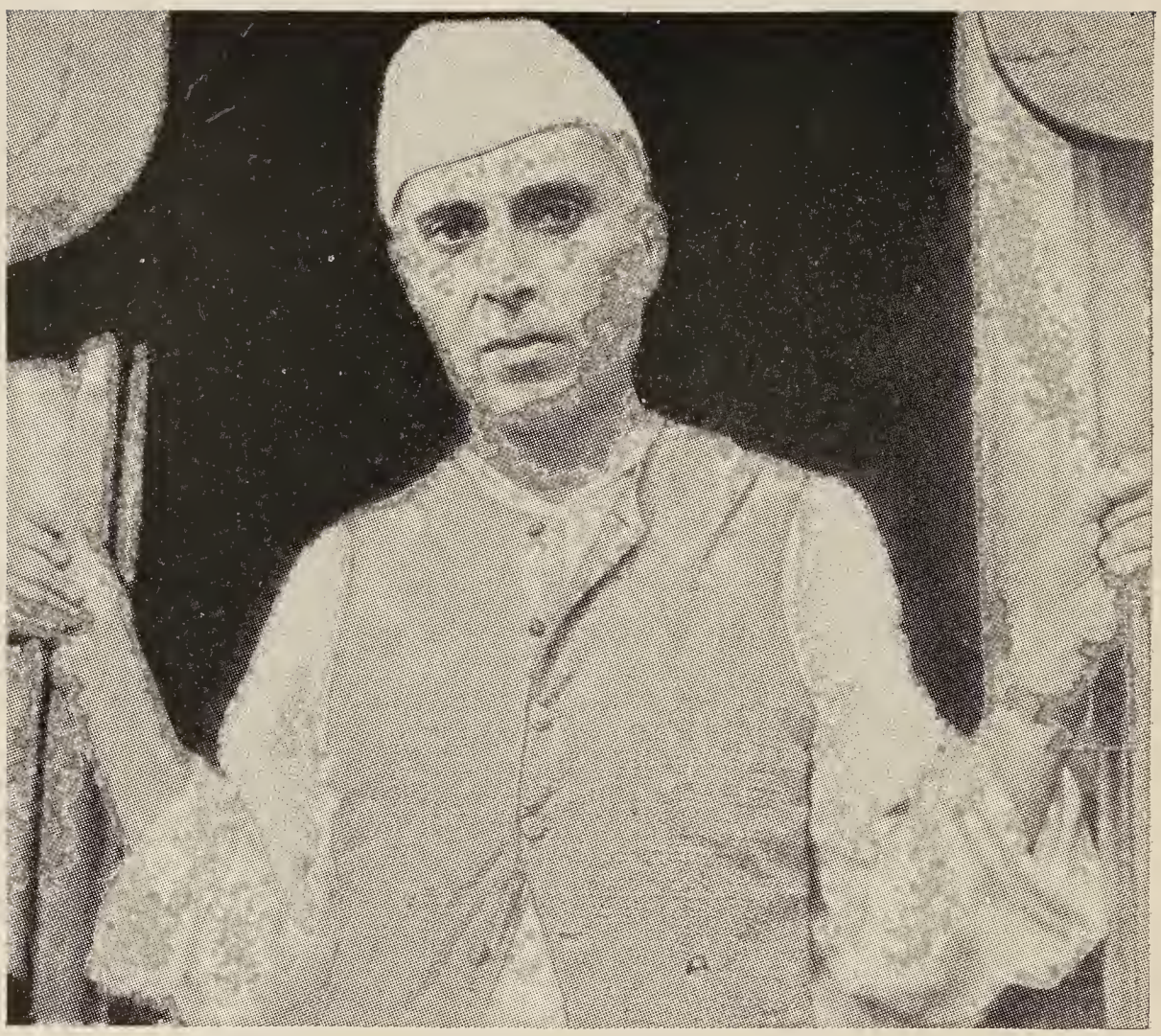


Plate 63a Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, first Prime Minister of India

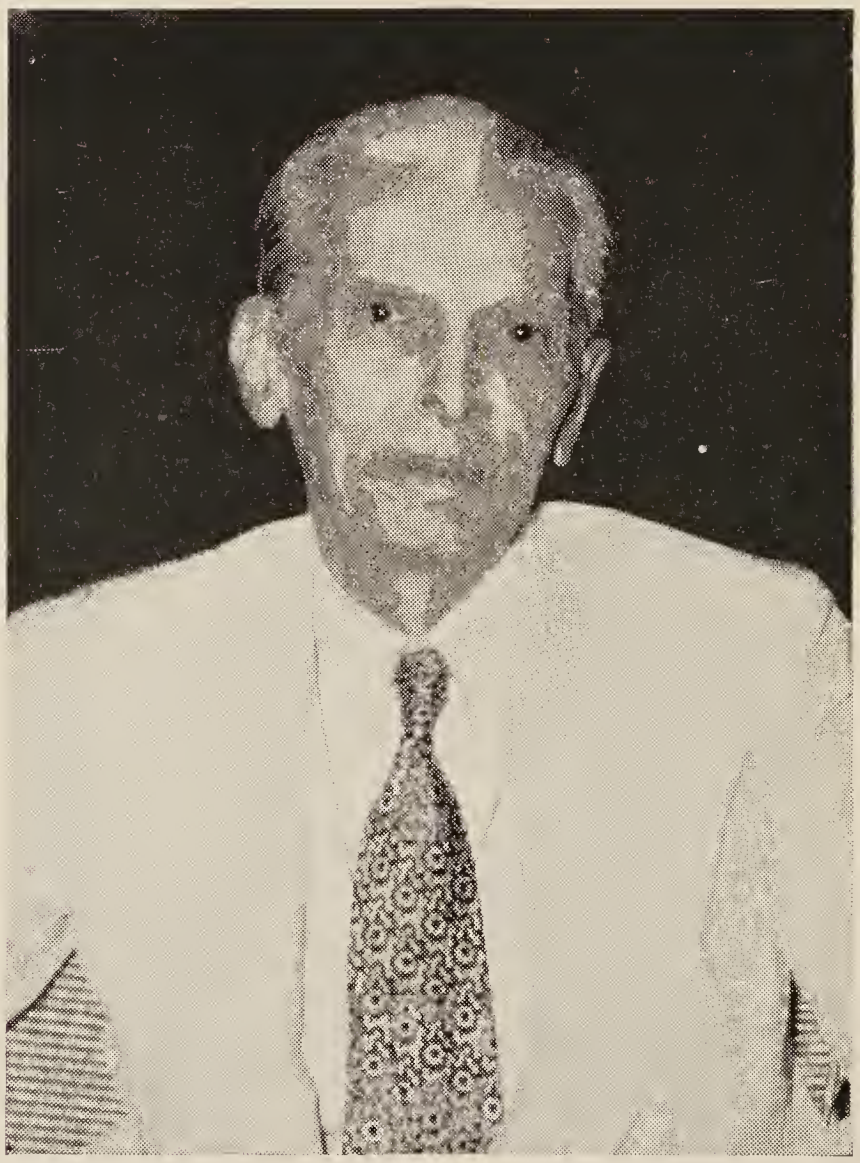


Plate 63b Mohammed Ali Jinnah, first Governor-General of Pakistan

was evident, and he was arrested and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. By this time he had lost his influence, and the Swaraj wing of the Congress under Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru had been formed, which advocated council entry in order to wreck the reforms from within.

Thus all hopes of the success of the reforms had vanished, and at the next elections a strong Congress *bloc* was returned to the Legislative Assembly, and they were also represented in the provincial assemblies. Obstruction was the watchword, yet there were signs that dyarchy, if given a chance, might have developed into full autonomy. In several provinces the Indian ministers had done well. Indianization of the services was proceeding apace. The Lee Commission had abolished British recruitment to most of the Indian services, such as the Indian Educational Service, the Public Works, and others. Indeed, the Indian Educational Service was to end with the retirement of the existing members and be replaced by provincial services manned by Indians. The Indian Civil Service, which had had no recruitment during the war from England, was to be recruited as to two-fifths by examination in England, where Indians were also eligible, and two-fifths by examination in India for Indians exclusively, and one-fifth promotions from the Provincial Service, also Indian. The same scheme was applied to the Indian Police Service. Many Europeans in the services retired under a proportionate pension scheme, and by 1931 there were only 843 Europeans left in the Indian Civil Service, and 528 in the police. Numbers have gone down rapidly since.

Congress was now divided into two parties, one of which, under Mr. C. R. Das, showed a tendency to compromise, but his death in 1925 put a stop to this, and Pandit Motilal Nehru became the leader of the Congress. The Muddiman Committee, which had been set up to report upon dyarchy in 1925, had little result, except that the minority report which declared that dyarchy was unworkable, in which the Liberal leader Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru concurred, was accepted by most of Indian opinion.

Opposition by the Swarajists in the Bengal Council and that of the Central Provinces led to the breakdown of the system, and the governors, in accordance with the Act, had to resume control. Demands were now made for a Round Table Conference to draw up a constitution which would give full Dominion status. Lord Reading retired in 1926, and was succeeded as Viceroy by Lord Irwin (now Lord Halifax).

The communal situation had gone from bad to worse, and was accentuated by such movements as the Akali agitation among the Sikhs, the Akalis being a Puritan body who were vowed to recover the Sikh shrines, which brought them into collision with both unreformed Sikhs and Muslims, and ultimately with the Government. The communal feeling between Muslims and Hindus was partly economic in origin in some parts, where the Hindu landlords or moneylenders had oppressed the Muslim cultivators, leading to riots preluded by the playing of music before mosques by the Hindus—a practice which invariably excites the Muslim worshipper, as the Hindu conch is to them the prelude to idolatry. On the other hand there was the Muslim who at times would kill a calf on the occasion of the Bakr Id—the celebration of Ishmael's sacrifice—and often Muslim and Hindu religious festivals coinciding led to irritation, especially when Hindu young men threw the Holi 'colour' over Muslims, or repeated the traditional obscenities before Muslim women.

Then there were the activities of the Arya Samaj in proselytizing among the poorer Muslims—Muslims often in name only, for the great majority of Muslims now in India, it must be remembered, are descendants of converts from Hinduism or animism. Among the middle-class Muslims there was anxiety about employment. The Muslims had been slow in taking advantage of education on western lines, and had been outdistanced by the Hindus as well as outnumbered. There was a feeling that they were not getting a fair share of the jobs available.

But the political uncertainty was perhaps the deciding factor. This communal activity was largely a manœuvring for position, which the definite Hindu activities of the Hindu Mahasabha rendered necessary in their view. There is in India an almost childlike belief in the written word, and feelings can be roused to an unbelievable extent by an article in a newspaper or a political pamphlet. Truth and seemliness are not demanded, and lies and scurrilous attacks work their worst on passions which have seldom been disciplined either by self control and the dictates of religion.

The arrival of Lord Irwin came at a time when the Congress' first fervour had considerably abated, and his character and influence had a marked effect on Indian politics, though the first signs were not propitious. The stabilization of the currency due to changes in the exchange value of the rupee viz-a-viz gold, where world conditions had led to great fluctuations, the rupee at one time rising to 2s. 10d., led to much difficulty. Finally it was

stabilized at a rate of 1s. 6d. as against the old rate of 1s. 4d. The cotton interests objected loudly, especially the Indian business men of Bombay and Ahmadabad, and were supported by the younger party in the Congress led by Jawaharlal Nehru, the English-educated son of Pandit Motilal Nehru, and Subhas Chandra Bose, who had passed for the Indian Civil Service before he took to political and revolutionary activities. The measure was as fair a measure as was possible in the circumstances, and in any case was not to the detriment of the agriculturalist as the opposition suggested, but not much could be made of it as a political platform, and it was soon dropped. But a new handle for their criticism was soon offered by the dispatch of the Simon Commission.

This was a preparatory commission to report on the progress of the reformed constitution, as had been laid down in the Act. It was a parliamentary commission, as it had to report to Parliament. It consisted of Sir John Simon and six M.P.s, none of whom had any prior knowledge of India. This caused great offence, and finally it was decided to include a parallel body consisted of six Indian M.L.A.s. But this was decided too late to propitiate Indian opinion, always ready to take offence. Terrorism revived under what appeared to be tacit approval in opposition quarters. A young Sikh revolutionary, Bhagat Singh, killed a police officer in the Punjab, and later threw a bomb into the Legislative Assembly at Delhi. When he was arrested his trial was the occasion for *hartals* and manifestations of sympathy, and his execution later led to an all-India strike. The Simon Commission was boycotted and met with black flags wherever it appeared, but proceeded with its investigations. The Congress set up a body to frame a constitution, and its report, the Nehru Report, which was issued in 1928, was in favour of a balance between Muslim and Hindu majority provinces by separating Sind and making the North-West Frontier Province a province of full status. The aim was Dominion status, with full responsible government at the centre as well as in the provinces, and separate electorates were to be abolished, while the Centre would be a strong unitary government including the Indian states. The Muslims would not agree to the abolition of separate electorates, which they regarded as essential to preserve proper balance, nor would they agree to a unitary government at the Centre, but insisted on a federal form. Otherwise they felt that the Hindu majority would rule the roost. The Congress, which met in 1929

at Lahore under the presidency of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, declared that Dominion status was no longer enough, and that complete independence was the Congress goal.

Mr. Gandhi and Civil Disobedience

Once more Mr. Gandhi started a movement on non-violent lines. The Government would be challenged on certain points, and salt was chosen as the main ground. It will be remembered that salt was a Government monopoly, and Mr. Gandhi headed a march to the coast, where a token manufacture of salt was carried out in 1930. The boycott of British goods was intensified and liquor shops were picketed. The mixture of social reform and political aims was typical, and Congress leaders, including women, broke the law and went to prison and were regarded as martyrs.

It was in this atmosphere that the Simon Commission Report was published. Its main recommendations were the increase of self-government in the provinces to include law and order, while there should be a federal government at the Centre, with the legislature elected from the provincial legislatures. The executive government at the Centre should for the time being remain as it was. This was really the application of dyarchy to the Centre and practical autonomy to the provinces. There was no definite reference to Dominion status, nor to the Indian states sharing in the federal legislature. The report was to all practical purposes discounted before it was published.

The Round Table Conference

This conference was an attempt to reach agreement by discussion between all parties. It met in London in 1930, 1931, and 1932, and was attended by representatives of all parties except the Congress, though Mr. Gandhi attended the second session. This was a result of the Irwin-Gandhi pact in 1931, when the Civil Disobedience movement, which had failed to effect its object, the paralysing of administration, was called off by Congress, and the persons imprisoned for breaches of the laws in this connection were released. As a result of these proceedings a certain amount of agreement was reached as to a federal form of government at the Centre, with partial responsibility and full self-government in the provinces, subject to certain safeguards to preserve the rights of Muslims, the depressed classes, and the services.

The communal situation was still disturbed, and Mr. Gandhi was unable to get agreement as to Muslim representation, and finally Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, the Prime Minister, had to announce a Communal Award dealing with the representation of the Muslims and depressed classes in separate electorates.

Meanwhile Civil Disobedience was renewed, and the new Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, found himself faced with a serious attempt to paralyse all forms of administration. Various ordinances were passed to deal with the situation, and finally at the beginning of January 1932 Mr. Gandhi was again arrested for disobeying an order directed against movements into forbidden areas. Several Congress leaders were also arrested.

The Act of 1935

The Government of India Act was passed as a result of the Round Table Conference. It gave the provinces full responsible government. The provinces now numbered eleven, Sind and Orissa having been added. Each was to have an elected cabinet of elected ministers under a premier with full power to deal with all subjects. The franchise was considerably extended, and women with the requisite qualifications could vote and sit in the legislatures. In some provinces they became ministers.

The provincial legislatures were composed of two chambers, the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly in Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar, and Assam, and one chamber in the other provinces.

Muslims, depressed classes, Europeans, and some other special communities had separate electorates to enable them to have special representation. The franchise depended on a property qualification, which varied from province to province, and was greater for the Central Legislature. It depended on the amount of land revenue, income tax, or municipal tax paid. All retired officers and men of the regular army had the right to vote. Women enjoyed the franchise who had the necessary property qualification themselves, or were the wives or widows of men who had this qualification, including the service qualification, or who had an educational qualification. The total electorate for the provincial franchise amounted to a little over thirty million, of whom four and a quarter million were women.

The electorate for the Council of State, the Central Upper House, was in 1930 about 40,500. It had 58 members, of whom

32 were elected, and 26 nominated to represent special interests, including nine official members.

The Legislative Assembly consisted of 141 members, of whom 102 were elected, and 39, including 20 officials, nominated. In 1934 the total electorate for the Legislative Assembly was 1,415,892.

The provincial legislative councils, in provinces where they exist, were to be permanent bodies, about one-third being elected every third year.

The Act provided for a full federal government at the Centre when half the rulers of Indian States agreed. This federal government was to consist of two chambers, the Council of State and the Assembly.

The Federal Council of State would consist of 156 representatives elected from British India, and not more than 104 representatives of the states appointed by the rulers of the various states. The House of Assembly would be made up of 250 members from British India to be chosen by the provincial legislatures, and not more than 125 representatives of the states in proportion to population. There was to be a Council of Ministers responsible to the Central Legislature. This federal constitution never came into existence, as the princes, undoubtedly alarmed by the proclamations and programme of Congress, did not adhere to it.

There were certain safeguards, both for the Viceroy and the governors of provinces to exercise in discharge of their special powers, or when acting within their discretion, laid down in the Act. In the Centre foreign affairs and defence were reserved, and the Governor-General was given certain powers to be used in emergencies. He could veto Bills ' affecting the safety and tranquillity of India.' In the matter of finance, should supply be refused by the Legislature in a similar case, the expenditure could be ' certified ' by the Governor-General.

The special responsibilities of the governor in a province included the taking of steps necessary to preserve peace and tranquillity ; the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities ; the preservation of the rights of civil servants and their dependants ; protection against discrimination in trade. Bills might be returned for further consideration or reserved for consideration by the Governor-General and His Majesty, but in general they automatically received assent. Where finance was concerned the budget was entirely subject to the vote of the

Legislature except ' charged ' expenditure, viz. the salaries of all-India services, the judges, and debt charges.

Federal Court

The Act set up a Federal Court to decide any disputes between members of the Federation when set up. Besides cases of interpretation of the Act, in certain cases appeals on matters of law are allowed from the High Courts. The Act came into force completely in 1937, except for the Federation portion which depended on acceptance by the States. It was not Dominion status, but it was clear to all who were not prejudiced that Dominion status would develop by convention.

The Federal Issue

Though the Princes had themselves suggested federation, when the Act came out they found federation meant more than they had anticipated. The first obstacle was the doctrine of paramountcy. This had been gradually developed until, as Lord Reading had stated in 1926, British supremacy in the States was ' not based only upon treaties and engagements, but exists independently of them.' The Princes, however, now realized that under the federal constitution paramountcy would be likely to devolve on the Centre, and then their treaty rights would be of no avail. No definite decision on this matter could be given, and negotiations naturally took a long time, and were not completed when the war broke out in 1939. Congress had refrained from interfering in the States, but this decision did not long remain, and after agitation in Mysore, Hyderabad, Travancore and Kashmir in 1938 both Mr. Gandhi and later Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru adopted a more hostile policy. Mr. Bajaj entered Jaipur against the wishes of the State, and Mr. Gandhi proceeded to Rajkot and brought into operation his ' fast unto death ' technique. In Kashmir and Hyderabad, and later in Jaipur, the agitation resulted in communal riots of a serious character. This led Mr. Gandhi to call off the civil disobedience campaign in the States. The agitation, however, had results in the promulgation of constitutions in some of the States. Mysore, Baroda, Gwalior and Indore introduced changes, as did Cochin, while some changes were made in Hyderabad and Kashmir.

The Working of the Act

Both the Congress and the Muslim League condemned the Act, but the latter was in favour of working the provincial part of it.

In their manifestos for the elections in the provinces the two main parties promised much social amelioration. At the Centre the elections under the Act of 1919 had returned 44 Congress, 11 National Congress, 19 Muslims, 3 Independents, 11 Europeans, 26 officials, and 13 nominated members representing special interests. The Muslims under Mr. Jinnah thus held the balance, and they supported Congress more often than not. They were evidently out for Congress-League coalition governments in the provinces. But the Congress manifesto rejected the Communal Award, and the Muslims insisted on separate electorates. Under the influence of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the Congress programme was more socialistic, while the League would have no expropriation of private property.

Congress organization for the elections in the provinces was thorough, and processions and slogans whipped up enthusiasm among an electorate mainly illiterate—they had to have coloured boxes to vote in as they could not read. About 54 per cent. of the electorate voted, and in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa and Madras Congress majorities were obtained. In Bombay with support from other parties Congress had a working majority. Congress Muslims had been put up against the Muslim League candidates, and won in some cases, especially in the North-West Frontier Provinces, but the Muslim non-Congress candidates were returned in overwhelming numbers elsewhere.

The question of office acceptance now came to the front, and the Working Committee of the Congress, which was the body which directed the general policy, instructed the chief ministers to demand from the governors before taking office that they would not use their special powers. This of course was contrary to the Act, and no governor could agree. The result was that the Congress at first refused to take office. The governors then had to summon ministers to carry on, though they were certain to be defeated when the legislatures met. Mr. Gandhi now intervened. He had been out of Congress politics since coming out of prison in 1933, though he was a sort of unofficial adviser in the background.

As a result of various discussions a formula was found, for both the Congress and the British Government were anxious to work the reforms, although the Congress had declared that they would take office to expose the ' autocratic and undemocratic nature ' of the new constitution. The result was an explanation by Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, of what the safeguards really meant. They would not be used at random, and only in very serious questions of principle would the Ministers feel called upon to resign or the Governor to dismiss them. This statement was accepted as a working agreement, and the Congress declared that it would take office on the policy of ' combating the new Act on the one hand and prosecuting a constructive programme on the other.'

Thus all the eleven provinces were now to all appearance self-governing entities, with an elected ministry which controlled all the services, both the old Imperial services, the Civil Service, the Police, the Indian Medical Service, and the remaining members of the Indian Educational Service, the Forest Service, the Agricultural Service, and the Indian Service of Engineers, which had been recruited since 1923 on a provincial basis. The non-Congress governments of the Punjab, Bengal, Assam and Sind were entirely responsible to their legislatures—that is, to the electorate. The Congress provinces, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Madras, Bombay and the North-West Frontier Province, were not so clearly responsible since their governments were to some extent at the orders of the ' High Command,' as it was called, and the Working Committee of the Congress delegated one of its members to the supervision of the different provinces.

The ministries in the Congress provinces were entirely composed of Congress members, and they had large majorities and, like all majorities, made use of their overwhelming strength to get their measures through. The Muslim League had expected something of the nature of a coalition government, but the structure of Congress did not allow of this, nor indeed had there been any intention of sharing power.

In the Punjab and Sind and Bengal there were governments with a Muslim core, but not in the Congress provinces, where the opposition was comparatively small and capable of doing little. There was great activity in social legislation. The promises to the *kisans* or tenants were not forgotten, and several measures of far-reaching agricultural legislation were speedily passed. Prohibition was another item dear to the heart of Mr. Gandhi, and

a programme of progressive prohibition was brought forward with a general disregard to the revenue aspect, and the danger of illicit distilling. In a country like India, where the peasant can distil strong beverages from various sources, the toddy palm and the mahwa tree to take two instances, prohibition is difficult of enforcement, and so it was found.

In their administration of justice and police they found that they had to use the measures which they had labelled ' coercion ' when attacking the former government. In some provinces they increased the armed police, and in all they made use of the different enactments against incitement, both by speech and in the Press. Communal disturbances increased, and there was the necessity of putting them down, and action was taken firmly. Steps were taken to press on with the rehabilitation of the Depressed Classes called by Mr. Gandhi the Harijans. These classes, composed of the lowest class outside caste, sweepers, scavengers, leather workers, and skinners, Doms handlers of the dead, potters and brassworkers, had been from time immemorial treated as outside the scope of the Hindu polity. In some parts of Madras, for instance, some were not only ' untouchable ' but ' unseeable,' the very sight of them polluted the orthodox Brahman. They could not use the public wells or worship in the temples, use a carriage or palki, hold wedding processions, nor attend the schools used by the higher castes. Under British protection they had gradually obtained some rights, and in many provinces serious steps had been taken to improve educational facilities. Mr. Gandhi had made it a special mission to redress their wrongs, and had observed one of his fasts unto death to obtain for them electoral benefits, but even this had resulted in their final election having to go before a general electorate as a result of the Poona Pact. Acts were passed opening temples to them, but the Congress governments had resigned before the effects could be observed. The effort to improve educational facilities was more successful. In the northern provinces, such as the Punjab, the United Provinces, Bihar, exclusion from schools had gradually been fought before this, but in Madras and the south the opposition was stronger. Some provinces had junior ministers from the Depressed Classes, but there was a tendency for them as a class to distrust Congress promises as being so largely a Hindu body, and their leader, Dr. Ambedkar of Bombay, would not conform.

Education was one of the main interests of the Congress ministries. Committees were set up, and almost the whole extent

of education surveyed, and recommendations made. Mr. Gandhi's Basic Education plan, which was a pale copy of the craft-centred education of the U.S.A. and Great Britain, was enthusiastically adopted by many who had little idea of what it meant, but in some provinces it led to notable changes in both the content and method of primary education. There was a great drive for adult education, and while the enthusiasm lasted mass tactics were employed, with members of the party undertaking themselves to teach at least one illiterate to read and write.

Finally the moneylenders' grip on the peasant was at least attacked, and various enactments in both Congress and non-Congress provinces made a beginning of dealing with this great problem. The resignation of the Congress governments in the Congress provinces, however, prevented a real solution being arrived at, and the means for replacing the moneylenders was nowhere attempted.

The Congress and the Muslims

Though the Congress had had in the past and continued to have Muslim members, and though the North-West Frontier Province Muslims had a Congress ministry under Dr. Khan Sahib, there was no chance of agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League under Mr. Jinnah. In the North-West Frontier Province the Pathans used the Congress for their own purposes. They had formed a party under Abdul Gaffar Khan called the *khudai khitmagars*, the Servants of God, and had adopted the red shirt as their badge, influenced by the German Brown Shirts and the Italian Black Shirts ; but they were using the Congress for their own purposes. They would not wear the Gandhi cap, the badge of Congress, on any account. In the Congress provinces there was from the start opposition between the Muslim League and Congress. Mr. Jinnah threw himself heart and soul into an effort to strengthen the Muslim League, and when at the end of 1937 the Punjab premier, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, and soon after Mr. Fazl Huq of Bengal, and Sir Muhammad Saadullah of Assam decided in favour of the League it meant a great accession of strength. If the Congress High Command had suggested sharing some power with the Muslim League things might have turned out differently, but they saw no reason for that, and in any case they affected to represent Hindu *and* Muslim. The Muslim League, however, would have

none of it. To them the Congress was a Hindu power, and as such was against the religion of Islam. They could, they felt, feel no security with Congress in full command, and with the withdrawal of the British there was no other apparent alternative. The Congress stressed the growing unity among the minorities, but only the minorities who accepted the Congress creed. This the Muslim League would never do. In 1938 there were conversations between Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi, and then with Subhas Chandra Bose, the president of the Congress. Here Mr. Jinnah demanded that the Congress should recognize the Muslim League only as representing the Muslims. This they refused to do and the talks ended. Mr. Jinnah spoke of Congress Fascism, and the distance between the viewpoints widened. More emphasis was now put on the flag controversies when the hoisting of the Congress flag led to an opposition raising of the Muslim colours, while the singing of the so-called national hymn, Bande Mataram, brought back reminders of its origin in an anti-Muslim novel. All these items added to and accentuated the differences. The language question, Urdu against Hindi, added to the feeling—and now the Government was no longer neutral as it had been in the past.

The Muslim grievances were put forward in the Pirpur Report. It objected to Congress totalitarianism. It declared that the Muslims did not get their fair share of public office in the different services. It accused the Government of being a Hindu Government, with its flag, its anthem, and its insistence on Hindi. The swaggering attitude of Congress supporters in the villages and the initial attempt to set up a parallel government of Congress agents had undoubtedly caused much misgiving, but the Congress governments tried their best to put this down—though there were significant and disquieting incidents in the United Provinces. On the whole the grievances were exaggerated, but they betrayed an attitude of mind. In education especially there was a feeling that the dice were loaded against the Muslims, and great objections was taken to the Vidya Mandir scheme of endowed schools set up in the Central Provinces. The name Mandir (Temple) was immediately objectionable to Muslim sentiment, and it appeared to be deliberately provocative. There were other objections, objections to text-books as being anti-Muslim, for Congress governments were now introducing new text-books into schools, and the history of Nazi education shows the dangers of that. Then the Wardha scheme of education with its attendant slogans, the supreme

place given to Mr. Gandhi's portrait, which usurped not only the chief place in the school, but had displaced the habitual portrait of the King and the royal family, the singing of the so-called 'national' hymn as an act of worship, all were repugnant. Had the Congress set out to be provocative they could not have succeeded better. The whole episode was a mishandling of the situation, and none but the Congress leaders were responsible for this mistake, which has jeopardized the whole future of India. When the Congress ministeries resigned after the outbreak of war Mr. Jinnah organized a day of deliverance and thanksgiving. To such an extent had the gulf widened.

The Services

The position of the Indian services was peculiar under the new dispensation. The new ministers were doubtful of their attitude when they first took over, but soon realized that the English tradition of Civil Service loyalty to the Government as such was maintained. There is no doubt that without the experienced assistance of the Services things would have been very difficult at first, but tact met suspicion, and experience tempered idealism. The numbers of British members of the services in the whole of India was well under two thousand, the majority of the services were already Indian, but the British members were even better able to get on with the new ministers than their Indian colleagues, as they were entirely neutral. At first there was some strangeness, but it soon vanished. The Congress ministers were ordered by the high command to have no social relations with the governors, and the British civil servants. This was born of a psychological inferiority complex, no doubt, and would have broken down in time.

There is every ground for thinking that but for the outbreak of war the reforms of 1936 would have been so worked by both sides as to have gradually led to full responsible government everywhere had it not been for the unfortunate rift between Congress and the Muslim League, and the possibly unfounded but nevertheless strongly held belief that Congress was essentially Hindu, and under majority rule the Muslims would decline from a minority to a depressed class. This led ultimately to the theory of Pakistan, which it is not our province to deal with here.

With the outbreak of the war our review must end. The constitutional advance of India has been rapid, viewed compara-

tively, but it must always be remembered that the number of those politically conscious, even now in India, is proportionately very small, and that democratic institutions demand an educated electorate for their proper working. This India has not had, and the chief obstacle to advance towards self-government has been the gulf between the politically conscious and the great mass of the uninterested proletariate. The demand for separation voiced by the Muslim League was the forerunner of the break up of Indian unity and the emergence of separate entities formally apart.

The Cultural Synthesis

The influence of European models on modern Indian literature has been very marked, as it has been on modern Indian art.

The development of the Indian languages began, as far as prose in Bengali, Hindi and Urdu is concerned, with translations for the use of European government servants at the Fort William College, Calcutta, under Dr. Gilchrist, but it soon branched out on its own.

Bengali Literature

Bengali had for long had a literature of its own, and now with Bankim Chandra Chatterji the Bengali novel entered into its own. Fiction on the English model was now introduced into India, and it has continued to occupy a place of its own in the leading Indian languages. In Bengali the greatest writer is of course Rabindra Nath Tagore, whose name is known all over the world, and who was given the Nobel prize for literature. Prose and poetry alike came easily to him, especially in Bengali, though his *Gitanjali*, which won him the prize, was in English unrhymed verse. Coming of a cultured landed family, he represented the best in Bengali literature and won a world-wide fame. His stories or prose pictures and his novels as well as his poetry show the great master, and his ideals took form in Santiniketan, that remarkable settlement of culture which has done so much for Indian art and culture generally.

Hindi

Hindi literature of modern times has shown a wide advance both in the form known as *Khari Boli* and in *Braj Bhasha*. It



Map 25 Linguistic Map of India

Aryan languages shown by broken lines
Dravidian languages shown by dotted lines

was Swami Dayanand who advocated the use of Hindi as a substitute for English and a universal language. Much of the earlier work in Hindi prose now becoming established with recognized forms was, as has been said, translation. Raja Lakshman Singh translated Kalidasa's *Sakuntala* into Hindi. The Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha, founded in 1903 at Benares by Babu Shiam Sundar Das produced a number of translations and original works and has done much to encourage Hindi writing. Harish Chandra of Benares, who died in 1885, had enjoyed a great reputation as a poet and prose writer, and had great influence on Hindi literature. Later Pandit Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi, editor of a literary magazine, the *Saraswati*, played a notable part in the maintainance of literary standards in Hindi prose. Prem Chand developed the Hindi novel, while others have extended Hindi writing in prose and verse so that it is now capable of expressing the life of the people. English and Russian writers have exercised the main formative influence, but there are signs of a typically Indian spirit developing.

Urdu

Urdu poetry continued to flourish and Akhbar Allahabadi and Brij Narain Chakbast continued the traditions of Ghalib and Anis. Most prominent, however, of recent times was Sir Muhammad Iqbal, who was to Urdu what Tagore was to Bengali. His poems express the modern standpoint, and are universally read and appreciated. The practice of poetry is a Muslim accomplishment which is universally applauded, and *mushairas*, which are the eisteddfodau of India—contests in verse—are enthusiastically attended. This habit of celebrating an occasion in verse is as common in India as it is in Wales, and poetry is a natural accompaniment of social intercourse and a delightful indication of the kindliness of a friendly people.

In prose that father of Muslim education, Sir Sayyid Ahmad, had set the example of avoiding the ornate and flowery excresences which Urdu prose had inherited from Persian poetry. Maulvi Muhammad Husain Azad and Hali were other distinguished writers, and a host of imitators and disciples followed. Urdu as the *lingua franca* of northern India had its Hindu authors like Prem Chand and others, who carried on the Urdu tradition, but the movement to encourage Hindi for Hindus has of late discouraged this habit, and Urdu is becoming more and more

confined to Muslims and Hindi to Hindus. Urdu novels have shown a very marked increase, especially in the Punjab. The railway bookstalls are now full of somewhat flamboyant and ephemeral productions of a sensational type, the ' bloods ' of a nascent literature ; but there are others which show promise of better things to come. Prem Chand, who died in 1937, was the greatest master of the short story, and wrote of rural subjects and rural folk.

Other Languages

Marathi literature continued to flourish, and Marathi prose especially flourished from the early works of Vishnu Shastri Chipnukar to Mr. Justice Telang and M. C. Ranade, and of course Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Hari Narayan Apte was notable in the field of Marathi fiction. Gujarati, too, developed its writers in prose, and the languages of South India have shared in the marked development of modern prose and verse.

While the advance is notable it is still small in proportion to the field to be covered. Writers except in poetry are still experimenting in the novel, the short story, and in drama. Children's literature is non-existent, and school text-books in the different languages are far from satisfactory. There is, for instance, no children's verse in any language, and books of the children's encyclopaedia type well produced and illustrated did not exist before the war. Indian publishers are still largely of the book-seller type, and until an Indian publishing business willing to take risks appears the spread of good literature in the Indian languages will continue to be handicapped.

English

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is the only well-known poet in English, but there has of late been a great activity in the publication of fiction in English by K. D. Karaka, Mulk Anand, and others. There is, however, not much scope for sale in India, and authors writing in English obtain their public mainly in this country. The reading habit is still confined to but few of India's millions, but as education spreads the demand for books, especially in the Indian languages, will increase—indeed the demand in hospitals by Indian troops for books in their own languages has been considerable during the war—the difficulty was that there were

not the books to satisfy the demand. There is evidence, however, that a demand has been created, and not only among the intelligentsia, but among the literate in the villages. A small beginning has been made in the provision of books on subjects of general interest in some provinces, but both the demand and the supply needs fostering on the right lines.

Art and Music

Indian art was in Mughul times a luxury confined to courts, and with the decline of the Mughul empire art too declined. The continual raids and inroads of the Mahrattas scattered the artists or destroyed their patrons. The court of Oudh was a centre of what art there was but the architecture of Lucknow was influenced by European fashions, and the Chattar Manzil is a mixture of the colonial classical revival and the pavilions and stucco of Versailles. The great Imambara, however, has a grandeur of its own, though the fussiness of the Rumi Darwaza is decadence at its worst.

After the Mutiny the utilitarian style of the Victorian Public Works Department maintained an almost unvaried low level of ugliness which influenced Indian design for fifty years and more, and the modern public buildings of India are of an almost uniform standard of tastelessness. The buildings of New Delhi are an English architect's idea of Oriental suitability, and until Indian architects spring up with their own ideas Indian architecture will continue to be repetitive and imitative.

In painting there have been developments. At first it was an imitation of English and European art, but now a distinctive Indian school is appearing with ideas of its own. The Bengali school of painting has shown a tendency to return to a more Indian technique, though much of its work and that of the Bombay school is imitative of the art of the Ajanta caves, and though it shows an idea of colour all its own it is still bound by the trammels of the past. In Lahore a school of painting has arisen which is perhaps best represented by Chaghtai, whose models are the Persian colourists with their delicate line but pale and somewhat washy colouring. Modern Indian art is derivative, and the school at Santineketan has encouraged this by engaging European artists to come out, but Abinindra Nath Tagore, Nandlal Bose, and Yamini Roy and others show a command of colour and a readiness to experiment which promises marked developments. The Indian peasant has an instinctive choice of

colourful settings, and recent experiments with children's art shows that the love of form and colour is natural.

When Aurangzeb told his musicians to bury music deep his commands were only too well carried out, and music is only now emerging from that two-century long entombment. For long music was the accompaniment of nautch girl dances, and became regarded as the sign of licentiousness and debauchery Here too Bengal was the cradle of its rehabilitation, and Indian music is at last regaining its old status. The ' ustads ' of Gwalior and the South never quite forgot it, and latterly at Lucknow the establishment by government aid of a College of Music has set a standard and an objective which is having marked results. With the return of music to society the sister art of the dance has also been revived in its ballet form. Indian dancing with its *mudras* (poses) and remarkable control of muscle and expression never really died, and associated with the revival of music it has once more become respectable. The attempt of Uday Shankar, trained at the Slade School and by Pavlova herself, to wed Indian dance to the ballet tradition with careful orchestration has produced a form of Indian dancing which has the greatest promise, and is intensely popular with the cultured. In the South the traditional forms have been adapted to modern taste by Ram Gopal and others, and Indian dancing is winning recruits from girls and young men of the middle and upper classes to an extent which would not have been believed only a few years ago.

All this aesthetic movement is filling a place in Indian society which was blank for so long, and has redressed the balance of culture to build up a real artistic tradition from which the best results must needs flow. The gradual but accelerating decline of purdah and of caste has had much to do with this, and a new Indian type is emerging from which much is expected in the testing times which lie ahead.

Education

After 1922 Indian Ministers controlled education in the provinces and more attention was paid to the position of the Indian languages and to the spread of education, especially primary education, in rural areas and among girls. More money was spent but the results were not proportionate to the expenditure. The numbers attending primary schools increased, but there was much wastage owing to children being taken away

from school before they had mastered the elements. The causes were largely economic as a predominantly agricultural population either never sent their children to school or withdrew them as soon as their labour became useful in the fields. To the education of girls the same deterrents applied in the villages together with the obstacles of purdah and customary observances.

Secondary education was more popular and though English had generally ceased to be a medium of instruction it was still the main subject of the curriculum. More attention was paid to the teaching of the mother tongue though the classical languages—Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit—had given place in popularity to science. Some provinces had a flourishing system of middle schools where the vernacular alone was used.

The Calcutta University Commission of 1916 played a great part in changing both the content and organization of higher secondary and university education. It suggested the unitary teaching university in place of the merely examining affiliating type. This led to much reorganization and by the beginning of the Second World War the number of universities had been trebled.

The Indian Universities have been subjected to a good deal of criticism but, taken as a whole, they have done good work for India and have produced scholars, administrators and scientists of the highest merit. Notwithstanding all this the numbers of educated men and women were, compared with the great mass of the population, only a tiny percentage. The 1941 census returned only 19 per cent. of men and as little as 5 per cent. of women as able to read and write in their own language. The illiteracy of women has been an important factor limiting the spread of education, and was supported by religion, custom and a slowly dying belief in the essential inferiority of women.

What, then, have been the effects of organized education under British rule on Indian thought and general outlook?

There has been a reorientation in the traditional schools of Sanskrit learning, and a desire for training on a different basis —not discarding the lessons of the past and the treasures of Sanskrit philosophy and literature, but directing their interpretation to suit modern conditions. The teaching of Sanskrit as well as Arabic and Persian in the universities has had its effect on the ancient schools of Benares, and even Deoband and Lucknow, and though the ultra conservative (both Hindu and Muslim) have their qualms and fears, a more scientific attitude to scholarship

and research is gradually winning its way. There is to-day in India all the material for a great renaissance of Indian culture influenced by Western thought, but based on its own traditions, and the possibilities are infinite. British administrators, scholars, and teachers have all had their share in this, and can take credit for a kindly tutelage which will some day be recognized with gratitude.

Modern Indian culture has developed very rapidly in recent years. The emancipation of women from the old caste and customary trammels is perhaps the most striking feature of the last twenty years. Its momentum has increased enormously with the relaxation of caste restrictions among the educated classes, and the demand of the modern young men for educated wives. Political development has acted in the same direction, and the representation of women in the legislatures has had a marked effect. But the development is largely a class movement, and gradually social classes are being formed as opposed to caste.

There has been, both among Hindus and Muslims of the educated classes, a movement towards rationalism in religious beliefs, and the influence of communist doctrines in the more advanced circles of the young educated groups has accentuated this. Belief in the old doctrines is passing among those educated on western lines. The rural masses still believe in the Hindu pantheon and the teaching of Islam, and agnosticism is more common among the Hindu emancipated circles than among the Muslims of similar strata. This is parallel to the flight from doctrinal religion all over the world which became so marked after the first World War.

The result is likely to be momentous if its spreads as education spreads among the rural masses. Hinduism is not so much a religion as an institution which influences the acts and lives of its votaries. It is the cement which holds society together, and political slogans are no substitute. India will change very rapidly, indeed has changed, but prophecy is vain, and is fortunately no part of a historian's duty.

Catastrophe is possible, and it will need all the wisdom of India's leaders to guide these divergent tendencies along beneficent lines.

LIST OF GOVERNORS

GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF FORT WILLIAM IN BENGAL

1774 Warren Hastings
1786 Lord Cornwallis
1793 Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth)
1798 Earl of Mornington, later Marquess Wellesley
1805 Lord Cornwallis (Marquess); July to October, Sir George Barlow
1807 Lord Minto, later Earl of Minto
1813 Earl Moira, later Marquess of Hastings
1823 Lord Amherst, later Earl Amherst
1828 Lord William Bentinck

GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF INDIA

1833 Lord William Bentinck
1835 Sir Charles Metcalfe, officiating
1836 Lord Auckland, later Earl of Auckland
1842 Lord Ellenborough, later Earl of Ellenborough
1844 Sir Henry Hardinge, later Viscount Hardinge
1848 Earl of Dalhousie, later Marquess of Dalhousie
1856 Viscount Canning, later Earl Canning

GOVERNORS-GENERAL AND VICEROYS

1858 Viscount Canning
1862 Earl of Elgin I
1864 Sir John Lawrence, later Lord Lawrence
1869 Earl of Mayo
1872 Lord Northbrook, later Earl of Northbrook
1876 Lord Lytton, later Earl of Lytton
1880 Marquess of Ripon
1884 Earl of Dufferin, later Marquess of Dufferin and Ava
1888 Marquess of Lansdowne
1894 Earl of Elgin II
1899 Lord Curzon, later Marquess Curzon of Kedleston
1905 Earl of Minto II
1910 Lord Hardinge of Penhurst
1916 Lord Chelmsford, later Viscount Chelmsford
1921 Earl of Reading, later Marquess of Reading

1926 Lord Irwin, later Earl of Halifax
1931 Earl of Willingdon, later Marquess of Willingdon
1936 Marquess of Linlithgow
1943 Field-Marshall Earl Wavell
1947 Viscount Mountbatten, later Earl Mountbatten

NAWABS OF OUDH

1724 Saadat Khan
1739 Safdar Jang
1754 Shuja-ud-daula
1775 Asaf-ud-daula
1795 Wazir Ali
1798 Saadat Ali

KINGS OF OUDH

1814 Ghazi-ud-din Haidar
1827 Nasir-ud-din Haidar
1837 Ali Shah
1842 Amjad Ali Shah
1847 Wajid Ali Shah

PESHWAS

1714 Balaji Viswanath
1720 Baji Rao
1740 Balaji Baji Rao
1761 Madhu Rao Ballal
1772 Narayan Rao
1773 Raghunath Rao
1774 Madhu Rao Narayan
1796–1818 Baji Rao II

AFGHANISTAN

(a) Durranis

1747 Ahmad Shah Durani
1773 Timur Shah
1793 Zaman Shah
1800 Mahmud Shah
1803 Shah Shuja
1809 Mahmud
1818 Ayyub

(b) Barakzais

1747 Jamal Khan Barakzai
1773 Payinda Khan
1800 Fath Khan
1826 (Amir) Dost Muhammad Khan
1863 Shir Ali
1879 Yakub Khan
1880 Abdur Rahman
1901 Habibullah
1919 Amanullah
1933 Muhammad Zahir Shah

GLOSSARY

Amil revenue officer
Amir title of an independent ruler of a Muslim state ; a nobleman
Amiran-i-sadah officers over a hundred revenue officials

Badmash a bad character
Bajra millet
Bakshi paymaster, treasurer
Bania subdivision of the Vaish caste ; trader, shopkeeper
Banjara grain carrier
Batta field service or hard-lying allowance to troops
Begam lady of rank (Muslim)
Bhadralog Bengali middle class
Bhakti the doctrine of personal devotion to the divine
Bhisti water carrier
Braj bhasa Hindi of Muttra and thereabouts—Western Hindi

Chaddar cloth worn over head and shoulders ; sheet
Chapatti flat cake of unleavened bread
Chaukidar village or night watchman
Chauth the fourth part of land revenue exacted by the Mahrattas from subject or semi-subject territories
Crore ten millions or one hundred lakhs. In currency Rs1,00,00,000

Dam copper coin of small value introduced by Sher Shah. 40 dams = 1 rupee
Darbar audience chamber ; reception or levee
Dargah Muslim shrine or tomb of a saint
Darogha police officer
Darshan audience ; interview
Dastakh signature ; passport
Deshmukh Mahratta petty official
Dhoti a loin cloth or lower garment worn by men and in some cases by women
Diwan royal court ; chief revenue officer of a province ; chief minister
Diwan-i-am hall of public audience
Diwan-i-khas hall of private audience
Diwani revenue administration, and so civil administration
Doab land between two rivers, i.e. Jumna-Ganges doab

Fakir religious mendicant (Muslim)
Farman or *Firman* edict or grant

Gadi throne
Garbhigriha shrine of a temple (Hindu)
Ghat ford ; pass through hills
Ghazal a love poem—often of mystical meaning
Ghazi devoted ; one who has taken a vow to fight infidels (Muslim)
Godown storehouse
Gumashta agent
Guru religious teacher

Habshi Abyssinian ; Negro
Harijan beloved of God ; name given by Ghandi to the Depressed classes
Harim secluded ; women's quarters of a house ; women of a family
Hartal closing of shops etc. as a protest
Havaldar holder of a charge ; commander of a fort (Mahratta) ; in Indian army, a sergeant
Hun equivalent to three rupees

Jagir an assignment of land or of land revenue held by a jagirdar
Jauhar Rajput rite when all hope was lost in battle or a siege, where the women burnt themselves and the men sallied forth in saffron garments in a final charge
Jharoka window
Jihad holy war against infidels by Muslims
Jiziya a tax imposed on non-Muslims
Jowar or *Juar* maize
Kalima declaration of faith, creed (Muslim)

Kanungo land record keeper
Karma fate ; predestined lot
Karoris collectors of revenue
Kasida laudatory ode
Kazi Muslim judge administrating Islamic law
Khalisa crown lands
Khalsa literally 'pure' ; the Sikh community or army
Khari boli Hindi spoken round Meerut—later used in modern literary revival
Kharif the autumn crop
Kharkhana factory
Khassadars local levies
Khud a deep ravine or precipice
Khutbah a sermon in a mosque
Kisan cultivator or tenant farmer
Kotwal head of the police in a town
Kshatriya warrior caste ; Rajputs
Kulkarni record keeper (Mahratta)

Lakh a hundred thousand. In currency Rs1,00,000
Lakhbaksh giver of lakhs ; generous
Lascar originally a gunner—later sailor
Lingam representation of the male generative organ

Madrasa a school—especially one for the higher instruction of Muslims
Mahakaviraj highest degree or title of Sanskrit
Mahout elephant driver or keeper
Mali gardener
Mamlatdar divisional officer (Mahratta)
Mandapa the central hall of a Hindu temple
Mansabdar holder of a mansab or post ; commander of so many horse according to a graded civil and military scale
Mantra sacred Sanskrit text used as an incantation
Marzia elegy in Urdu or Persian poetry
Masnavi a narrative poem with coupled lines in the same
Meriahs people maintained for human sacrifice in order to obtain good crops
Mihrab niche in centre of the main wall in a mosque
Mir a leader, used especially for the chiefs of Sind
Misl Sikh confederation or clan
Mlechchas foreigners or infidels from Hindu point of view
Mohur Persian gold coin used in India from the sixteenth century
Muhtasib public censor of morals
Mukaddam headman
Mulla Muslim religious leader or divine
Munsiff small causes judge

Nau roz Muslim New Year's Day
Naubat Khana musicians' gallery.
Nautch dance
Nazar gift

Padishah emperor
Pagoda small gold (occasionally silver) coin valued at about seven shillings
Pagri cloth head-dress bound round the head ; a turban
Palanquin or *Palki* a litter
Panchayat a village committee or meeting ; arbitrators
Pandit teacher, learned man, title of Brahmans
Pargannah subdivision of the zillah or district for administrative and revenue purposes
Patel village headman (Mahratta)
Pathshala Hindi or Sanskrit school
Patti land division or area—in the hills generally
Peon an orderly ; messenger
Phadnavis controller of accounts (Mahratta)
Pleader a lawyer or advocate licensed to particular courts
Purdah the practice of keeping women in seclusion

Qasida see Kasida
Qazi see Kazi

Rabi spring crop
Raj kingdom ; royal authority
Ramzan the ninth month in the Muslim calendar kept as a fast between dawn and dark
Rani queen or princess (Hindu)
Risaldar troop commander ; Indian cavalry officer

Sadr amin headquarters magistrate
Sanad order of appointment
Sanyasi Hindu religious mendicant
Sarai rest house

Sardesmukhi one tenth of the revenue paid to the ruler
Sarkar government or ruling power
Sati or *Suttee* custom by which a Hindu widow immolated herself on her husband's funeral pyre—or the victim herself
Satyagrahi vow to maintain truth—a form of political strike
Sawar or *Sowar* horseman
Senapati commander in chief (Hindu)
Shikara spire of Hindu temple
Shikari hunter
Shroff money-lender ; banker
Siladar cavalry where the men supply their own horses and equipment
Sipah salar provincial governor
Sirdar a chief ; officer
Sitar musical instrument of the guitar type
Sonar goldsmith
Stupa relic mound of the Buddha
Suba province
Subadar governor of a province ; Indian officer platoon commander (mil.)
Subadar major chief Indian officer of a battalion
Swadeshi of Indian manufacture
Swaraj home rule ; independence

Tabarra Shia practice of cursing the names of the three successors of the Prophet
Tahsil subdivision of a district, itself divided into pargannahs
Tahsildar magistrate of a tahsil
Takavi advances of money or grain to cultivators in hard times or famine
Taluka subdivision of a district for revenue purposes
Talukdars class of big landowners in Oudh
Tamasha an entertainment ; show
Tanka Hindu coin
Terai literally 'moist land' ; the land at the foot of the hills—used especially of the submontane strip of jungle in northern India from the Jumna to the Brahmaputra
Thagi or *Thugs* secret society who engaged in robbery with murder by strangulation with a 'rumal' or handkerchief, afterwards burying their victims ; put down finally by General Sleeman
Thakur a chief—used of Rajputs
Thana police station
Tola a measure of weight less than ½ oz.
Topas artillerymen
Tulghama wheeling charge of cavalry used by Persian Kizilbashis and adopted by Babar

Ulama Muslim theologians

Vina a stringed musical instrument

Waghnakh tiger's claws—a Mahratta and Rajput weapon, curved claws of metal fixed to the hand
Wakts or *Waqts* religious endowments
Wazir a governor or viceroy ; chief minister

Zamindar one who holds land under a zamindari system or a collector of land revenue ; zamindari system where the revenue over a tract of land was granted to an individual to collect and remit
Zat a personal allowance
Zilla an administrative division of a province ; district

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